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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

3318

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

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E.e

REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY THE REV. CHARLES PAGE EDEN, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

UNUM NECESSARIUM—DEUS JUSTIFICATUS—LETTERS TO WARNER AND JEANES—GOLDEN GROVE, AND HYMNS.

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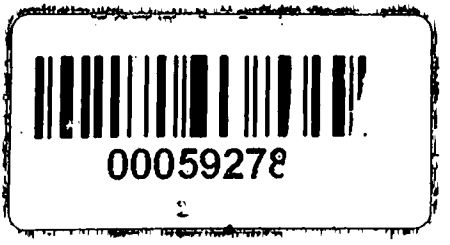

UNUM NECESSARIUM,

OR,

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF REPENTANCE;

DEUS JUSTIFICATUS,

OR,

A VINDICATION OF THE GLORY OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES IN THE QUESTION OF ORIGINAL SIN;

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UNUM NECESSARIUM.

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Pœnitentiæ compensatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus.—Tertull. de pœnit. [cap. vi.]

Præveniamus faciem ejus in confessione.—[Ps. xcv. 2, ap. S. Aug. ad loc. et in serm. clxxvi.]

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND NOBLEST LORD,

RICHARD EARL OF CARBERY,

&c.

MY LORD,

THE duty of repentance is of so great and universal concernment, a *catholicon* to the evils of the soul of every man, that if there be any particular in which it is worthy the labours of the whole ecclesiastical calling to be 'instant in season and out of season,' it is in this duty; and therefore I hope I shall be excused if my Discourses of Repentance, like the duty itself, be perpetually increasing; and I may, like the widow in the gospel to the unjust judge, at least hope to prevail with some men by my importunity. Men have found out so many devices and arts to cozen[a] themselves, that they will rather admit any weak discourses and images of reason, than think it necessary to repent speedily, severely and effectively. We find that sinners are prosperous, and God is long before He strikes; and it is always another man's case when we see a judgment happen upon a sinner, we feel it not ourselves, for when we do, it is commonly past remedy. Indeed it was to be pitied in the heathen, that many of them were tempted to take the thriving side, when religion itself was unprosperous. When Jupiter suffered his golden sceptre to be stole, and the image never frowned; and a bold fellow would scrape the ivory thigh of Hercules[b], and go away without a broken pate, for all the club that was in his hand; they thought they had reason to think there was no more sacredness in the images of their gods than in the statues of Vagellus[c]: and because the event of all regular actions was not regular and equal, but Catiline was hewn down by the consul's sword for his rebellion, and for the same thing Cæsar became a prince, they believed that the powers that governed these extra-regular

[a] ['Cousen' edd.—See vol. iv. p. 306, note o; and in illustration, see Shakespear, Rich. iii. act iv. sc. 4; (fol. Lond. 1623.)

RICH. You speake as if that I had slaine my cosins?
QU. Cosins indeed, and by their unckle couzend
Of comfort, &c.

Indeed no distinction in the spelling was regularly observed; Taylor writing to his brother-in-law, Nov. 24, 1643, speaks of 'your little cozens.']

[b] [Juv. Sat. xiii. 151.]

[c] [al. 'Batyllus;' ubi supra, lin. 119.]

events must itself be various and changeable, and they called it Fortune. But, my lord, that Christians should thus dote upon temporal events, and the little baits of fishes and the meat of dogs, adoring every thing that is prosperous, and hating that condition of things that brings trouble, is not to be pardoned to them who profess themselves servants and disciples of a crucified Lord and Master. But it is upon the same account that men are so hardly brought to repent, or to believe that repentance hath in it so many parts, and requires so much labour, and exacts such caution, and cannot be performed without the best assistances, or the greatest skill in spiritual notices. They find sin pleasant and prosperous, gay and in the fashion: and though wise men know 'it is better to be pleased than to be merry,' to have rest and satisfaction in wisdom and perfective notices of things, than to laugh loud, and fright sobriety away with noises, and dissolution, and forgetfulness: yet this severer pleasure seems dull and flat, and men generally betake themselves to the wildnesses of sin, and hate to have it interrupted by the intervening of the sullen grace of repentance. It was a sprightly saying of him in the comedy [d],

> Ego vitam deorum propterea sempiternam esse arbitror
> Quod voluptates eorum propriæ sunt; nam mihi immortalitas
> Parta est si huic nulla ægritudo gaudio intercesserit;

'Our immortality is to be reckoned by the continuance of our pleasure; my life is then perpetual, when my delights are not interrupted.' And this is the immortality that too many men look after by incompetent means. But to be called upon to repentance, and when men enquire what that is, to be told it is all the duty of a returning man; the extermination of sin, the mortification of all our irregular appetites, and all that perfection of righteousness which can consist with our state of imperfection; and that in order to these purposes we must not refuse the sharpest instruments, that 'they may be even cut off which trouble us [e],' but that we suffer all the severity of voluntary or imposed discipline, according as it shall be judged necessary, this is it which will trouble men: such, I mean, who love a beggarly ease before a laborious thriving trade; (a foul stable to some beasts is better than a fair way.) And therefore it is, that since all Christians are convinced of the necessity, the indispensable necessity of repentance, they have resolved to admit it, but they also resolve they will not understand what it is.

> ——— Mehercule una falsa lacrymula [f],

one or two forced tears against a good time: and (believe it) that's a great matter too, that is not ordinary. But if men lose an estate,

> ——————— Nemo dolorem
> Fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
> Contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto [g].

[d] [Ter. Andr., act v. sc. 6. lin. 3.]
[e] [Gal. v. 12.]
[f] [Ter. Eun. i. 1. 22.]
[g] [Juv. Sat. xiii. 131.]

Men need not to dissemble tears or sorrow in that case; but as if men were in no danger when they are enemies to God, and as if to lose heaven were no great matter, and to be cast into hell were a very tolerable condition, and such as a man might very well undergo, and laugh heartily for all that; they seem so unconcerned in the actions of religion, and in their obedience to the severe laws of repentance, that it looks as if men had no design in the world but to be suffered to die quietly, to perish tamely, without being troubled with the angry arguments of churchmen, who by all means desire they should live and recover, and dwell with God for ever. Or if they can be forced to the further entertainments of repentance, it is nothing but a calling for mercy, an ineffective prayer, a moist cloud, a resolution for to-day, and a solemn shower at the most.

Mens immota manet, lacrymæ volvuntur inanes[h];

the mind is not changed, though the face be. For repentance is thought to be just as other graces, fit for their proper season, like fruits in their own month; but then every thing else must have its day too: we shall sin, and we must repent; but sin will come again, and so may repentance: for 'there is a time for every thing under the sun[i];' and the time for repentance is when we can sin no more, when every objection is answered, when we can have no more excuse; and they who go upon that principle will never do it till it be too late: for every age hath temptations of its own, and they that have been used to the yoke all their life time, will obey their sin when it comes in any shape in which they can take any pleasure. But men are infinitely abused, and by themselves most of all. For repentance is not like the summer fruits, fit to be taken a little and in their own time; it is like bread, the provisions and support of our life, the entertainment of every day, but it is 'the bread of affliction' to some, and 'the bread of carefulness' to all; and he that preaches this with the greatest zeal and the greatest severity, it may be he takes the liberty of an enemy, but he gives the counsel and the assistance of a friend.

My lord, I have been so long acquainted with the secrets of your spirit and religion, that I know I need not make an apology for dedicating this severe book to you. You know, according to the prudence which God hath given you, that he that flatters you is your enemy, and you need not be flattered; for he that desires passionately to be a good man and a religious, to be the servant of God and be saved, will not be fond of any vanity, and nothing else can need to be flattered. But I have presented to your lordship this discourse, not only to be a testimony to the world how great a love and how great an honour I have for you, but even by ascribing you into this relation, to endear you the rather every day more and more to the severest doctrines and practices of holiness. I was invited to make

[h] [Virg. Æn. iv. 449.]

[i] [Eccl. iii. 1.]

something of this by an honourable person who is now with God, and who desired his needs should be served by my ministry. But when I had entered upon it, I found it necessary to do it in order to more purposes, and in prosecution of the method of my other studies. All which as they are designed to God's glory, and the ministry of souls, so if by them I can signify my obligations to your lordship, which by your great nobleness do still increase, I shall not esteem them wholly ineffective even of some of those purposes whither they are intended; for truly my lord, in whatsoever I am or can do, I desire to appear,

my noblest lord,

your honour's most obliged and most affectionate servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE PREFACE

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND AND RELIGIOUS FATHERS,
BRIAN[a] LORD BISHOP OF SARUM, AND JOHN[a] LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,
AND TO THE MOST REVEREND AND RELIGIOUS CLERGY OF ENGLAND,
MY DEAR BRETHREN.

MEN, BRETHREN AND FATHERS,

THE wiser part of mankind hath seen so much trifling in the conduct of disputations, so much partiality, such earnest desires of reputation, such resolution to prevail by all means, so great mixture of interest in the contention, so much mistaking of the main question, so frequent excursions into differing matter, so many personal quarrels and petty animosities, so many wranglings about those things that shall never be helped, that is, the errors and infirmities of men; and after all this (which also must needs be consequent to it) so little fruit and effect of questions, no man being the wiser, or changed from error to truth, but from error to error most frequently: and there are in the very vindication of truth so many incompetent, uncertain, and untrue things offered, that if by chance some truth be gotten, we are not very great gainers, because when the whole account is cast up, we shall find, or else they that are disinterest will observe, that there is more error than truth in the whole purchase. And still no man is satisfied, and every side keeps its own, unless where folly or interest makes some few persons to change; and still more weakness and more impertinencies crowd into the whole affair upon every reply, and more yet upon the rejoinder, and when men have wrangled tediously and vainly, they are but where they were; save only that they may remember they suffered infirmity, and (it may be) the transport of passions, and uncharitable expressions. And all this for an unrewarding interest, for that which is sometimes uncertain in itself, unrevealed, unuseful, and unsatisfying; that in the event of things, and after being wearied for little or nothing, men have now in a very great proportion left it quite off, as unsatisfying waters, and have been desirous of more material nourishment, and of such notices of things and just assistances as may promote their eternal interest.

And indeed it was great reason and high time that they should do so: for when they were employed in rowing up and down[b] uncertain seas to find something that was not necessary, it was certain they would less attend to that which was more worthy their enquiry: and the enemy of mankind knew that to be a time of his advantage, and accordingly sowed tares while we so slept: and we felt a real

[a] [Brian Duppa, and John Warner.]

[b] ['down in' B.]

mischief while we contended for an imaginary and fantastic good. For things were come to that pass, that it was the character of a good man to be zealous for a sect, and all of every party respectively, if they were earnest and impatient of contradiction, were sure to be saved by their own preachers; and holiness of life was not so severely demanded, but that men believe their country articles, and heaven gates at no hand might be permitted to stand open to any one else. Thence came hatred, variance, emulation and strifes; and the wars of christendom which have been kindled by disputers, and the evil lives which were occasioned and encouraged by those proceedings, are the best confutation in [c] the world of all such disputations.

But now when we come to search into that part of theology which is most necessary, in which the life of christianity and the interest of souls, the peace of christendom and the union of minds, the sweetness of society and the support of government, the usefulness and comfort of our lives, the advancement of virtue, and the just measures of honour; we find many things disordered, the tables of the commandments broken in pieces, and some parts are lost and some disordered. And into the very practice of Christians there are crept so many material errors, that although God made nothing plainer, yet now nothing is more difficult and involved, uncertain and discomposed, than many of the great lines and propositions in moral theology: nothing is more neglected; more necessary, or more mistaken. For although very many run into holy orders without just abilities, and think their province is well discharged if they can preach upon Sundays; and men observing the ordinary preaching to be little better than ordinary talk, have been made bold to venture into the holy sept, and invade the secrets of the temple, as thinking they can talk at the same rate which they observe to be the manner of vulgar sermons: yet they who know to give a just value to the best things, know that the sacred office of a priest, a minister of religion, does not only require great holiness, that they may acceptably offer the christian sacrifices and oblations of prayer and eucharist for the people, and become their fairest examples; but also great abilities, and wise notices of things and persons, strict observation, deep remembrances, prudent applications, courage and caution, severity and mercy, diligence and wisdom, that they may dispense the excellent things of christianity to the same effect whither they were designed in the counsels of eternity, that is, to the glory of God and the benefit of souls.

But it is a sad thing to observe how weakly the souls of men and women are guided; with what false measures they are instructed; how their guides oftentimes strive to please men rather than to save them, and accordingly have fitted their discourses and sermons with easy theorems, such which the schools of learning have fallen upon

[c] ['of' A.]

by chance, or interest, or flattery, or vicious necessities, or super-induced arts, or weak compliances. But from whatsoever cause it does proceed, we feel the thing. There are so many false principles in the institutions and systems of moral or casuistical divinity, and they taught so generally, and believed so unquestionably, and so fitted to the dispositions of men, so complying with their evil inclinations, so apt to produce error and confidence, security and a careless conversation, that neither can there be any way better to promote the interest of souls, nor to vindicate truth, nor to adorn the science itself, or to make religion reasonable and intelligible, or to promote holy life, than by rescuing our schools and pulpits, and private persuasions, from the believing such propositions which have prevailed very much and very long, but yet which are not only false, but have immediate influence upon the lives of men, so as to become to them a state of universal temptation from the severities and wisdom of holiness.

When therefore I had observed concerning the church of England (which is the most excellently instructed with a body of true articles and doctrines of holiness, with a discipline material and prudent, with a government apostolical, with dignities neither splendid nor sordid, too great for contempt, and too little for envy,—unless she had met with little people and greatly malicious,—and indeed with every thing that could instruct or adorn a christian church, so that she wanted nothing but the continuance of peace, and what she already was;) that amongst all her heaps of excellent things, and books by which her sons have ministered to piety and learning both at home and abroad, there was the greatest scarcity of books of cases of conscience; and that while I stood watching that some or other should undertake it according to the ability which God gave them, and yet every one found himself hindered or diverted, persecuted or disabled, and still the work was left undone; I suffered myself to be invited to put my weak hand to this work, rather than that it should not be done at all. But by that time I had made some progression in the first preparatory discourses to the work, I found that a great part of that learning was supported by principles very weak and very false; and that it was in vain to dispute concerning a single case whether it were lawful or no, when by the general discoursings of men it might be permitted to live in states of sin without danger or reproof, as to the final event of souls. I thought it therefore necessary by way of address and preparation to the publication of the particulars, that it should appear to be necessary for a man to live a holy life; and that it could be of concern to him to enquire into the very minutes of his conscience. For if it be no matter how men live, and if the hopes of heaven can well stand with a wicked life, there is nothing in the world more unnecessary than to enquire after cases of conscience. And if it be sufficient for a man at the last to cry for pardon for having all his life-time neither regarded laws nor conscience, certainly they have found out a better *compendium* of religion,

and need not be troubled with variety of rules and cautions of carefulness and a lasting holiness; nor think concerning any action or state of life whether it be lawful or not lawful; for it is all one whether it be or no, since neither one nor the other will easily change the event of things.—For let it be imagined, what need there can be that any man should write cases of conscience, or read them, if it be lawful for a man thus to believe and speak;—

"I have indeed often in my younger years been affrighted with the fearful noises of damnation; and the ministers of religion, for what reasons they best know, did call upon me to deny my appetite, to cross my desires, to destroy my pleasures, to live against my nature; and I was afraid, as long as I could not consider the secrets of things; but now I find that in their own books there are for me so many confidences and securities, that those fears were most unreasonable, and that as long as I live by the rules and measures of nature, I do not offend God, or if I do, I shall soon find a pardon. For I consider that the commandments are impossible, and what is not possible to be done we are not to take care of: and he that fails in one instance cannot be saved without a pardon, not by his obedience; and he that fails in all may be saved by pardon and grace. For the case is so, that we are sinners naturally, made so before we were born; and nature can never be changed until she be destroyed: and since all our irregularities spring from that root, it is certain they ought not to be imputed to us; and a man can no more fear God's anger for being inclined to all sin than for being hungry or miserable: and therefore I expect from the wisdom and goodness of God some provisions which will so extinguish this solemn and artificial guilt, that it shall be as if it were not. But in the mean time the certainty of sinning will proceed. For besides that I am told that 'a man hath no liberty but a liberty to sin,' and this definite liberty is in plain English a very necessity, we see it by a daily experience that those who call themselves good men, are such who 'do what they would not,' and 'cannot do what they would.' And if it be so, it is better to do what I have a mind to quietly, than to vex myself, and yet do it nevertheless: and that it is so, I am taught in almost all the discourses I have read or heard upon the seventh chapter to the Romans: and therefore if I may have leave to do consonantly to what I am taught to believe, I must confess myself to be under the dominion of sin, and therefore must obey, and that I am bidden to obey unwillingly, and am told that the striving against sin is indeed ordinarily ineffective, and yet is a sign of regeneration; I can soon do that; I can strive against it, and pray against it; but I cannot hope to prevail in either, because I am told beforehand that even the regenerate are under the power of sin; they will and do not; they do and will not. And so it is with me; I would fain be perfect if I could, but I must not hope it; and therefore I would only do my actions so reasonably, that I would not be tied to vex myself

for what I cannot help; or to lose the pleasure of my sin by fretting at it, when it is certain it will be done, and yet I shall remain in the state of regeneration. And who can help all this, but God, whose mercy is indeed infinite; and although in the secret dispensation of affairs He 'hath concluded all under sin,' yet He had no purpose we should therefore perish; but it was done that He might have mercy upon all; that is, that we may glorify Him for supplying our needs, pardoning our sins, relieving our infirmities. And therefore when I consider that God's mercy hath no limit in itself, and is made definite only by the capacity of the object, it is not to be doubted but He loves his creatures so well that we shall all rejoice in our being freed from eternal fears. For to justify my hopes, why may not I be confident of heaven for all my sins, since the imputation of Christ's righteousness is that by which I shall be justified? My own is but 'like a menstruous rag,' and 'the just falls seven times a day;' but Christ's cross pays for all. And therefore I am confident I shall do well. For I am one of those for whom Christ died; and I believe this; this faith is not to be reproved, for 'this is that which justifies, who shall condemn me?' It is not a good life that justifies a man before God, but it is faith in the special promises; for indeed it being impossible to live innocently, it is necessary that a way of God's own finding out should be relied upon. Only this indeed I do, I do avoid the capital sins, blasphemies, and horrid murders; I am γενναίως ἁμαρτάνων, 'I sin like a gentleman,' not like a thief; I suffer infirmities, but do not do like a devil; and though I sin, yet I repent speedily, and when I sin again, I repent again, and my spiritual state is like my natural, day and night succeed each other by a never-failing revolution. I sin indeed in some instances, but I do my duty in many; and every man hath his infirmities; no man can say, My soul is pure from sin; but I hope that because I repent still as I sin, my sins are but as single actions; and since I resist them what I can, I hope they will be reckoned to me but as sins of infirmity, without which no man is or can be in this state of imperfection. For if I pray against a sin, and my spirit does resist it, though the flesh prevails, yet I am in the state of grace. For that I may own publicly what I am publicly taught; a man cannot be soon out of the state of grace, but he may be soon in; God's love is lasting and perpetual when it hath once begun; and when the curtain is drawn over the state of grace by the intervening of a sin, yet as soon as ever we begin to cry for pardon, nay when we do but say we will confess our sins, nay when we do but resolve we will, God meets us with His pardon, and prevents us with some portions of it. And let things be at the worst they can, yet he that confesseth his sins to God shall find mercy at the hands of God; and He hath established a holy ministry in His church to absolve all penitents; and if I go to one of them, and tell the sad story of my infirmity, the good man will presently warrant my pardon, and absolve me. But then I remember

this also, that as my infirmity that is unavoidable shall not prejudice me, so neither shall any time prejudice my repentance. For if on my death-bed I cry unto God for pardon, and turn heartily unto God in the very instant of my dissolution, I am safe; because whenever a man converts to God, in the same instant God turns to him, or else it were possible for God to hate him that loves God, and our repentance should in some periods be rejected, expressly against all the promises. For it is an act of contrition, an act of the love of God that reconciles us; and I shall be very unfortunate if in the midst of all my pains, when my needs increase, and my fears are pregnant, and myself am ready to accept pardon upon any terms, I shall not then do so much as one act of a hearty sorrow and contrition. But however, I have the consent of almost all men, and all the schools of learning in the world, that after a wicked life my repentance at last shall be accepted. S. Ambrose[c], who was a good probable doctor, and one as fit to be relied on as any man else, in his funeral oration of Valentinian hath these words, 'Blessed is he truly who even in his old age hath amended his error; blessed is he who even just before the stroke of death turns his mind from vice; blessed are they whose sins are covered, for it is written, Cease from evil and do good, and dwell for evermore. Whoever therefore shall leave off from sin, and shall in any age be turned to better things, he hath the pardon of his former sins, which either he hath confessed with the affections of a penitent, or turned from them with the desires of amends. But this [prince] hath company enough in the way of his obtaining pardon; for there are very many who could in their old age recal themselves from the slipperiness and sins of their youth, but seldom is any one to be found who in his youth with a serious sobriety will bear the heavy yoke.' And I remember that when Faustus bishop of Rhegium, being asked by Paulinus bishop of Nola from Marinus[d] the hermit, whether a man who was involved in carnal sins and exercised all that a criminous person could do, might obtain a full pardon if he did suddenly repent in the day of his death, did answer peevishly and severely, and gave no hopes, nor would allow pardon to any such; Avitus[e] the archbishop of Vienna reproved his pride and his morosity, and gave express sentence for the validity of such a repentance. And that gentleness hath been the continual doctrine of the church for many ages; insomuch that in the year MDLXXXIV. Henry Kyspenning a canon of Xant published a book, intituled, 'The evangelical doctrine of the meditation of death, with solid exhortations and comforts to the sick, from the currents of scripture, and the commentaries of the fathers,' where teaching the sick man how to answer the objections of Satan[f], he makes this to be the fifteenth, 'I repent too late of my sins.' He

[c] [tom. ii. col. 1176.].
[d] [See letter of Faustus, Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. v. part. 3. p. 433 sqq.]
[e] Epist. iv. [Bibl. patr. Galland., tom. x. p. 710 sqq.]
[f] Lib. iii. c. 11.

bids him answer, 'It is not late if it be true; and to the thief upon the cross Christ said, This day shalt thou be with Me in paradise.' And afterwards[g], 'A short prayer easily pierceth heaven, so it be darted forth with a vehement force of the spirit. Truly the history of the kings tells that David who was so great a sinner, used but three syllables; for he is read to have said no more but *Peccavi*, I have sinned. For S. Ambrose said, The flame of the sacrifice of his heart ascends up to heaven: because we have a merciful and gentle Lord; and the correction of our sins needs not much time, but great fervour.' And to the same purpose are the words of Alcuinus[h] the tutor of Charles the great, 'It behoves us to come to repentance with all confidence, and by faith to believe undoubtedly that by repentance our sins may be blotted out, *etiamsi in ultimo vitæ spiritu commissa pœniteat*, although we repent of our sins in the last breath of our life.'"

Now after all these grounds of hope and confidence to a sinner, what can be pretended in defiance of a sinful life; and since men will hope upon one ground, though it be trifling and inconsiderable, when there are so many doctrinal grounds of hopes established propositions, parts of religion and articles of faith to rely upon, (for, all these particulars before reckoned, men are called upon to believe earnestly, and are hated and threatened and despised if they do not believe them,) what is there left to discourage the evil lives of men, or to lessen a full iniquity, since upon the account of the premises, either we may do what we list without sin, or sin without punishment, or go on without fear, or repent without danger, and without scruple be confident of heaven?

And now if moral theology rely upon such notices as these, I thought my work was at an end before I had well finished the first steps of my progression. The whole sum of affairs was in danger, and therefore I need not trouble myself or others with consideration of the particulars. I therefore thought it necessary first to undermine these false foundations; and since an enquiry into the minutes of conscience is commonly the work of persons that live holily, I ought to take care that this be accounted necessary, and all false warrants to the contrary be cancelled, that there might be many *idonei auditores*, persons competent to hear and read, and such who ought to be promoted and assisted in their holy intendments. And I bless God there are very many such; and though iniquity does abound, yet God's grace is conspicuous and remarkable in the lives of very many, to whom I shall design all the labours of my life, as being dear to God, and my dear brethren in the service of Jesus. But I would fain have the churches as full as I could before I begin; and therefore I esteemed it necessary to publish these papers before my other, as containing the greatest lines of conscience, and the most

[g] Lib. vii. c. 9.

[h] [De div. offic., cap. xiii. col. 1039 B.]

general cases of our whole life, even all the doctrine of Repentance, upon which all the hopes of man depend through Jesus Christ.

But I have other purposes also in the publication of this book. The ministers of the church of Rome (who ever love to fish in troubled waters, and to oppress the miserable and afflicted if they differ from them in a proposition) use all the means they can to persuade our people that the man that is afflicted is not alive, that the church of England now it is a persecuted church, is no church at all; and though (blessed be God) our propositions, and doctrines, and liturgy, and communion are sufficiently vindicated in despite of all their petty oppositions and trifling arrests, yet they will never leave making noises and outcries; which for my part I can easily neglect, as finding them to be nothing but noise. But yet I am willing to try the rights and excellencies of a church with them upon other accounts; by such indications as are the most proper tokens of 'life,' I mean, propositions of holiness, the necessities of a holy life: for certainly that church is most to be followed who brings us nearest to God; and they make our approaches nearest who teach us to be most holy, and whose doctrines command the most excellent and severest lives. But if it shall appear that the prevailing doctrines in the church of Rome do consequently teach, or directly warrant, impiety, or which is all one, are too easy in promising pardon, and for it have no defences but distinctions of their own inventing, I suppose it will be a greater reproof to their confidence and bold pretensions, than a discourse against one of their immaterial propositions that have neither certainty nor usefulness. But I had rather that they would preach severity than be reproved for their careless propositions, and therefore am well pleased that even amongst themselves some are so convinced of the weakness of their usual ministries of repentance, that as much as they dare they call upon the priests to be more deliberate in their absolutions and severe in their impositions of satisfactions, requiring a longer time of repentance before the penitents be reconciled.

Monsieur Arnauld[i] of the Sorbon hath appeared publicly in reproof of a frequent and easy communion, without the just and long preparations of repentance, and its proper exercises and ministry. Petavius the jesuit hath opposed him; the one cries, 'the present church,' the other, 'the ancient church;' and as Petavius is too hard for his adversary in the present authority, so monsieur Arnauld hath the clearest advantage in the pretensions of antiquity and the arguments of truth; from which Petavius and his abettor Bagot the jesuit[k] have no escape or defensative, but by distinguishing repentance into 'solemn' and 'sacramental:' which is just as if they should say, Repentance is twofold; one, such as was taught and practised by the primitive church; the other, that which is in use this day in the church of Rome; for there is not so much as one pregnant testimony in antiquity for the first four hundred years, that there was any

[i] [De frequenti communione, 4to. Par. 1647.] [k] [De pœnitentia, Par. 1646.]

repentance thought of, but 'repentance toward God,' and sometimes performed in the church; in which after their stations were performed, they were admitted to the holy communion; excepting only in the danger or article of death, in which they hastened the communion, and enjoined the stations to be afterwards completed in case they did recover, and if they did not, they left the event to God. But this question of theirs can never be ended upon the new principles, nor shall be freely argued because of their interest. For who ever are obliged to profess some false propositions, shall never from thence find out an entire truth, but like casks in a troubled sea, sometimes they will be under water, sometimes above. For the productions of error are infinite, but most commonly monstrous: and in the fairest of them there will be some crooked or deformed part.

But of the thing itself I have given such accounts as I could, being engaged on no side, and the servant of no interest, and have endeavoured to represent the dangers of every sinner, the difficulty of obtaining pardon, the many parts and progressions of repentance, the severity of the primitive church, their rigid doctrines and austere disciplines, the degrees of easiness and complyings that came in by negligence. And I desire that the effect should be, that all the pious and religious curates of souls in the church of England would endeavour to produce so much fear and reverence, caution and wariness in all their penitents, that they should be willing to undergo more severe methods in their restitution than now they do: that men should not dare to approach to the holy sacrament as soon as ever their foul hands are wet with a drop of holy rain; but that they should expect the periods of life, and when they have given to their curate fair testimony of a hearty repentance, and know it to be so within themselves, they may with comfort to all parties communicate with holiness and joy. For I conceive this to be that event of things which was designed by S. Paul[1] in that excellent advice; "Obey them that have the rule over you, καὶ ὑπείκετε, submit yourselves," viz., to their ordering and discipline, "because they watch for your souls as they that must give accounts for them, that they may do it with joy." I am sure we cannot give accounts of souls of which we have no notice; and though we had reason to rescue them from the yoke of bondage which the unjust laws and fetters of annual and private confession (as it was by them ordered) did make men to complain of; yet I believe we should be all unwilling our charges should exchange these fetters for worse, and by shaking off the laws of confession, accidentally entertain the tyranny of sin. It was neither fit that all should be tied to it, nor yet that all should throw it off. There are some sins, and some cases, and some persons, to whom an actual ministry and personal provision and conduct by the priests' office were better than food or physic. It were therefore very well if great sinners could be invited to bear the yoke of holy discipline, and

[1] [Heb. xiii. 17.]

do their repentances under the conduct of those who must give an account of them, that they would enquire into the state of their souls, that they would submit them to be judged by those who are justly and rightly appointed over them, or such whom they are permitted to choose[m]; and then that we would apply ourselves to understand the secrets of religion, the measures of the spirit, the conduct of souls, the advantages and disadvantages of things and persons, the ways of life and death, the labyrinths of temptation, and all the remedies of sin, the public and private, the great and little lines of conscience, and all those ways by which men may be assisted and promoted in the ways of godliness; for such knowledge as it is most difficult and secret, untaught and unregarded; so it is most necessary, and for want of it, the holy sacrament of the eucharist is oftentimes given to them that are in the gall of bitterness; 'that which is holy is given to dogs.' Indeed neither we nor our forefathers could help it always; and the discipline of the church could seize but upon few: all were invited, but none but the willing could receive the benefit; but however, it were pity that men upon the account of little and trifling objections should be discouraged from doing themselves benefit, and from enabling us with greater advantages to do our duty to them. It was of old observed of the Christians[n], Πείθονται τοῖς ὡρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους, 'they obey the laws, and by the excellency of their own lives excel the perfection of the laws:' and it is not well, if we shall be earnest to tell them that such a thing is not necessary, if we know it to be good. For in this present dissolution of manners, to tell the people concerning any good thing that it is not necessary, is to tempt them to let it alone.

The presbyterian ministers (who are of the church of England just as the Irish are English) have obtained such power with their proselytes that they take some account of the souls (of such as they please) before they admit them to their communion in sacraments; they do it to secure them to their party, or else make such accounts to be as their *Shibboleth*, to discern their Jews from the men of Ephraim: but it were very well we would do that for conscience, for charity, and for piety, which others do for interest, or zeal; and that we would be careful to use all those ministries, and be earnest for all those doctrines, which visibly in the causes of things are apt to produce holiness and severe living. It is no matter whether by these arts any sect or name be promoted; it is certain christian religion would, and that's the real interest of us all, that those who are under our charges should know the force of the resurrection of Christ, and the conduct of the Spirit, and live according to the purity of God and the light of the gospel. To this let us co-operate with all wisdom, and earnestness, and knowledge, and spiritual understanding. And there is no better way in the world to do this than by ministering to persons singly in the conduct of their repentance, which as it is the work of

[m] [Commun. office of church of England.] [n] [Just. Mart. ad Diogn., § 5.]

every man, so there are but few persons who need not the conduct of a spiritual guide in the beginnings and progressions of it.

To the assistance of this work I have now put my symbol, having by the sad experience of my own miseries and the calamities of others, to whose restitution I have been called to minister, been taught something of the secret of souls: and I have reason to think that the words of our dearest Lord to S. Peter[o] were also spoken to me, *Tu autem conversus confirma fratres.* I hope I have received many of the mercies of a repenting sinner, and I have felt the turnings and varieties of spiritual entercourses; and I have often observed the advantages in ministering to others, and am most confident that the greatest benefits of our office may with best effect be communicated to souls in personal and particular ministrations. In the following book I have given advices, and have asserted many truths in order to all this: I have endeavoured to break in pieces almost all those propositions upon the confidence of which men have been negligent of severe and strict living; I have cancelled some false grounds upon which many answers in moral theology used to be made to enquiries in cases of conscience: I have according to my weak ability described all the necessities and great inducements of a holy life; and have endeavoured to do it so plainly that it may be useful to every man, and so inoffensively that it may hurt no man.

I know but one objection which I am likely to meet withal (excepting those of my infirmity and disability, which I cannot answer but by protesting the piety of my purposes) but this only, that in the chapter of 'Original sin,' I speak otherwise than is spoken commonly in the church of England: whose ninth article affirms that 'the natural propensity to evil, and the perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit, deserves the anger of God and damnation;' against which I so earnestly seem to dispute in the sixth chapter of my book. To this I answer, that it is one thing to say a thing 'in its own nature deserves damnation,' and another to say 'it is damnable to all those persons in whom it is subjected.' The thing itself, that is, our corrupted nature, or our nature of corruption, does leave us in the state of separation from God, by being unable to bear us to heaven: imperfection of nature can never carry us to the perfections of glory; and this I conceive to be all that our church intends: for that in the state of nature we can only fall short of heaven, and be condemned to a *pœna damni*, is the severest thing that any sober person owns; and this I say, that nature alone cannot bring us to God; without the regeneration of the spirit, and the grace of God, we can never go to heaven: but because this nature was not spoiled by infants, but by persons of reason, and we are all admitted to a new covenant of mercy and grace, made with Adam presently after his fall, that is, even before we were born, as much as we were to a participation of sin be-

[o] [Luke xxii. 32.]

fore we were born, no man can perish actually for that, because he is reconciled by this. He that says every sin is damnable, and deserves the anger of God, says true; but yet some persons that sin of mere infirmity are accounted by God in the rank of innocent persons. So it is in this article, 'Concupiscence remains in the regenerate, and yet concupiscence hath the nature of sin, but it brings not condemnation.' These words explain the former. Original imperfection is such a thing as is even in the regenerate; and it is 'of the nature of sin,' that is, it is the effect of one sin, and the cause of many; but yet it is not damning, because as it is subjected in unconsenting persons, it loses its own natural venom, and relation to guiltiness, that is, it may of itself in its abstracted nature be a sin, and deserve God's anger, viz., in some persons, in all them that consent to it: but that which will always be in persons that shall never be damned, that is in infants and regenerate, shall never damn them. And this is the main of what I affirm. And since the church of England intended that article against the doctrine of the Pelagians, I suppose I shall not be thought to recede from the spirit and sense of the article, though I use differing manners of expression; because my way of explicating this question does most of all destroy the Pelagian heresy, since although I am desirous to acquit the dispensation of God and His justice from any imputation or suspicion of wrong, and am loath to put our sins upon the account of another, yet I impute all our evils to the imperfections of our nature and the malice of our choice, which does most of all demonstrate not only the necessity of grace, but also of infant baptism; and then to accuse this doctrine of Pelagianism, or any newer name of heresy, will seem like impotency and weakness of spirit; but there will be nothing of truth or learning in it. And although this article was penned according to the style of the schools, as they then did love to speak, yet the hardest word in it is capable of such a sense as complies with the intendment of that whole sixth chapter. For though the church of England professes herself fallible, and consequently that all her truths may be peaceably improved; yet I do not think that she is not actually deceived; and also that divers eminently learned do consent in my sense of that article. However, I am so truly zealous for her honour and peace, that I wholly submit all that I say there or any where else to her most prudent judgment. And though I may most easily be deceived, yet I have given my reasons for what I say, and desire to be tried by them, not by prejudice, and numbers, and zeal: and if any man resolves to understand the article in any other sense than what I have now explicated, all that I shall say is, that it may be I cannot reconcile my doctrine to his explication; it is enough that it is consistent with the article itself in its best understanding and compliance with the truth itself and the justification of God. However, he that explicates the article, and thinks it means as he says, does all the honour he can to the authority; whose words if he does not understand, yet the sanction he reveres.

And this liberty I now take is no other than hath been used by the severest votaries in that church where to dissent is death, I mean in the church of Rome. I call to witness those disputations and contradictory assertions in the matter of some articles, which are to be observed in Andreas Vega, Dominicus a Soto, Andradius, the lawyers about the question of divorces and clandestine contracts, the divines about predetermination, and about this very article of original sin, as relating to the virgin Mary. But blessed be God, we are under the discipline of a prudent, charitable, and indulgent mother; and if I may be allowed to suppose that the article means no more in short, than the office of Baptism explicates at large, I will abide by the trial; there is not a word in the rubrics or prayers but may very perfectly consist with the doctrine I deliver. But though the church of England is my mother, and I hope I shall ever live, and at last die in her communion, and if God shall call me to it, and enable me, I will not refuse to die for her; yet I conceive there is something most highly considerable in that saying, 'Call no man master upon earth;' that is, no man's explication of her articles shall prejudice my affirmative, if it agrees with scripture and right reason, and the doctrine of the primitive church for the first three hundred years; and if in any of this I am mistaken, I will most thankfully be reproved, and most readily make honourable amends. But my proposition, I hope, is not built upon the sand: and I am most sure it is so zealous for God's honour, and the reputation of His justice, and wisdom, and goodness, that I hope all that are pious (unless they labour under some prejudice and prepossession) will upon that account be zealous for it, or at least confess that what I intend hath in it more of piety, than their negative can have of certainty. That which is strained and held too hard will soonest break. He that stoops to the authority, yet twists the article with truth, preserves both with modesty and religion.

One thing more I fear will trouble some persons, who will be apt to say to me as Avitus[p] of Vienna did to Faustus of Rhegium, *Hic quantum ad frontem pertinet quasi abstinentissimam vitam professus, et non secretum crucem, sed publicam vanitatem, &c.;* that upon pretence of great severity, as if I were exact or could be, I urge others to so great strictness which will rather produce despair than holiness. Though I have in its proper place taken care concerning this, and all the way intend to rescue men from the just causes and inlets to despair; that is, not to make them do that against which by preaching a holy life I have prepared the best defensative; yet this I shall say here particularly: that I think this objection is but a mere excuse which some men would make, lest they should believe it necessary to live well. For to speak truth, men are not very apt to despair, they have ten thousand ways to flatter themselves, and they will hope in despite of all arguments to the contrary. In all the

[p] [See p. 12, notes d, e, above.]

scripture there is but one example of a despairing man, and that was Judas; who did so, not upon the stock of any fierce propositions preached to him, but upon the load of his foul sin, and the pusillanimity of his spirit. But they are not to be numbered who live in sin, and yet *sibi suaviter benedicunt,* think themselves in a good condition; and all them that rely upon those false principles which I have reckoned in this preface, and confuted in the book, are examples of it. But it were well if men would distinguish the sin of despair, from the misery of despair: where God hath given us no warrant to hope, there to despair is no sin; it may be a punishment, and to hope also may be presumption.

I shall end with the most charitable advice I can give to any of my erring brethren. Let no man be so vain as to use all the wit and arts, all the shifts and devices of the world, that he may behold to enjoy the pleasure of his sin, since it may bring him into that condition that it will be disputed whether he shall despair or no. Our duty is to 'make our calling and election sure,' which certainly cannot be done but by a timely and effective repentance. But they that will be confident in their health, are sometimes pusillanimous in their sickness, presumptuous in sin, and despairing in the day of their calamity. *Cognitio de incorrupto Dei judicio in multis dormit, sed excitari solet circa mortem,* said Plato [q]. For though men give false sentences of the divine judgments, when their temptations are high, and their sin is pleasant, yet about the time of their death their understanding and notices are awakened, and they see what they would not see before, and what they cannot now avoid.

Thus I have given account of the design of this book to you, most reverend fathers and religious brethren of this church; and to your judgment I submit what I have here discoursed of, as knowing that the chiefest part of the ecclesiastical office is conversant about repentance, and the whole government of the primitive church was almost wholly employed in ministering to the orders, and restitution and reconciliation, of penitents; and therefore you are not only by your ability, but by your employment and experiences, the most competent judges and the aptest promoters of those truths by which repentance is made most perfect and unreprovable. By your prayers, and your authority, and your wisdom, I hope it will be more and more effected that the strictnesses of a holy life be thought necessary, and that repentance may be no more that trifling, little piece of duty to which the errors of the late schools of learning, and the desires of men to be deceived in this article, have reduced it. I have done thus much of my part toward it, and I humbly desire it may be accepted by God, by you, and by all good men.

JER. TAYLOR.

[q] De Republ. i. [§ 5. tom. vi. p. 270.]

CHAP. I.

THE FOUNDATION AND NECESSITY OF REPENTANCE.

§ 1. Of the indispensable necessity of repentance in remedy to the unavoidable transgressing the covenant of works.

1. In the first entercourse with man, God made such a covenant as He might justly make out of His absolute dominion, and such as was agreeable with those powers which He gave us, and the instances in which obedience was demanded. For first, man was made perfect in his kind, and God demanded of him perfect obedience. Secondly, the first covenant was the 'covenant of works,' that is, there was nothing in it but man was to obey or die: but God laid but one command upon him that we find; the covenant was instanced but in one precept; in that he failed, and therefore he was lost. There was here no remedy, no second thoughts, no amends to be made: but because much was not required of him, and the commandment was very easy, and he had strengths more than enough to keep it, therefore he had no cause to complain; God might, and did exact at first the covenant of works, because it was at first infinitely tolerable. But,

2. From this time forward this covenant began to be hard, and by degrees became impossible; not only because man's fortune was broken, and his spirit troubled, and his passions disordered and vexed by his calamity and his sin, but because man upon the birth of children and the increase of the world contracted new relations, and consequently had new duties and obligations, and men hindered one another, and their faculties by many means became disordered and lessened in their abilities; and their will becoming perverse they first were unwilling, and then unable by superinducing dispositions and habits contrary to their duty. However, because there was a necessity that man should be tied to more duty, God did in the several periods of the world multiply commandments, first to Noah, then to Abraham, and then to his posterity; and by this time they were very many: and still God held over man's head the covenant of works.

3. Upon the pressure of this covenant all the world did complain. *Tanta mandata sunt, ut impossibile sit servari ea,* said S. Ambrose[a], 'the commandments were so many and great that it was impossible they should be kept.' For at first there were no promises at all of any good, nothing but a threatening of evil to the transgressors; and

[a] [Pseud-Ambros.] in cap. iii. Gal. [tom. ii. append. col. 219 F.]

after a long time they were entertained but with the promise of temporal good things, which to some men were performed by the pleasures and rewards of sin. And then there being a great imperfection in the nature of man, it could not be that man should remain innocent; and for repentance in this covenant there was no regard or provisions made. But I said,

4. The covenant of works was still kept on foot: how justly, will appear in the sequel; but the reasonableness of it was in this, that men living in a state of awfulness might be under a pedagogy or severe institution restraining their loosenesses, recollecting their inadvertencies, uniting their distractions. For the world was not then prepared by spiritual usages and dispositions to be governed by love and an easy yoke, but by threatenings and severities. And this is the account S. Paul[b] gives of it, ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς, 'the law was a schoolmaster,' that is, had a temporary authority serving to other ends, with no final concluding power. It could chastise and threaten, but it could not condemn: it had not power of eternal life and death, that was given by other measures. But because the world was wild and barbarous, good men were few, the bad potent and innumerable, and sin was conducted and helped forward by pleasure and impunity, it was necessary that God should superinduce a law, and shew them the rod, and affright and check their confidences, lest the world itself should perish by dissolution. The law of Moses was still a part of the covenant of works. Some little it had of repentance; sacrifice and expiations were appointed for small sins; but nothing at all for greater. Every great sin brought death infallibly. And as it had a little image of repentance, so it had something of promises, to be as a grace and auxiliary to set forward obedience. But this would not do it. The promises were temporal, and that could not secure obedience in great instances; and there being for them no remedy appointed by repentance, the law could not justify, it did not promise life eternal, nor give sufficient security against the temporal, only it was brought in as a pedagogy for the present necessity.

5. But this pedagogy or institution was also a manuduction to the gospel. For they were used to severe laws, that they might the more readily entertain the holy precepts of the gospel, to which eternally they would have shut their ears unless they had had some preparatory institution of severity and fear; and therefore S. Paul also calls it, παιδαγωγίαν εἰς Χριστὸν, 'a pedagogy or institution leading unto Christ.'

6. For it was this which made the world of the godly long for Christ, as having commission to open the κρυπτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων[c], the 'hidden mystery' of justification by faith and repentance. For the law called for exact obedience, but ministered no grace but that of fear, which was not enough to the performance or the engagement

[b] [Gal. iii. 24.]

[c] [vid. 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. iii. 9; Col. i. 26.]

of exact obedience. All therefore were here convinced of sin, but by this covenant they had no hopes, and therefore were to expect relief from another and a better: according to that saying of S. Paul[d], "The scripture concludes all under sin" (that is, declares all the world to be sinners) "that the promise by the faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." This S. Bernard expresses in these words, *Deus nobis hoc fecit, ut nostram imperfectionem ostenderet, et Christi avidiores nos faceret,* 'our imperfection was sufficiently manifest by the severity of the first covenant, that the world might long for salvation by Jesus Christ.'

7. For since mankind could not be saved by the covenant of works, that is, of exact obedience, they must perish for ever, or else hope to be saved by a covenant of ease and remission, that is, such a covenant as may secure man's duty to God, and God's mercy to man; and this is the covenant which God made with mankind in Christ Jesus, the covenant of repentance.

8. This covenant began immediately after Adam's fall. For as soon as the first covenant, the covenant of works, was broken, God promised to make it up by an instrument of mercy which Himself would find out. 'The seed of the woman' should make up the breaches of the man. But this should be acted and published in its own time, not presently. In the mean time man was by virtue of that new covenant or promise admitted to repentance.

9. Adam confessed his sin and repented; three hundred years together[e] did he mourn upon the mountains of India, and God promised him a Saviour by whose obedience his repentance should be accepted. And when God did threaten the old world with a flood of waters, He called upon them to repent, but because they did not, God brought upon them the flood of waters; for a hundred and twenty years together He called upon them to return before He would strike His final blow. Ten times God tried Pharaoh before He destroyed him. And in all ages, in all periods, and with all men God did deal by this measure; and (excepting that God in some great cases, or in the beginning of a sanction, to establish it with the terror of a great example) He scarce ever destroyed a single man with temporal death for any nicety of the law, but for long and great prevarications of it: and when He did otherwise, He did it after the man had been highly warned of the particular, and could have obeyed easily; which was the case of the man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath, and was like the case of Adam, who was upon the same account judged by the covenant of works.

10. This then was an emanation both of God's justice, and His mercy. Until man had sinned he was not the subject of mercy: and if he had not then received mercy, the infliction had been too severe and unjust, since the covenant was beyond the measures of man,

[d] [Gal. iii. 22.]

[e] [See vol. iv. p. 179, note a.]

after it began to multiply into particular laws, and man by accident was lessened in his strengths.

11. From hence the corollaries are plain;

a. God was not unjust for beginning His entercourse with mankind by the covenant of works, for these reasons;—

First, because man had strengths enough to do it, until he lessened his own abilities.

Secondly, the covenant of works was at first instanced but in a small commandment: in abstaining from the fruit of one tree, when he had by him very many others for his use and pleasure.

Thirdly, it was necessary that the covenant of works should begin: for the covenant of faith and repentance could not be at first: there was no need of it, no opportunity for it, it must suppose a defailance, or an infirmity, as physic supposes sickness and mortality.

Fourthly, God never exacted the obedience of man by strict measures, by the severity of the first covenant, after Adam's fall; but men were saved then as now, they were admitted to repentance, and justified by faith and the works of faith. And therefore the Jews say that three things were before the world, the law, the name of the Messias, and repentance; that is, as S. Paul[f] better expresses it, this repentance through faith in the Messias is 'the hidden wisdom of God, ordained before the world unto our glory.' So that at first it was not impossible; and when it was, it was not exacted in the impossible measure; but it was kept in pretence and overture for ends of piety, wisdom and mercy, of which I have given account; it was *σοφία ἀποκεκρυμμένη*, a wise dispensation, but it was hidden.

12. For since it is essential to a law that it be in a matter that is possible[g], it cannot be supposed that God would judge man by an impossible commandment. A good man would not do it, much less the righteous and merciful Judge of men and angels. But God by holding over the world the covenant of works, *non fecit prævaricatores sed humiles*, 'did not make us sinners' by not observing the *ἀκρίβεια*, the minutes and tittles of the law, 'but made us humble,' needing mercy, begging grace, longing for a Saviour, relying upon a better covenant, waiting for better promises, praying for the spirit of grace, repenting of our sins, deploring our infirmities, and justified by faith in the promises of God.

13. *β.* This then is the great introduction and necessity of repentance. We neither could have lived without it, nor have understood the way of the divine justice, nor have felt any thing of His most glorious attribute. But the admission of us to repentance, is the great verification of His justice, and the most excellent expression

[f] [1 Cor. ii. 7.]

[g] Plato de legg., lib. v. [vid. § 10. fin. tom. viii. p. 167.]—Demosth. contra Timocr. [§ 79. p. 804.]—Plut. in Solon. [cap. 21. tom. i. p. 358.]—Curius Fortunatianus, Rhet. [lib. i. p. 64. in Rhet. antiq. Lat.—4to. Argent. 1756.]—Nemo obligatur ad impossibile.

of His mercy. This is the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, springing from the fountains of grace, purchased by the blood of the holy Lamb, the eternal sacrifice, promised from the beginning, always ministered to man's need in the secret economy of God, but proclaimed to all the world at the revelation of God incarnate, the first day of our Lord Jesus.

14. But what are we eased now under the gospel, which is a law of greater holiness, and more commandments, and a sublimer purity, in which we are tied to more severity than ever man was bound to under any institution and covenant? If the law was an impossible commandment, who can say he hath strictly and punctually performed the injunctions of the gospel? Is not the little finger of the son heavier than the father's loins? Here therefore it is to be enquired, whether the commandments of Jesus Christ be as impossible to be kept as the law of Moses? If we by Christ be tied to more holiness than the sons of Israel were by Moses' law, then because that could not be kept, then neither can this. But if we be not tied to more than they, how is the law of Christ a more perfect institution, and how can we now be justified by a law no better than that by which we could not be justified? But then if this should be as impossible as ever, why is it anew imposed? why is it held over us, when the ends for which it was held over us now are served? And at last, how can it be agreeable to God's wisdom and justice, to exact of us a law which we cannot perform, or to impose a law which cannot justly be exacted? The answering and explicating this difficulty will serve many propositions in the doctrine of repentance.

§ 2. Of the possibility or impossibility of keeping the precepts of the gospel.

15. It were strange that it should be possible for all men to keep the commandments, and required and exacted of all men with the intermination or threatening of horrid pains, and yet that no man should ever do it. S. Hierome[h] brings in Atticus thus arguing, *Da exemplum, aut confitere imbecillitatem tuam:* and the same also was the argument of Orosius; and the reasonableness of it is a great prejudice against the contrary affirmation of S. Austin, Alipius and Evodius, Aurelius and Possidius, who,—because it is no good consequence to argue *a non esse ad non posse,* and though it is not done, yet possibly it might,—conclude that it is possible to keep the commandments, though as yet no man ever did, but He that did it for us all. But as Marcellinus said well, it is hard to say that by a man a thing can be done, of which although there was a great necessity and a severe commandment, yet there never was any example. Because in men there is such infinite variety of tempers, dispositions, apprehensions, designs, fears and hopes, purposes and

First, the law of God is naturally possible to be kept, but not morally.

[h] Lib. i. dial. adv. Pelag. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 488.]

interests, that it were next to a miracle that not one of all mankind should do what he can, and what so highly concerns him. But because this, although it be a high probability, yet is no certain demonstration; that which S. Paul[i] taught is certainly to be relied upon, that 'the law could not do it for us,' that is, could not bring us justification, 'in that it was weak through the flesh;' meaning that because we were so weak we could not fulfil the righteousness of the law, therefore we could not be justified by that covenant. *Mosi manus graves, facies cornuta*[k], *impedita lingua, lapideæ tabulæ*, 'Moses' hands were heavy, his face bright, his tongue stammering, and the tables were of stone;' by which is meant that the imposition and the burden was great, but the shoulder is weak and crushed, and therefore was not able to bear it; and therefore much less can it stand under a bigger load, if the holy precepts of the gospel should prove so, and we be assisted by no firmer supporters.

16. For the nature and constitution of man is such, that he cannot perpetually attend to any state of things: *voluntas per momenta variatur, quia solus Deus immutabilis*[l]: variety and change, inconstancy and repentance are in his very nature. If he be negligent, he is soon tempted. If he be watchful, he is soon wearied. If he be not instructed, he is exposed to every abuse. If he be, yet he is ignorant of more than he knows, and may be cozened by very many things; and in what he knows or seems to know, he is sometimes confident, sometimes capricious, curious and impertinent, proud and contemptuous. The commandments are instanced in things against our natural inclinations, and are restraints upon our appetite; and although a man may do it in single instances, yet to act a part of perpetual violence and preternatural contentions is too hard and severe an expectation, and the often unavoidable failings of men will shew how impossible it is. It is (as S. Hierome's expression is) as if a man should hale a boat against the stream[m]; if ever he slacken his hand, the vessel falls back: and if ever we give way to our appetite in any of the forbidden instances, we descend naturally and easily. Some vices are proportionable to a man's temper, and there he falls pleasantly and with desire; ἡδὺ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ δὲ βίαιον λυπηρὸν, said Aristotle[n], 'that which is natural is sweet, but that which is violent is troublesome:' to others he is indifferent, but to them he is turned by every bias. If a man be morose, he is apt to offend with sullenness and angry pretensions: but if he be compliant and gentle, he is easily cozened[o] with fair entreaties. If he be alone, he is sad and phantastic, and 'woe to him that is alone[p].' If he be in company, it will be very hard for him to go with them to the

[i] [Rom. viii. 3.]
[k] [Exod. xxxiv. 29, ed. vulg.]
[l] S. Hieron., lib. ii. in Gal. c. iii. [leg. Contra Pelagianos, lib. ii. ad fin.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 532.]
[m] [Cf. Virg. georg. i. 201.]
[n] Rhet., lib. i. [cap. 11.]
[o] ['cousened' edd.—Cf. p. 3, note a, above.]
[p] [Eccl. iv. 10.]

utmost limits of permission, and not to step beyond it. No man's leisure is great enough to attend the enquiry after all the actions and particulars for which he is to be judged; and he does many things which he considers not whether they be sins or no: and when he does consider, he often judges wrong. For some things there are no certain measures; and there are very many constituent or intervening things and circumstances of things, by which it is made impossible to give a certain judgment of the whole. Oftentimes a man is surprised and cannot deliberate for want of time; sometimes he is amazed, and wants order and distinction to his thoughts, and cannot deliberate for want of powers. Sometimes the case is such that if a man determines it against his temporal interest, he determines falsely, and yet he thinks he does it safest: and if he judges in compliance with his temporal regards, he cannot be confident but that he was moved not by the prevailing reason, but by prevailing passion. If the dispute be concerning degrees, there is no certain measures to weigh them by: and yet sometimes a degree does diversify the kind, and virtue and vice are but differing degrees of the same instance: and the ways of sinning upon the stock of ignorance are as many as there are ignorances, and degrees, and parts, and vicious causes, and instances of it.

17. Concerning our infirmities, they are so many that we can no more account concerning the ways of error coming upon that stock, than it can be reckoned in how many places a lame man may stumble that goes a long journey in difficult and uneven ways. We have beginning infant strengths, which are therefore imperfect because they can grow: *Crescere posse imperfectæ rei signum est*[q]; and when they are most confirmed and full grown, they are imperfect still. When we can reckon all the things of chance, then we have summed up the dangers and aptnesses of man to sin upon that one principle; but so as they can they are summed up in the words of Epiphanius[r], Οὐκ ἀναιροῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, εἰδότες τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ δεσπότου, καὶ τὸ συγγνωστὸν τῆς φύσεως, τὸ εὐρίπιστον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς σαρκὸς, τὸ πολύβλυστον τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰσθήσεως; 'the condition of our nature, the inconstancy of our spirits, the infirmity of our flesh, the distraction of our senses, are an argument to make us with confidence expect pardon and mercy from the loving kindness of the Lord, according to the preaching of truth, the gospel of Christ.'

18. But besides all this, the numbers of sin are not easily to be told: the lines of account are various and changeable, our opinions uncertain, and we are affrighted from one into another, and all changes from sin are not into virtue, but more commonly into sin. *Obsessa mens hominis et undique diaboli*[s] *infestatione vallata vix oc-*

[q] Seneca, ep. lxvii. [leg. lxvi. tom. ii. p. 233.]

[r] Hæres. lix. [tom. i. p. 493.]

[s] Zabuli.—S. Cypr. de oper. et elecmos. [leg. 'De mortalitate,' haud longe ab initio; p. 157.]

currit singulis, vix resistit; si avaritia prostrata est, exurgit libido. And if we do not commit things forbidden, yet the sins of omission are innumerable and undiscernible. Businesses intervene, and visits are made, and civilities to be rendered, and friendly compliances to be entertained, and necessities to be served, and some things thought so which are not so, and so the time goes away, and the duty is left undone; prayers are hindered, and prayers are omitted; and concerning every part of time which was once in our power, no man living can give a fair account.

19. This moral demonstration of the impossibility of perfect and exact obedience and innocence would grow too high if I should tell how easily our duties are soured even when we think we walk wisely. Severity is quickly turned into ungentleness, love of children to indulgence, joy to gaiety, melancholy to peevishness, love of our wives to fondness, liberties of marriage to licentiousness, devotion to superstition, austerity to pride, feasting to intemperance, urbanity to foolish jesting, a free speech into impertinence and idle talking.

20. There were no bottom of this consideration if we consider how all mankind sins with the tongue. 'He that offends not in his tongue, he is a perfect man' indeed[t]. But experience and the following considerations do manifest that no man is so perfect. For,

21. Every passion of the soul is a spring and a shower, a parent and a nurse to sin: our passions either mistake their objects, or grow intemperate; either they put too much upon a trifle, or too little upon the biggest interest: they are material and sensual, best pleased and best acquainted with their own objects. And we are to do some things which it is hard to be told how they can be in our own power; we are commanded to be angry, to love, to hope, to desire certain things, towards which we cannot be so affected ever when we please. A man cannot love or hate upon the stock and interest of a commandment, and yet these are parts of our duty. To mourn and to be sorrowful are natural effects of their proper apprehensions, and therefore are not properly capable of a law. Though it be possible for a man who is of a sanguine complexion, in perfect health and constitution, not to act his lust; yet it will be found next to impossible not to love it, not to desire it: and who will find it possible that every man and in all cases of his temptation should overcome his fear? But if this fear be instanced in a matter of religion, it will be apt to multiply eternal scruples, and they are equivocal effects of a good meaning, but are proper and univocal enemies to piety and a wise religion.

22. I need not take notice of the infinite variety of thoughts and sentences that divide all mankind concerning their manner of pleasing and obeying God, and the appendent zeal by which they are furiously driven on to promote their errors or opinions (as they think)

[t] [James iii. 2.]

for God: and he that shall tell these men they do amiss would be wondered at; for they think themselves secure of a good reward even when they do horrible things. But the danger here is very great, when the instrument of serving God is nothing but opinion and passion abused by interest; especially since this passion of itself is very much to be suspected; it being temerity or rashness (for some zeal is no better) and its very formality is inadvertency and inconsideration.

23. But the case is very often so that even the greatest consideration is apt to be mistaken; and how shall men be innocent, when besides the signal precepts of the gospel there are propounded to us some general measures, and as I may call them, extra-regular lines, by which our actions are to be directed; such as are, the analogy of faith, fame, reputation, public honesty, not giving offence, being exemplary; all which and divers others being indefinite measures of good and evil, are pursued as men please, and as they will understand them. And because concerning these God alone can judge righteously, He alone can tell when we have observed them; we cannot, and therefore it is certain we very often do mistake.

24. Hence it is that they who mean holiness and purity are forced to make to themselves rules and measures by way of idea or instrument, endeavouring to choose that side that is the surest; which indeed is but a guessing at the way we should walk in; and yet by this way also, men do often run into a snare, and lay trouble and intricacy upon their consciences, unnecessary burdens which presently they grow weary of, and in striving to shake them off, they gall the neck, and introduce tediousness of spirit or despair.

25. For we see when religion grows high the dangers do increase, not only by the proper dangers of that state, and the more violent assaults made against saints than against meaner persons of no religious interest; but because it will be impossible for any man to know certainly what intension of spirit is the *minimum religionis*, the necessary condition, under or less than which God will not accept the action: and yet sometimes two duties justle one another, and while we are zealous in one, we less attend the other, and therefore cannot easily be certain of our measures; and because sometimes two duties of a very different matter are to be reconciled and waited upon, who can tell what will be the event of it, since man's nature is so limited and little that it cannot at once attend upon two objects?

26. Is it possible that a man should so attend his prayers, that his mind should be always present and never wander? does not every man complain of this, and yet no man can help it? And if of this alone we had cause to complain, yet even for this we were not innocent in others; and 'he that is an offender in one is guilty of all;' and yet it is true that 'in many things we all offend.' And all this is true when a man is well and when he is wise: but he may be foolish and he will be sick, and there is a new scene of dangers, new

duties, and new infirmities, and new questions, and the old uncertainty of things, and the same certainty of doing our duty weakly, and imperfectly, and pitiably.

> ——— Quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
> Conatus non pœniteat, votique peracti [u]?

27. Since therefore every sin is forbidden, and yet it can enter from so many angles, I may conclude in the words of Sedulius[x], *Lex spiritualis est, quia spiritualia mandat, ardua præcipit opera spiritus, prohibens peccata, et ideo non potest impleri.* God's law is spiritual, and we are carnal and disproportionate to it while we are in the state of conjunction, and therefore it cannot be kept. *Deus jugum legis homini imponit, homo ferre non valet,* said the fathers of the synod of Francfort, 'God hath imposed a yoke, but man cannot bear it.' For that I may sum up all,

28. In affirmative precepts the measure is 'to love God with all our faculties and degrees;' in negative precepts the measure is 'not to lust or desire.' Now if any man can say that he can so love God in the proper and full measures as never to step aside towards the creatures with whom he daily converses, and is of the same kindred with them; and that he can so abstain from the creature as never to covet what he is forbidden: then indeed he justifies God in imposing a possible law, and condemns himself that he does not what he ought. But in all he infers the absolute necessity of repentance.

29. But because we are sure God is just and cannot be otherwise, all the doctors of the church have endeavoured to tie these things together, and reconcile our state of infirmity with the justification of God. Many lay the whole fault upon man, not on the impossible imposition. But that, being the question, cannot be concluded on either hand with a bare affirmative or negative: and besides, it was condemned by the African councils to say that a man might, if he pleased, live without sin.

> Posse hominem sine peccato decurrere vitam
> Si velit, ut potuit nullo delinquere primus
> Libertate sua: nempe hæc damnata fuere
> Conciliis, mundique manu;

said Prosper[y]. For if it were only the fault of men, then a man might if he pleased keep the whole law, and then might be justified by the law, and should not need a Saviour. S. Augustine[z] indeed thought it no great error, and some African bishops did expressly affirm that some from their conversion did to the day of their death live without sin. This was worse than that of Pelagius, save only that these took

[u] [Juv. sat. x. 6.]
[x] In cap. vii. Rom. [ver. 14. p. 457 H.]
[y] Carm. de ingratis, c. 9. [p. 106 A.]
[z] Epist. ad Innocent. [epist. clxxvii. tom. ii. col. 627.]

in the grace of God, which (in that sense which the church teaches) the Pelagians did not. But this also was affirmed by S. Austin[b]; upon which account it must follow that the commandments are therefore possible, because it is only our fault that they are not kept. But how to reconcile this opinion and saying of S. Austin and some other Africans, with the African councils, with S. Hierome, Orosius, Lactantius, and with S. Austin[c] himself, and generally the whole ancient church against the Pelagians, I cannot understand: but it is sufficiently confuted by all the foregoing considerations.

30. S. Hierome says that the observation of the commandments is possible to the whole church, but not to every single person; but then the difficulty remains. For the whole church being a collection of single persons is not the subject of a law: nothing is universal but names and words; a thing cannot be universal, it is a contradiction to say it is. To say the church can keep it, is to say that every man can keep it; to say that every man of the church cannot keep it, is to say that the whole church cannot keep it: as he that says mankind is reasonable, says that every man is; but he that says every man is not just, says that all mankind is not just. But if it contains in it another sense, it is a dangerous affirmative, which I shall represent in his own words[d], *Ita fit ut quod in alio aut primum aut totum est, in alio ex parte versetur, et tamen non sit in crimine qui non habet omnia, nec condemnetur ex eo quod non habet, sed justificetur ex eo quod possidet.* I will not be so severe as S. Austin, who in his nineteenth sermon *De tempore*, calls it blasphemy. It is indeed a hard saying, if he means that a man can be justified by some virtues, though he retains some vices, for 'he that sins in one is guilty of all.' But yet some persons shall be crowned who never converted souls, and some that never redeemed captives, and millions that never sold all and gave to the poor. And there are many graces, of which some lives have no opportunities: the state of marriage hath some graces proper to itself; and the calling of a merchant, and the office of a judge, and the employment of an advocate hath some things of virtue which others do not exercise, and they also have their proper graces; and in this sense it is true what S. Hierome says, that he that hath not all, may be justified by what he hath, and not sentenced for what he hath not, it not being imputed to him that he hath not that of which he hath no use. Now although this be true, yet it is not sufficient to explicate the question: for the commandments are not only impossible in this sense, but even in that where the scene of his duty does lie, and where his graces ought to have been exercised, every man is a sinner, every man hath failed in his proper duty and calling. So that now to say the commandments are possible to the whole

[b] Lib. ii. de pecc. merit. et remiss., c. 6.—Lib. de spir. et lit., c. 1. [tom. x. coll. 43 et 85.]

[c] Serm. xlix. de tempore. [al. clxx. tom. v. col. 822.]

[d] Lib. i. dial. adv. Pelag. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 497.]

church, and not to every single person, is to divide the duty of a Christian, and to give to every one a portion of duty, which must leave in every one a portion of impiety; and to say that this is keeping the commandments, or a sufficient means of justification, is that which S. Austin called blasphemy.

31. But S. Hierome[e] hath another answer: *Hoc et nos dicimus, posse hominem non peccare si velit, pro tempore, pro loco, pro imbecillitate corporea, quamdiu intentus est animus, quamdiu chorda nullo vitio laxatur in cithara;* God hath not imposed an impossible law, for 'there is no commandment but a man that considers, that endeavours, that understands, that watches, that labours, may do in time and place, and so long as he adverts, and is dispassionate, so long as his instrument is in tune.' Which answer is like that saying of the schools, that 'there is no difficulty in things, but every thing is easy to be understood; but that we find difficulty, is because of the weakness of the understanding;' that is, things are easy to be understood if we were wise enough to understand them. But because our understanding is weak, therefore things are hard; for to be intelligible is a relative term; and it is not sense to say that a thing is in itself easy to be understood, but hard to the understanding; for it is as if it were said, It is easy, but that it is hard: and that's the thing which in this question is complained of on all hands. For an oak is easy to be pulled up by the roots, if a man had strength enough to do it; but if this be imposed upon a weak man or a child, they have reason to complain: and a bushel or two of wheat is no great thing to carry, but it is too great for me, I cannot do it. So by this account of S. Hierome the commandments are not impossible, for there is not any one of them but any man can do at some time, while he considers and is in perfect disposition. But then we are to remember, that the commandments are always imposed, and we are not always in that condition of good things, to be wise and watchful, well disposed, and well resolved, standing upon our guard, and doing what we can at other times; and therefore it is that the commandments are impossible. So that still the difficulty remains and the enquiry must go on, how are we to understand the Divine justice in exacting an impossible law; or if He does not exact it, how we understand the way of the Divine wisdom in imposing that law which He cannot justly exact?

32. To the FIRST I answer,

Secondly, how we are to understand the divine justice in exacting a law so impossible.

a. That God doth not exact of us what is not possible to be done. The highest severity of the gospel is to 'love God with all our soul,' that is, to love Him as much as we can love Him; and that is certain we can do. Every man can do as much as he can, and God requires no more: and even those things which we can do, though He calls upon us to do

[e] Dial. extr. adv. Pelag., lib. iii. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 534.]

the most, yet He punishes us not if we do it heartily and sincerely, though with less passion and exactness. Now as God's justice was secured in the imposition of the law of Moses, because whatever severity was held over them to restrain their loosenesses, yet God exacted it only by the measures of a man, and healed all their breaches by the medicine of repentance: so now in the gospel He hath done it much more γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, God hath taken the veil off, and professed it openly, He hath included this mercy in the very constitution of the covenant. For the gospel is the covenant of repentance; we shall not have leave to sin, but we shall have leave to repent if we have sinned: so that God hath imposed a law of perfection, but He exacts it according to the possibilities of imperfect persons, *Omnia mandata Dei*[f] *facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit, ignoscitur*[g], and 'then we have kept the commandments, when we have received our pardon for what we have not kept.'

33. β. As the law of Moses was not of itself impossible absolutely and naturally: so neither are the commandments of the gospel. For if we consider the particulars of Moses' law, they were such a burden which the Jews themselves were loath to part withal, because it was in the moral part of it but a law of abstinence from evil; to which fear and temporal promises was, as they understood it, a sufficient endearment: but that burden which neither 'they nor their fathers were able to bear[h],' was the sting of the law, that it allowed no repentance for great crimes, but the transgressor should 'die without mercy under two or three witnesses[i].' Now then since in the gospel there is no such thing, but there is an allowance of repentance, this must needs be an easy yoke. This only is to be added, that the righteousness of the law was in abstinence from evil; the righteousness of the gospel is in that, and in the doing all the affirmative commandments of Christ. Now this being a new obligation, brought also with it new abilities, I mean the glorious promises of the gospel, which whosoever believes heartily, will find himself able to do or suffer any thing for the enjoying of them: and this is that which is taught us by S. Paul[k]; "For what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending His own Son" made it possible by the Spirit of grace, and by our spiritual conversation.

34. γ. There is a natural possibility, and a moral: there are abilities in every man to do any thing that is there commanded, and he that can do well to-day, may do so to-morrow. In the nature of things this is true: and since every sin is a breach of a law which a man might and ought to have kept, it is naturally certain that whenever

[f] [deest 'Dei.']
[g] S. August., lib. i. retract., c. 19. [§ 3. tom. i. col. 29 F.]
[h] [Acts xv. 10.]
[i] [Heb. x. 28.]
[k] [Rom. viii. 3.]

any man did break the commandment he might have done otherwise. In man therefore, speaking naturally and of the physical possibilities of things, there is by those assistances which are given in the gospel, ability to keep the commandments evangelical. But in the moral sense, that is, when we consider what man is, and what are his strengths, and how many his enemies, and how soon he falls, and that he forgets when he should remember, and his faculties are asleep when they should be awake, and he is hindered by intervening accidents, and weakened and determined by superinduced qualities, habits and necessities, the keeping of the commandments is morally impossible. Now that this may also be taken off, there is an abatement and an allowance made for this also. Our infirmities are pitied, our ignorances excused, our unavoidable errors not imputed. These in the law were imputable, and it was lawful for the avenger of blood to kill a manslayer who sinned against his will, if he could overtake him before he got to sanctuary. These I say in the law were imputable, but they were not imputed; God's mercy took them off privately upon the accounts of His mercy and a general repentance. But in the gospel they are neither imputed, nor imputable: they were paid for beforehand, and put upon the accounts of the cross: 'God winked at the times of your ignorance[l];' and, 'the Lord had pity on me, because I did it in ignorance,' said S. Paul[m], and so Christ[n] prayed, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." "But ye did it ignorantly, as did also your rulers," so S. Peter[o], and upon that account he called them to accept of mercy. And it is certain in reason, that if God forgives those sins of malice of which we repent, infinitely rather will He not impute what we cannot probably or possibly avoid. For to do otherwise were τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ κοινῆς ἀσθενείας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, ἕως ἄν τις ἀναμαρτήτους κολάζῃ, τὸ μέτρον ὑπερβαίνει τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐπανορθώσεως[p], 'it is a severity above the measures of human sufferance and capacity, to be punished for infirmities when they do not sin wilfully; and therefore God, who remembers and pities our infirmities, will never put these into His account, especially the holy Jesus having already paid our symbol.' Upon the account of these particulars it is certain God does not exact of us an impossible commandment; that is, not in the impossible measure: for that is the meaning of those words of S. Basil[q], Ἀσεβὲς οὖν τὸ λέγειν ἀδύνατα εἶναι τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παραγγέλματα, 'it is impious to say the commandments of the spirit,' i. e. of the gospel, 'are impossible,' viz., in that sense in which they are exacted.

[l] [Acts xvii. 30.]
[m] [1 Tim. i. 13.]
[n] [Luke xxiii. 34.]
[o] [Acts iii. 17.]
[p] Apud Diodor. Sicul. [vid. lib. xiii. cap. 20 sqq.—tom. i. p. 577.]
[q] Homil. iii.—Inter. xix. [sc. inter Regg. fus. tract.—tom. ii. pp. 18 A, 362.]

Thirdly, since God exacteth not an impossible law, how does it consist with His wisdom to impose what in justice He does not exact.

35. But now to the SECOND enquiry. Since in justice God exacts not an impossible law, how does it consist with His wisdom to impose what in justice He does not exact? I answer,

First, that it was necessary the law in its latitude and natural extension should be given; for if in the sanction any limits and lessenings had been described, it had been a permission given to us to despise Him in a certain degree, and could in no sense have been proportionable to His infinity. God commands us to 'love Him with all our hearts and all our strengths;' that is, always and with all that we can; if less than this had been imposed, and we commanded to love God but to a less and a certain proportion, besides that it would not have been possible for us to understand when we did what was commanded, it would have been either a direct lessening our opinion of God, by tempting us to suppose no more love was due to Him than such a limited measure, or else a teaching us not to give Him what was His due, either of which must necessarily tend to God's dishonour.

36. Secondly, the commanding us to do all that we can, and that always, though less be exacted, does invite our greatest endeavours; it entertains the faculties and labours of the best, and yet despises not the meanest, for they can endeavour too, and they can do their best: and it serves the end of many graces besides, and the honour of some of the divine attributes.

37. Thirdly, by this means still we are contending and pressing forwards; and no man can say he does now comprehend[r], or that his work is done, till he die; and therefore for ever he must grow in grace, which could not be without the proposing of a commandment the performance of which would for ever sufficiently employ him: for by this means the commandments do every day grow more possible than at first. A lustful person thinks it impossible to mortify his lust; but when he hath long contended and got the mastery, it grows easy, and at last in the progressions of a long piety sin is more impossible than duty is. "He that is born of God sinneth not, neither indeed can he," so S. John[s]: and, "through Christ that strengthens me I can do all things," saith S. Paul[t]. It is long before a man comes to it, but the impossibility by degrees turns into a possibility[u], and that into an easiness, and at last into a necessity. It is a trouble for some to commit a sin. By this also we exercise a holy fear, and 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling[x].' It enlarges our care, and endears our watchfulness and caution. It

[r] [Phil. iii. 13.]
[s] [1 John iii. 9.]
[t] [Phil. iv. 13.]
[u] In epistola ad Innocentium dictum est, multos catholicos viros dixisse posse hominem esse sine peccato per gratiam Dei, non a nativitate sed a conversione. [Aug. epist. clxxvii.—tom. ii. col. 627.]
[x] [Phil. ii. 12.]

cures or prevents our pride and bold challenges of God for rewards which we never can deserve. It convinces us of the necessity of the divine aid, and makes us to rely upon God's goodness in helping us, and His mercy in pardoning us. And truly without this we could neither be so sensible of our infirmities, nor of the excellent gifts and mercies of God: for although God does not make necessities on purpose that He may serve them, or introduce sin that He might pardon it, yet He loves we should depend upon Him, and by these rare arts of the divine economy make us to strive to be like Him, and in the midst of our finite abilities have infinite desires, that even so we may be disposed towards the holiness and glories of eternity.

38. Fourthly, although God exacts not an impossible law under eternal and insufferable pains, yet He imposes great holiness in unlimited and indefinite measures, with a design to give excellent proportions of reward answerable to the greatness of our endeavour. Hell is not the end of them that fail in the greatest measures of perfection; but great degrees of heaven shall be their portion who do all that they can always, and offend in the fewest instances. For as our duty is not limited, so neither are the degrees of glory: and if there were not this latitude of duty, neither could there be any difference in glory; neither could it be possible for all men to hope for heaven, but now all may: the meanest of God's servants shall go thither, and yet there are greater measures for the best and most excellent services.

39. Thus we may understand that the imposing of the divine laws in all the periods of the world was highly consistent with the divine justice, and an excellent, infinite wisdom, and yet in the exacting them mercy prevailed; because the covenant of works or of exact obedience was never the rule of life and death since the Saviour of the world was promised, that is, since the fall of Adam, but all mankind was admitted to repentance, and washed clean in the blood of the "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world[y]," and "was slain from the beginning" of it[z]. Repentance was the measure of our duty, and the remedy for our evils; and the commandments were not impossible to him that might amend what was done amiss.

§ 3. How repentance and the precept of perfection evangelical can stand together.

40. THAT the gospel is a covenant of repentance, is evident in the whole design and nature of the thing, in the preparatory sermons made by the Baptist, by the apostles of our Lord, by the seventy-two disciples, and the exhortations made by S. Peter at the first opening the commission and the secret of the religion. Which doctrine of repentance, lest it should be thought to be a permission to sin, a leave to need the remedy, is charged with an addition of a strict and severe holiness, the 'precept of per-

[y] [John i. 29.]

[z] [Rev. xiii. 8.]

fection.' It therefore must be such a repentance as includes in it perfection, and yet the perfection is such as needs repentance: how these two are to stand together is the subject of the present enquiry. "Be ye therefore perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect[a]," that's the charge. To be perfect as God, and yet to repent as a man, seem contrary to each other. They seem only; for,

41. *α.* It does not signify perfection of degrees in the natural sense of the word. For as Philo[b] said well, Ἀψευδῶς αἱ τελείοτητες καὶ ἀκρότητες ἑνός εἰσι μόνου, 'perfections and the heights of excellencies are only proper to One.' Σοφὸς ὁ θεὸς μόνος καὶ τέλειος μόνος, said Clemens of Alexandria[c], 'God alone is wise, He alone is perfect.' All that we do is but little, and that little is imperfect, and that imperfection is such as could be condemned, if God did not use gentleness and mercy towards us. But,

42. *β.* Although perfection of degrees cannot be understood to be our duty in the periods and spaces of this life, because we are here in the state of labour and contention, of pilgrimage and progression: yet even in this life we are to labour towards it, and "Be ye perfect," viz., with the highest degrees of holiness, is to be understood in a current and transient sense. For this precept thus understood, hath its obligation upon our endeavour only, and not upon the event. When a general commands his army to destroy the enemy, he binds them only to a prudent, a possible and vigorous endeavour to do it, and cannot intend the effect, but by several parts answerable to the steps of the progression. So is that in the psalms[d], "Be learned, ye that are princes of the world," that is, learn, and so by industry and attention arrive at knowledge. For although every man be a sinner, yet he that does not endeavour to avoid all sin, is not only guilty of the sin he commits; but the negligence also, which is the parent of the sin, is another sin, and directly criminal. So it is in the degrees of perfection; what we cannot attain to, we must at least desire. In this world we cannot arrive thither, but in this life we must always be going thither. It is *status viæ*, grace is the way to glory. And as he that commands us to enter into a city from which we are hugely distant, means we should pass through[e] all the ways that lead thither: so it is here. The precept must be given here, and begun, and set forward, and it will be finished hereafter. But as a man may be an adulterer, or a thief, with his heart and his eye[f], as well as with his hand; so it is also in good things: a man's heart and eye may be in heaven, that is, in the state of perfection, long before he sets his feet upon the golden threshold. His desires are first crowned and sainted, and then the work shall be made perfect.

[a] [Matt. v. 48.]

[b] [In libro, 'Quis rerum divinarum hæres,' tom. iv. p. 54.]

[c] [vid. Pædag., lib. i. p. 108.]

[d] Psal. ii. [ver. 10. הַוַּסְרוּ, παιδεύθητε, LXX; 'erudimini,' ed. vulg.]

[e] ['thorough' A.]

[f] [Cf. vol. iii. p. 60.]

43. γ. There is another sort of perfection which may not be improperly meant in this charge of duty, and that is, a 'perfection of state.' "Be ye perfect," that is, be ye holy; for τελετεύω is *sanctifico*, and τελετὴ is *festum*, or 'a holy day,' a day that hath the perfection added to it of which a day is capable, a day sanctified to the Lord. For τελειοῦν is the same with ἁγιάζειν, to 'sanctify' is to 'make perfect.' *Nihil enim sanctificavit lex*, so the Latin reads the words of S. Paul[g], but in the Greek it is ἐτελείωσεν, the law made that perfect which it did sanctify. So that, "Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect," is, be ye holy like Him, or in imitation of Him. And thus the word is expounded in Plato[h], Τέλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸ ὁμοιωθῆναι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὁμοίωσιν δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι, 'that's the perfection of good, to be like God; but to be like Him is to be just, and holy and prudent;' that's κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, 'as much as we can,' that is, with a hearty, righteous, sincere endeavour. For so ὅσιος or 'holy' is used: it signifies sincere, true, without error. Οὐχ ὅσιόν ἐστι τὰ μεγάλα σοφὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τὰ μικρὰ μὴ δυνάμενον, so Damascius in Suidas[i], 'it is not likely or true that he that is not wise in little things should be wise in great things.' But to live 'holily' in the christian sense, is to live in faith and good works; that's christian perfection. Ὁ τῷ θεῷ διὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθουργίας οἰκειωθεὶς, ὅσιος καὶ δίκαιος εἰκότως ὀνομάζεται[k], 'he is good and holy, who by faith and good works is like unto God.' For this perfection or ὁσιότης, 'holiness,' is nothing else but a pursuance of that which is just and good; for so said Moses[l], concerning the man that forsook God and denied that he had made a covenant with him, "Do not say in thine heart, Ὁσιά μοι γένοιτο ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, let it be lawful or holy, or permitted to me to depart from the Lord." To this sense was that of Justin Martyr, who expounds this phrase of "Be ye perfect," by *christianum fieri*; 'Be perfect,' that is, 'Be Christians,' be Christ's disciples; for He who came ἀναπληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον, 'to fulfil, to consummate obedience, to perfect the law,' to obey Him, and be disciples of His institution, is our perfection and consummation.

44. δ. This 'perfection of state,' although it does not suppose a perfection of degrees, yet it can be no less than 1) a perfection of parts. It must be a religion that is not mingled with interest, piety to God that is not spoiled with cruelty to our neighbours, a zeal that hath in it no uncharitableness or spite; that is, our religion must be entire, and not defective in any constituent part. So S. James[m] uses the word τέλειοι for ὁλόκληροι, 'perfect and entire, wanting nothing.' 2) To which add this also, that to this 'perfection of state' perseverance is of necessity to be added. For so we are taught[m]

[g] [Heb. vii. 19.]
[h] [vid. Theæt., § 84. tom. iii. p. 480.]
[i] [In voc. Ὅσιον.]
[k] [Suidas, ibid.]
[l] [Apud Suidam, in voc. Ὁσιότης. Verba habentur (sed paulo aliter) Deut. xxix. 19, LXX.]
[m] [Jam. i. 4.]

by the same apostle, 'Let patience have her perfect work,' that is, let it bear you through all your trials, lasting till all your sufferings are over; for he that endures to the end shall be crowned, because he only is perfect; our holiness must persevere to the end. But 3) it must also be growing all the way. For this word 'perfect' is sometimes in scripture used for degrees, and as a distinction between Christians in the measures of duty. S. Paul uses it to signify 'well grown Christians,' or men in christianity, Στῆτε τέλειοι καὶ πεπληρωμένοι ἐν παντὶ θελήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ[n], 'stand perfectly and full, or confidently[o] fulfilling all the will of God:' for therefore 'we preach Christ, and exhort every man, and teach every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, perfect in Christ Jesus[p];' 'that is, that they should not always be as babes, for whom milk and weak nutriment is to be provided; nor like those "silly women, always learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth[q];" but it is commanded us to be wise and perfect, to be men in Christ; so S. Paul[r] makes the antithesis, 'Be ye babes in malice, but in your minds τέλειοι γίνεσθε, be perfect,' that is, 'be men,' wise and confident, and strong, and well grown. 'Perfectly instructed,' that is, 'readily prepared to every good work[s];' not always employed in the elements and infant propositions and practices of religion, but doing noble actions, well skilled in the deepest mysteries of faith and holiness. This is agreeable to that expression of S. Paul[t], who having laid the foundation of christianity by describing the fundamentals, intending to speak of the more mysterious points of the religion, calls it a 'going on to perfection.' So that by this 'precept of perfection' it is intended we should do more than the lowest measure of our duties, and there is no limit, but even the utmost of our power; all that we can is the measure of our duty: I do not say, all that we can naturally or possibly, but all that we can morally and probably, according to the measures of a man, and rate of our hindrances and infirmities.

45. ϵ. But the last sort and sense of perfection is that which our blessed Saviour intended particularly in the instance and subject matter of this precept, and that is, a perfection in the kind of action, that is, a choice and prosecution of the most noble and excellent things in the whole religion. Three are especially instanced in the holy gospel.—The first is, a being ready, or a making ourselves ready to suffer persecution, prescribed by our blessed Saviour[u] to the rich young man, 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell all and give to the poor,' that is, If thou wilt be My disciple, make thyself ready, 'and come and follow Me.' For it was at that time necessary to all that would follow Christ's person and fortune, to quit all they had above

[n] [Col. iv. 12.]
[o] ['Stand . . . confidently,' sic edd.]
[p] [Col. i. 28.]
[q] [2 Tim. iii. 6 sq.]
[r] [1 Cor. xiv. 20.]
[s] [2 Tim. iii. 17.]
[t] [Heb. vi. 1.]
[u] [Matt. xix. 21.]

their needs. For they that followed Him, were sure of a cross; and therefore to invite them to be disciples, was to engage them to the suffering persecution; and this was that which our blessed Saviour calls 'perfection.'

——— Dulce periculum est,
O Lenæe, sequi deum
Cingentem viridi tempora pampino [x];

it is an easy thing to follow God in festivals and days of eucharist; but to serve Him in hard battles, to die for Him, is the perfection of love, of faith and obedience. 'Obedient unto death[y],' was the character of His own perfection; for 'greater love than this hath no man, than to lay down his life[z].' *Scis quem dicam bonum, perfectum, absolutum? Quem malum facere nulla vis, nulla necessitas potest*[a], 'he is good, absolute and perfect, whom no force, no necessity can make evil.'—The second instance is being merciful; for S. Luke[b] recording this precept expounds it by ἐλέημονες, 'Be ye perfect,' that is, 'Be ye merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful;' for by mercy only we can be like Him. Ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὅσα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεομένοις χορηγῶν, θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς τοῦ θεοῦ[c], 'he that bears his neighbour's burden, and is willing to do benefit to his inferiors, and to minister to the needy of the good things which God hath given him, he is as God to them that receive, he is an imitator of God himself.' And Justin Martyr[d] reciting this precept of our blessed Saviour, instead of τέλειοι uses the word χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, 'Be ye good and bountiful as your heavenly Father is.' And to this purpose the story of Jesus and the young man before mentioned is interpolated in the gospel according to the Hebrews or the Nazarenes[e], "The Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have kept the law and the prophets, when it is written in the law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, and behold many of thy brethren the sons of Abraham are covered in filth, and die with hunger, and thy house is full of good things, and nothing goes forth to them from thence? If therefore thou wilt be perfect, sell all and give to the poor." Charity, which is the fulfilling the commandment, is also the perfection of a Christian; and that a giving of alms should be 'perfection,' is not disagreeing with the design of the word itself; τελεῖν γὰρ δαπανᾶν, say the grammarians[f]; it signifies 'to

[x] [Hor. od. iii. 25. lin. 18.]
[y] [Phil. ii. 8.]
[z] [John xv. 13.]
[a] Seneca [ep. xxxiv. tom. ii. p. 127.]
[b] [Luke vi. 36.]
[c] Script. ad Diogn. [Just. Mart., p. 239.]
[d] [Dial. cum Tryph. Jud., § 96. p. 193. A.]
[e] [Origen. in Matth., tom. xv. § 14.—The passage is not found in the Greek copies of Origen, and Huet rejects it, but Fabricius thinks it genuine.]
[f] [Athen.—Vid. Stephani lexicon in τελέω, εὐτελὴς, et πολυτελὴς.]

spend,' and πολυτελὴς is 'a great spender,' or a bountiful person.—The third is the very particular to which our blessed Master did especially relate in the words of the sanction or institution: and we are taught it by the particle οὖν or 'therefore.' For when the holy Jesus had described that glory of christianity that we should 'love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them which despitefully use us and persecute us;' He propounds the example of our 'heavenly Father; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good.' But the publicans love their friends, and salute their brethren: but more is expected of us; 'Be ye therefore perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect;' that is, do more than the publicans, do as your Father does, be perfect as He is, that is, 'love your enemies.'

46. ζ. Now concerning this sense of the precept of perfection, which is the choice and pursuance of the noblest actions of religion, we must observe that they are therefore 'perfection,' because they suppose a man to have passed through the first and beginning graces, to have arrived at these excellencies of piety and duty. For as no man can on a sudden become the worst man in the world, his soul must by degrees be unstript of holiness, and then of modesty, and then of all care of reputation, and then of disuse, and by these measures he will proceed to the consummation of the method of hell and darkness: so can no man on a sudden come to the right use of these graces. Not every man that dies in a good cause shall have the reward of martyrdom; but he that having lived well, seals that doctrine with dying, which before he adorned with living. And therefore it does infinitely concern all them that suffer in a good cause, to take care that they be not prodigal of their sufferings, and throw them away upon vice. Peevishness or pride, lust or intemperance, can never be consecrated by dying or by alms. But he that after a 'patient continuance in well doing,' adds charity or martyrdom to the collective body of his other graces, he hath made them perfect with this kind of perfection. Martyrdom can supply the place of actual baptisms, but not of repentance: because without our fault it may so happen that the first cannot be had; but without our fault the second is never left undone.

47. Thus perfection and repentance may stand together. Perfection does not suppose the highest intentions[s] of degrees in every one, but in all according to their measures of grace and time. Evangelical perfection is such as supposes a beginning, an infant grace, progression and variety, watchfulness and fear, trembling fear. And there are many graces required of us, whose material and formal part is repentance: such as are mortification, penitential sorrow, spiritual mourning, patience, some parts of humility, all the parts

[s] [It not being clear in every case whether Taylor distinguishes between 'intention' and 'intension,' the editor preserves in each case the original spelling.]

and actions of humiliation; and since in these also perfection is as great a duty as in any thing else, it is certain that the perfection of a Christian is not the supreme degree of action or intention.

48. But yet perfection[h] cannot be less than an 'entire' piety, a holiness 'perfect' in its parts, 'wanting nothing' material, allowing no vicious habit, permitting no vile action, but contending towards the greatest excellency, a charitable heart, a ready hand, a confident religion, willing to die when we are called to die, patient, constant and persevering, endeavouring κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, according to the measures of a man, to be pure and pleasing to God in Jesus Christ. This is the sum of all those several senses of perfection which are prescribed in the several uses of the word in holy scripture. For though God through Jesus Christ is pleased to abate for our unavoidable infirmities, that is, for our nature, yet He will not abate or give allowance to our superinduced evil customs; and the reason is plain for both, because the one can be helped and the other cannot; and therefore as to allow that is to be a patron of impiety, so not to allow for this, is to demand what cannot be done: that is against the holiness, this against the goodness of God.

49. 'There is not a man upon earth that sinneth not,' said Solomon[i]; and 'the righteous shall be punished,' said David[j]; and he found it so by a sad experience: for he, though affirmed to be 'blameless save in the matter of Uriah[k],' and 'a man after God's own heart,' yet complains 'that his sins are innumerable, more than the hairs upon his head[l].' But though no man can live without error or mistake, the effects of weakness and ignorance, inadvertency and surprise, yet being helped by God's grace, we can and must live without great sins, such which no man admits but with deliberation.

50. For it is one thing to keep the commandments in a sense of favour and equity, and another thing to be without sin. To keep the commandments κατ' ἀκρίβειαν or 'exactly,' is to be without sin; because the commandment forbids every sin, and sin is a transgression of the commandment: but as in this sense no man can keep the commandments, so in no sense can he say that he hath not sinned. But we can by the help of God's grace keep the commandments acceptably through Jesus Christ, but we cannot keep them so as to be without sin. Which S. Gregory[m] thus expresses, *Multi sine crimine, nullus vero esse sine peccatis valet,* 'many live without crimes, none without offence.' And it is now as it was under the law, many were then righteous and blameless; David, Josiah, Joshua, Caleb, Zachary, and Elizabeth, Saul before his conversion according to the accounts of the law; and so are many now, according to the

[h] [James i. 4.]
[i] [1 Kings viii. 46.]
[j] [Psal. xxvii. 29. vet. edit.]
[k] [1 Kings xv. 5.]
[l] [Ps. xl. 12.]
[m] [In 1 Reg., lib. v. cap. 4, et Concordia, interrog. x.—tom. iii. part. 2, coll. 321 E, et 566 C.]

holy and merciful measures of the gospel, not by the force of nature but by the helps of grace, not always but at some time, not absolutely but in a limited measure; that is, not innocent but penitent, not perfect absolutely but excellently contending, and perfect in their desires, not at their journey's end but on their way thither; free from great sins, but speckled with lesser spots, ever striving against sin, though sometimes failing. This is the 'precept of perfection,' as it can consist with the measures and infirmities of a man.

51. We must turn from all our evil ways, leaving no sin unmortified; that's one measure of perfection, it is a perfect conversion. We must have charity; that's another perfection, it is a perfect grace. We must be ready to part with all for a good conscience, and to die for Christ; that's perfect obedience, and the most perfect love. We must conform to the divine will in doing and suffering; that's perfect patience. We must live 'in all holy conversation and godliness;' that's a perfect state. We must ever be going forward and growing in godliness, that so we may be perfect men in Christ. And we must persevere unto the end; that's perfection, and the crown of all the rest. If any thing less than this were intended, it cannot be told how the gospel should be a holy institution, or that God should require of us to live a holy life; but if any thing more than this were intended, it is impossible but all mankind should perish.

52. To the same sense are we to understand those other severe precepts of scripture of 'being pure, unblamable, without spot or wrinkle, without fault,' that is, that we be honest and sincere, free from hypocrisy, just in our purposes and actions, without partiality and unhandsome mixtures. S. Paul[n] makes them to expound each other, ἀπρόσκοποι and εἰλικρινεῖς, sincere, that is, without fault, pure and clear in conscience.

53. Like to this is that of *tòto corde*, loving and serving God 'with all our heart' and with all our strength. That this is possible, is folly to deny. For he that saith he cannot do a thing with all his strength, that is, that he cannot do what he can do, knows not what he says: and yet to do this is the highest measure and sublimity of christian perfection and of keeping the commandments. But it signifies two things. First, ἀνυποκρίτως, 'without hypocrisy,' sincerely and heartily, opposite to that of *corde et corde* in the psalmist[o]; *corde et corde loquuti sunt*, 'they spake with a double heart:' but 'the men of Zebulon[p] went out to battle *absque corde et corde*, they 'were not of a double heart,' so S. Hierome[q] renders it, but heartily or with a whole heart they did their business. Secondly, it signifies diligence and labour, earnestness and caution;

—Totus in hoc sum,

[n] [Phil. i. 10.]
[o] [Psalm xii. 2.]
[p] [1 Chron. xii. 33.]
[q] [tom. i. col. 1042 E.]

so the Latins use to speak, 'I am earnest and hearty in this affair, I am wholly taken up with it.'

54. Thus is the whole design of the gospel rarely abbreviated in these two words of perfection and repentance. "God hath sent Jesus to bless you, ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον, whilst, or so that, every one of you turn[q] from your iniquities[r]." He blesses us, and we must do our duty; He pardons us, and we obey Him; He turns us, and we are turned. And when S. Peter[s] had represented the terrors of the day of judgment, he infers, "What manner of persons ought we to be ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναστροφαῖς καὶ εὐσεβείαις, in holy living and holy worshippings?" This he calls[t] "a giving diligence to be found ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι, without spot, and unblamable;" that's christian perfection: and yet this very thing is no other than what he calls a little before[u], εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι, 'a coming to repentance.' Living 'in holy conversation and piety,' in the faith of Christ, is the extent and burden of repentance, and it is the limit and declaration of the 'spotless and unblamable;' this is no more, and that is no less.

55. Upon this account the commandments are not only possible but easy, necessary to be observed, and will be exacted at our hands as they are imposed. That is, first, that we abstain from all deliberate acts of sin; secondly, that we never contract any vicious habit; thirdly, that if we have we quite rescind and cut them off, and make amends for what is past; fourthly, that our love to God be entire, hearty, obedient, and undivided; fifthly, that we do our best to understand God's will and obey it, allowing to ourselves deliberately or by observation not the smallest action that we believe to be a sin. Now that God requires no more, and that we can do thus much, and that good men from their conversion do thus much, though in differing degrees, is evident upon plain experience and the foregoing considerations.—I conclude with the words of the Arausican council[v], *Omnes baptizati Christo auxiliante et cooperante quæ ad salutem animæ pertinent possunt et debent, si fideliter laborare voluerint, adimplere,* 'all baptized Christians may by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, if they will faithfully labour, perform and fulfil all things that belong to their salvation.'

56. The sum of all is this: the state of regeneration is perfection all the way, even when it is imperfect in its degrees. The whole state of a Christian's life is a state of perfection: sincerity is the formality or the soul of it; a hearty constant endeavour is the body or material part of it; and the mercies of God accepting it in Christ, and assisting and promoting it by His spirit of grace, is the third part of its constitution, it is the spirit. This perfection is the perfec-

[q] [sic ed. vulg., 'Ut convertat se unusquisque.']
[r] [Acts iii. 26.]
[s] [2 Pet. iii. 11.]
[t] [ver. 14.]
[u] [ver. 9.]
[v] [Concil. Araus. ii. A.D. DXXIX. can. 25.—tom. ii. col. 1101.]

tion of men, not of angels; and it is as in the perfection of glory, where all are perfect, yet all are not equal. Every regenerate man hath that perfection without which he cannot be accepted, but some have this perfection more, some less. It is the perfection of state, but the perfection of degrees is not yet. Here men are διὰ τὸν πατρικὸν νοῦν τελειούμενοι, 'made perfect according to the measure of their fathers' (as Porphyry expressed it) that is, by the measures of mortality, or as it pleases God to enable and accept them.

§ 4. The former doctrine reduced to practice.

1. THE 'law' is either taken for the law of Moses or the law of works. The law of works is that empire and dominion which God exercised over man, using His utmost right, and obliging man to the rigorous observation of all that law He should impose upon him. And in this sense it was a law of death, not of life, for no man could keep it, and they that did not might not live. This was imposed on Adam only.

2. But when God brought Israel out of Egypt, He began to make a covenant with them, with some compliance to their infirmities: for because little things could not be avoided, sacrifices were appointed for their expiation; which was a mercy as the other was a misery, a repentance as the sin. But for great sins there was no sacrifice appointed, no repentance ministered; and therefore still we were in the ministration of death; for this mercy was not sufficient, as yet it was not possible for a man to be justified by the law. It threatened sinners with death, it inflicted death, it did not promise eternal life, it ministered no grace, but fear and temporal hope: it was written in tables of stone, not in their hearts; that is, the material parts of the law of Moses were not consonant to natural and essential reason, but arbitrary impositions; they were not perfective of a man, but very often destructive. This was a little alteration or ease of the covenant of works, but not enough.

The new and old covenant, as they are expressed in the words of scripture.

3. From this state of evil things we were freed by Christ; the law was called 'the letter,' 'the ministration of death,' 'the ministration of condemnation,' 'the old testament;' apt to amaze and confound a sinner, but did not give him any hopes of remission, no glimpse of heaven, no ministry of pardon: but the gospel is called, 'the spirit,' or 'the ministration of the Spirit,' 'the law of faith,' 'the law of liberty;' it ministers repentance, it enjoins holiness, it gives life, and we all have hopes of being saved.

4. This which is the state of things in which the whole world is represented in their several periods, is by some made to be the state of every returning sinner; and men are taught that they must pass through the terrors of the law before they can receive the mercies of the gospel. The law was a schoolmaster to bring the synagogue to Christ; it was so to them who were under the law, but it cannot be

so to us, who 'are not under the law but under grace.' For if they mean the law of works, or that imposition [w] which was the first entercourse with man, they lose their title to the mercies of the gospel; if they mean the law of Moses, then they do not 'stand fast in the 'liberty by which Christ hath made them free [x].' But whatsoever the meaning be, neither of them can concern Christians: for God hath sent His Son to establish a better covenant in His blood, to preach repentance, to offer pardon, to condemn sin in the flesh, to publish the righteousness of God, to convince the world of sin by His holy Spirit, to threaten damnation not to sinners absolutely, but absolutely to the impenitent, and to promise and give salvation to His sons and servants.

5. *a.* The use that we Christians are to make of the law, is only to magnify the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, who hath freed us from so severe a covenant, who does not judge us by the measures of an angel, but by the span of a man's hand. But we are not to subject ourselves so much as by fiction of law or fancy to the curse and threatenings of the covenant of works, or of Moses' law, though it was of more instances and less severity, by reason of the allowance of sacrifices for expiation.

6. *β.* Every christian man sinning, is to consider the horrible threatenings of the gospel, the severe intermination of eternal pains, the goodness of God leading to repentance, the severity of His justice in exacting great punishments of criminals, the reasonableness of this justice punishing such persons intolerably, who would not use so great a grace in so pleasing a service, for the purchase of so glorious a reward. The terrors of the law did end in temporal death, they could affright no further; but in the gospel heaven and hell were opened, and laid before all mankind: and therefore by these measures a sinner is to enter into the sorrows of contrition and the care of his amendment. And it is so vain a thing to think every sinner must in his repentance pass under the terrors of the law, that this is a very destruction of that reason for which they are fallen upon the opinion. The law is not enough to affright sinners, and the terrors of the gospel are far more to persevering and impenitent sinners, than the terrors of the law were to the breakers of it. The cause of the mistake is this: the law was more terrible than the gospel is, because it allowed no mercy to the sinner in great instances; but the gospel does. But then if we compare the state of those men who fell under the evils of the law, with these who fall under the evils threatened in the gospel, we shall find these to be in a worse condition than those by far, as much as hell is worse than being stoned to death, or thrust through with a sword. This we are taught by that excellent author of the divine epistle to the Hebrews [y], "He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer

[w] ['interposition' B.] [x] [Gal. v. 1.] [y] [Heb. x. 28 sq.]

punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the spirit of grace?" So that under the gospel he that sins and repents is in a far better condition than he that sinned under the law, and repented; for repentance was not then allowed of, the man was to die without mercy. But he that sins and repents not, is under the gospel in a far worse condition than under the law; for under the gospel he shall have a far sorer punishment than under the law was threatened. Therefore let no man mistake the mercies of the new covenant, or turn the grace of God into wantonness. The mercies of the gospel neither allow us to sin, nor inflict an easier punishment; but they oblige us to more holiness, under a greater penalty. In pursuance of which, I add,

7. γ. The covenant by which mankind must now be judged is a covenant of more mercy, but also of more holiness; and therefore let no man think that now he is disobliged from doing good works by being admitted to the covenant of faith: for though the covenants are opposed as old and new, as a worse and a better, yet faith and works are not opposed. We are in the gospel tied to more and to more excellent works than ever the subjects of any law were; but if after a hearty endeavour we fall into infirmity, and still strive against it, we are pitied here, but there we were not. Under the first covenant, the covenant of works, no endeavour was sufficient, because there was no allowance made for infirmities, no abatements for ignorance, no deductions of exact measures, no consideration of surprises, passions, folly, and inadvertency; but under the new covenant our hearty endeavour is accepted; but we are tied to endeavour higher and more excellent things than they. But he that thinks this mercy gives him liberty to do what he please, loses the mercy, and mistakes the whole design and economy of God's loving kindness.

8. δ. To every Christian it is enjoined that they be perfect; that is, according to the measure of every one. Which perfection consists in doing our endeavour: he that does not do that, must never hope to be accepted, because he refuses to serve God by something that is in his power; but he that does that, is sure that God will not refuse it, because we cannot be dealt withal upon any other account but by the measures of what is in our power; and for what is not, we cannot take care.

9. ε. To do our endeavour, or our best, is not to be understood equally in all the periods of our life, according to the work or effect itself, nor according to our natural powers, but it is accounted for by the general measures and great periods of our life. A man cannot pray always with equal intention, nor give the same alms, nor equally mourn with sharpness for his sins. But God having appointed for every duty proper seasons and solennities, hath declared that he does his best who heartily endeavours to do the duty in its proper season.

But it were well we would remember that he that did a good act to-day can do the same to-morrow in the same circumstances; and he that yesterday fought a noble battle and resisted valiantly, can upon the same terms contend as manfully every day, if he will consider and watch. And though it will never be that men will always do as well as at some times, yet when at any time they commit a sin, it is not because they could not, but because they would not help it.

10. ζ. He that would be approved in doing his best, must omit no opportunity of doing a good action; because when it is placed in its proper circumstances, God lays His hand upon it, and calls to have it done, and there can be no excuse for the omission. He does not do his best that does not do that, because such a person does voluntarily omit the doing of a good, without just cause; and that cannot proceed from an innocent principle.

11. η. He that leaves any thing undone which he is commanded to do, or does what he is commanded to forbear, and considers or chooses so to do, does not do his best, cannot plead his privilege in the gospel, but is fallen under the portion of sinners, and will die, if he does not repent and make it up some way or other by sorrow, and a future diligence.

12. θ. To sin against our conscience can at no hand consist with the duty of christian perfection; because he loves not God with all his heart, nor serves Him with all his strength, who gives some of his strength and some of his affection to that which God forbids.

13. ι. No man must account that he does his duty, that is, his best, or according to the perfection required of Christians, but he that does better and better, and grows toward the measures of the fulness of Christ. For 'perfection' is an infinite word; and it could not be communicated to several persons of different capacities and degrees, but that there is something common to them all which hath analogy and equivalent proportions. Now nothing can be perfect, but that to which nothing is wanting; and therefore a man is not any way perfect but by doing all, all that he can; for then nothing is wanting to him, when he hath put forth all his strength. For perfection is not to be accounted by comparing the subjects which are perfect, for in that sense nothing is perfect but God; but perfection is to be reckoned by every man's own proportions: for a body may be a perfect body, though it have not the perfection of a soul; and a man is perfect when he is heartily and entirely God's servant, though he have not the perfection of S. Paul; as a man is a meek man, though he be not so meek as Moses or Christ. But he is not meek if he keeps any fierceness or violence within. But then because to be more perfect is incident with human nature, he that does not endeavour to get as much as he can, and more than he hath, he hath not the perfection of holy desires. Therefore

14. κ. Every person that is in the state of grace, and designs to do his duty, must think of what is before him, not what is past;

of the stages that are not yet run, not of those little portions of his course he hath already finished;

> Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
> Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
> Præteritum temnens extremos inter euntem [z].

For so did the contenders in the Olympic races, never look behind but contend forwards. And from hence S. Paul[a] gives the rule I have now described, "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling: let therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded." That is, no man can do the duty of a Christian, no man can in any sense be perfect, but he that adds virtue to virtue, and one degree of grace unto another.

> Nilque putans actum, dum quid superesset agendum [b],

'nothing is finished, as long as any thing is undone.' For our perfection is always growing; it stands not till it arrive at the τελείωσις ἀθλήτου, the crowning of him that runs. For the enforcing of which the more, I only use S. Chrysostom's[c] argument, Εἰ δὲ ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν, εἰ δὲ, ὁ διωκόμενος, εἰ δὲ ὁ τὴν νέκρωσιν ἔχων, οὔπω ἐθάρρει περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐκείνης, τί ἂν εἴπωμεν ἡμεῖς; 'if S. Paul who had done so much and suffered so much, was not very confident but that if he did look back he might also fall back; what shall we say,' whose perfection is so little, so infant and imperfect, that we are come forwards but a little, and have great spaces still to measure?

15. λ. Let every man that is or desires to be perfect, endeavour to make up the imperfection or meanness of his services by a great, a prompt, an obedient, a loving and a friendly mind. For in the parable[d] our blessed Lord hath taught us that the servant who was bidden to plough the field or feed the cattle, is still called an unprofitable servant, because he hath done only what was commanded him; that is, they had done the work *utcunque*, some way or other; the thing was finished, though with a servile spirit; for ποιεῖν properly signifies to do the outward work; and the works of the law are those which consisted in outward obedience, and by which a man could not be justified. But our blessed Saviour teaching us the righteousness of the kingdom, hath also brought the word ποιεῖν to signify the internal also; a mixture of faith and operation. For to the Jews[e] enquiring, 'What shall we do to work the works of God?' Jesus answers, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα πιστεύσητε, κ. τ. λ., 'this is the work of God, that ye believe in Him whom

[z] Hor. serm., l. i. sat. 1. [lin. 114.]
[a] [Phil. iii. 13 sq.]
[b] ['Nil actum credens, cum' &c.—Lucan. ii. 657.]
[c] [vid. in Phil. iii. hom. xi. sq.—tom. xi. p. 288 A, 291 A, C.]
[d] [Luke xvii. 7.]
[e] [John vi. 28, 9.]

He hath sent:' and since this 'to do' in the christian sense is to do *bona bene*, 'good works with a good mind.' For since the works are not only in themselves inconsiderable, but we also do them most imperfectly and with often failings, a good mind and the spirit of a friend or a son will not only heighten the excellency of the work, but make amends for the defect too. The 'doing what we are commanded,' that is in the usual sense of 'doing,' still leaves us 'unprofitable;' for we are servants of God, He hath a perfect and supreme right over us, and when this is done, still can demand more, when we have 'ploughed,' He will call upon us to 'wait at supper;' and for all this we are to expect only impunity and our daily provisions. And upon this account, if we should have performed the covenant of works, we could not have been justified. But then, there is a sort of working, and there are some such servants which our Lord uses *magis ex æquo et bono quam ex imperio*, 'with the usages of sons, not of slaves or servants;' 'He will gird Himself and serve them[e],' He will 'call them friends and not servants[f];' these are such as serve *animo liberali*, such which Seneca calls *humiles amicos*, 'humble friends,' serving as S. Paul expresses it, ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας, 'in the simplicity of their heart;' not ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, 'with eye-service,' but honestly, heartily, zealously, and affectionately, ἑκουσίως, προθύμως, οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, so S. Peter[g], 'freely, readily, not grudgingly, or of necessity.'

16. μ. The proper effect of this is, that all the perfect do their services so, that their work should fail rather than their minds, that they do more than is commanded. *Exiguum est ad legem bonum esse*[h]; to be good according to the rigour of the law, to do what we are forced to, to do all that is lawful to do, and to go toward evil or danger as far as we can, these are no good signs of a filial spirit, this is not christian perfection. Τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἐπίταγμα, that slaves consider; 'this is commanded,' and must be done under horrible pains; and such are the negative precepts of the law, and the proper duties of every man's calling: τὸ δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως κατόρθωμα, 'this is an act of piety of mine own choosing,' a righteousness that I delight in; that is the voice of sons and good servants, and that's rewardable with a mighty grace. And of this nature are the affirmative precepts of the gospel, which being propounded in general terms, and with indefinite proportions, for the measures are left under our liberty and choice, to signify our great love to God. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐντολὴν γίνεται, πολὺν ἔχει τὸν μισθὸν κατὰ τοῦτο, said S. Chrysostom, 'whatsoever is over and above the commandments, that shall have a great reward.' God forbids unmercifulness: he that is not unmerciful keeps the commandment; but he that besides his abstinence from unmercifulness according to the commandment, shall open his hand and his heart, and give plentifully to

[e] [Luke xii. 37.]
[f] [John xv. 15.]
[g] [1 Pet. v. 2.]
[h] [Sen.—Grot. in Matth. v. 17.]

the poor, this man shall have a reward; he is amongst those servants whom 'his Lord will make to sit down, and Himself will serve him.' When God in the commandment forbids uncleanness and fornication; he that is not unchaste, and does not pollute himself, keeps the commandment. But if to preserve his chastity he uses fasting and prayer, if he mortifies his body, if he denies himself the pleasures of the world, if he uses the easiest or the harder remedies, according to the proportion of his love and industry, especially if it be prudent, so shall his greater reward be. If a man out of fear of falling into uncleanness, shall use austerities, and find that they will not secure him, and therefore to ascertain his duty the rather shall enter into a state of marriage, according as the prudence and the passion of his desires were for God and for purity; so also shall his reward be. To follow Christ is all our duty; but if that we may follow Christ with greater advantages we quit all the possessions of the world, this is more acceptable; because it is a doing the commandment with greater love. We must so order things that the commandment be not broken, but the difference is in finding out the better ways, and doing the duty with the more affections.

17. Now in this case they are highly mistaken that think anything of this nature is a work of supererogation: for all this is nothing but a pursuance of the commandment. For ἐντολὴ or 'commandment' is taken in a general sense, for the prescription of whatsoever is pleasing and acceptable to God, whatsoever He will reward with mighty glories. So 'loving God with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our mind, and all our strength[i],' is called πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐντολὴ, 'the first and the great commandment;' that is, nothing is more pleasing, nothing is more acceptable to God, because it proceeds out of an excellent love. But some commandments are propounded as to friends, some as to servants; some under the threatening of horrible pains, others not so, but with the proposition and under the invitation of[j] glorious rewards. It was commanded to S. Paul to preach the gospel; if he had not obeyed, he should have perished: "Woe is me," saith he[k], "if I preach not the gospel:" he was bound to do it. But he had another commandment also, to love God as much as was possible, and to love his neighbour: which precepts were infinite, and of an unlimited signification, and therefore were left to every servant's choice to do them with his several measures of affection and zeal. He that did most, did the commandment best, and therefore cannot be said to do more than was commanded; but he that does less, if he preaches the gospel, though with a less diligence, and fewer advantages, he obeys the commandment, but not so nobly as the other. For example: God commands us to pray; he obeys this, that constantly and devoutly keeps his morning and evening sacrifice, offering devoutly twice a day; he

[i] [Matt. xxii. 37.] [j] ['by' A.] [k] [1 Cor. ix. 16.]

that prays thrice a day, does better, and he that prays seven times a day, hath done no work of supererogation, but does what he does in pursuance of the commandment. All the difference is in the manner of doing what is commanded; for no man can do more than he is commanded. But some do it better, some less perfectly; but all is comprehended under this commandment of loving God with all our hearts. When a father commands his children to come to him, he that comes slowly obeys the commandment, but he that runs does obey more willingly and readily: now though to come running was left to the choice of the child's affection, yet it was but a brisk pursuance of the commandment. Thus when he that is bound to pay tithes, gives the best portion, or does it cheerfully, without contention, in all questions taking the worse of the thing, and the better of the duty, does what he is commanded, and he does it with the affection of a son and of a friend, he loves his duty. 'Be angry, but sin not[l];' so it is in the commandment; but he that to avoid the sin will endeavour not to be angry at all, is the greater friend of God, by how much the further he stands off from sin. Thus in all doubts to take the surest side, to determine always for religion when without sin we might have determined for interest, to deny ourselves in lawful things, to do all our duty by the measures of love and of the spirit, are instances of this filial obedience, and are rewarded by a *πεποίθησις καὶ παῤῥησία*, a persuasion and confidence of God's love to us, enabling us to call Him Father, as well as Lord. Thus this parable, or one like it is told in the book of Hermas[m], "The Lord commanded His servant to put pales about His vineyard; he did so, and digged a ditch besides, and rooted out all the weeds; which when his Lord observed, He made him co-heir with His Son." When S. Paul[n] exhorted the Corinthians to give a free contribution to the poor saints at Jerusalem, he invites to do it nobly and cheerfully, not as of constraint; for God's commandment named not the sum, neither can the degree of affection be named; but yet God demands all our affection. Now in all the affirmative precepts, the duty in the lowest degree is that which is now made necessary under the loss of all our hopes of eternity; but all the further degrees of the same duty are imposed upon the condition of greater rewards, and other collateral advantages of duty.

18. When Hystaspes[o] asked Cyrus the Persian why he preferred Chrysantas before him, since he did obey all his commands, the prince answered, *Χρυσάντας οὗτοσὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κλῆσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῆν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἕνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸς γνοίη ἄμεινον εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν*, 'Chrysantas does not stay till he is called; and he

[l] [Eph. iv. 26.]

[m] [lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 106.—The passage in the text above is condensed from the original.]

[n] [2 Cor. ix. 7.]

[o] [Xen. Cyrop. viii. 4.]

does not only what is commanded, but what is best, what he knows is most pleasing to me.' So does every perfect man, according to the degrees of his love and his perfection. Τῷ τελείῳ οὐκ ἐν συμβολαίοις πολιτικοῖς οὐδ' ἐν ἀπαγορεύσει νόμου, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδιοπραγίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης ἡ δικαιοσύνη[p], 'the righteousness of a perfect man consists not in legal innocence, but in love and voluntary obedience.' This is that charity which is the glory of christianity, the crown of all other graces, that which makes all the external works of obedience to be acceptable, and every act of the most excellent piety and devotion is a particular of that grace, and therefore though it is highly acceptable, yet it is also commanded in the general, and in the sense before explicated; and he that does no more than he is particularly commanded, obeys God as a lion obeys his keeper; meat and stripes are all the endearments of his peace and services.

> Qui manet ut moneatur semper servos homo officium suum,
> Non voluntate id facere meminit, servos is habitu haud probus est[q].

The servant that must be called upon at every step, is but an unprofitable and unworthy person: to do only what we are commanded, will never bring us to the portion and inheritance of sons. We must do this cheerfully, and we must do more; even contend to please God with doing that which is the righteousness of God, striving for perfection, till perfection itself becomes perfect; still obeying that law of sons, 'Love the Lord with all thy heart,' till our charity itself is crowned. Therefore,

19. *ν.* Let no man propound to himself a limit of duty, saying he will go so far, and go no further. For the commandment is infinite, and though every good man obeys it all the way of his holy conversation, yet it shall not be finished till his life is done. But he that stints himself to a certain measure of love, hath no love at all; for this grace grows for ever: and when the object is infinite, true love is not at rest till it hath possessed what is infinite; and therefore towards that there must be an infinite progression, never stopped, never ceasing, till we can work no more.

20. *ξ.* Let every man be humbled in the sense of his failings and infirmities. *Multum in hac vita ille profecit, qui quam longe sit a perfectione justitiæ proficiendo cognovit,* said S. Austin[r], 'it is a good degree of perfection to have proceeded so far as well to know and observe our own imperfections.' The scripture concludes all under sin; not only because all have failed of the covenant of works, of the exactness of obedience, but by reason of their prevarication of that law which they can obey. And indeed no man could be a sinner, but he that breaks that law which he could have kept. We

[p] Clem. Alex., strom., lib. vi. [cap. 15. p. 803.]

[q] Plautus in Sticho. [act. i. sc. 2. lin. 1.]

[r] De spiritu et litera, cap. xxxvi. [tom. x. col. 123 C.]

were all sinners by the covenant of works, but that was in those instances where it might have been otherwise. For the covenant of works was not impossible because it consisted of impossible commandments; for every commandment was kept by some or other, and all at some times: but therefore it was impossible to be kept because at some time or other men would be impotent, or ignorant, or surprised, and for this no abatement was made in that covenant. But then since in what every man could help he is found to be a sinner, he ought to account it a mighty grace that his other services are accepted. In pursuance of this,

21. *o.* Let no man boast himself in the most glorious services and performances of religion. *Qui in ecclesia semper gloriose et granditer operati sunt, et opus suum Domino nunquam*[s] *imputaverunt,* as S. Cyprian's[t] expression is, 'they who have greatly served God in the church, and have not been forward to exact and challenge their reward of God,' they are such whom God will most certainly reward. For 'humility without other external works is more pleasing to God, than pride though standing upon heaps of excellent actions;' it is the saying of S. Chrysostom[u]. 1) For if it be as natural to us to live according to the measures of reason, as for beasts to live by their nature and instinct, what thanks is due to us for that, more than to them for this? And therefore one[x] said well, *Ne te jactes si bene servisti; obsequitur sol, obtemperat luna,* 'boast not if thou hast well obeyed; the sun and the moon do so and shall never be rewarded.' 2) But when ourselves and all our faculties are from God, He hath power to demand all our services without reward, and therefore if He will reward us[y], it must wholly be a gift to us that He will so crown our services. 3) But He does not only give us all our being and all our faculties, but makes them also irriguous with the dew of His divine grace; sending His holy Son to call us to repentance, and to die to obtain for us pardon, and resurrection, and eternal life; sending His holy spirit, by rare arguments, and aids external and internal, to help us in our spiritual contentions and difficulties. So that we have nothing of our own, and therefore can challenge nothing to ourselves. 4) But besides these considerations, many sins are forgiven to us, and the service of a whole life cannot make recompense for the infinite favour of receiving pardon. 5) Especially since after our amendment and repentance there are remaining such weaknesses and footsteps of our old impieties, that we who have daily need of the divine mercy and pity, cannot challenge a reward for that which in many degrees needs a pardon; for if every act we do should

[s] [deest 'nunquam,' ed. Fell.]

[t] Epist. ad lapsos. [ep. xxxiii. p. 66.]

[u] [vide homil. in illud, 'Paulus vocatus' &c., § 6, et 'De profectu' &c., § 2. tom. iii. pp. 139, 301.—Homil. in Matth. xv. § 2, et lxiv. al. lxv. § 3. tom. vii. pp. 186, 640 E.—Eclog. de humil. animi, hom. vii. tom. xii. p. 480 D.]

[x] [S. Ambros. in Luc. xvii. 8. lib. viii. § 32. tom. i. col. 1478.]

[y] Concil. Arausic. ii. c. 18.—Debetur merces bonis operibus, sed gratia quæ non debetur præcedit ut fiant. [tom. ii. col. 1100.]

not need some degrees of pardon, yet our persons do in the periods of our imperfect workings. 6) But after all this, all that we can do is no advantage to God, He is not profited or obliged by our services[z], no moments do thence accrue to His felicities; and to challenge a reward of God, or to think our best services can merit heaven, is as if Galileo when he had found out a star which he had never observed before, and pleased himself in his own fancy, should demand of the Grand Signior to make him king of Tunis: for what is he the better that the studious man hath pleased himself in his own art? and the Turkish empire gets no advantages by his new argument. 7) And this is so much the more material, if we consider that the littleness of our services (if other things were away) could not countervail the least moment of eternity[a]: and the poor countryman might as well have demanded of Cyrus to give him a province for his handful of river water, as we can expect of God to give us heaven as a reward of our good works.

22. π. But although this rule relying upon such great and convincing grounds, can abolish all proud expectations of reward from God as a debtor for our good works, yet they ought not to destroy our modest confidence and our rejoicings in God, who by His gracious promises hath not only obliged Himself to help us if we pray to Him, but to reward us if we work. For 'our God is merciful, He rewardeth every man according to his work.' So said David[b]; according to the nature and graciousness of the work, not according to their value and proper worthiness; not that they deserve it, but because God for the communication of His goodness was pleased to promise it[c]. *Promissum quidem ex misericordia sed ex justitia persolvendum,* said S. Bernard[d]: 'mercy first made the promise but justice pays the debt.' Which words were true, if we did exactly do all that duty to which the reward was so graciously promised; but where much is to be abated even of that little which was bound upon us by so glorious promises of reward, there we can in no sense challenge God's justice, but so as it signifies equity, and is mingled with the mercies of the chancery. *Gratis promisit, gratis reddit,* so Ferus[e], 'God promised freely, and pays freely; if therefore thou wilt obtain[f] grace and favour, make no mention of thy deservings; and yet let not this slacken thy work, but reinforce it, and enlarge thy industry, since thou hast so gracious a Lord,' who of His own mere goodness will so plentifully reward it.

23. ρ. If we fail in the outward work, let it be so ordered that it be as little imputable to us as we can: that is, let our default

[z] Job xxxv. [ver. 7.]
[a] [Rom. viii. 18.]
[b] [Ps. lxii. 12.]
[c] [Matt. v. 12; 1 Cor. iii. 8; Matt. xvi. 27; 2 Cor. iv. 17; 2 Thess. i. 5; Apoc. iii. 4; xvi. 6; Rom. viii. 18.]
[d] [vid. super Cant., serm. xxii. ad fin. —col. 625 D.]
[e] In Matth., lib. iii. cap. xx. v. 8. [f. 281 b.]
[f] ['conservare.']

not be at all voluntary, but wholly upon the accounts of a pitiable infirmity; for the law was a covenant of works, such as they were; but the mind could not make amends within for the defect without. But in the gospel it is otherwise: for here the will is accepted for the fact, in all things where the fact is not in our power. But where it is, there to pretend a will is hyprocrisy.

Nequam illud verbum est, bene vult, nisi qui bene facit,

said the comedian [g]. This rule is our measure in the great lines of duty, in all negative precepts, and in the periods of the law of Christ, which cannot pass by us without being observed. But in the material and external instances of duty, we may without our fault be disabled, and therefore can only be supplied with our endeavours and desires. But that is our advantage: we thus can perform all God's will acceptably. For if we endeavour all that we can, and desire more, and pursue more, it is accepted as if we had done all: for we are accepted "according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not [h]." Unless we can neither endeavour, nor desire, we ought not to complain of the burden of the divine commandments. For to endeavour truly, and passionately to desire and contend for more, is obedience and charity, and that is 'the fulfilling of the commandments.'

MATTER FOR MEDITATION OUT OF SCRIPTURE, ACCORDING TO THE FORMER DOCTRINE.

THE OLD COVENANT, OR THE COVENANT OF WORKS.

In that day thou eatest thereof thou shalt truly die [i].

Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the law to do them [k].

And thou shalt write upon stones all the words of this law very plainly [l].

Thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand or to the left.

But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all His commandments and His statutes, then shall all these curses come upon thee, and overtake thee [m].

And if you will not be reformed by these things, but will walk contrary unto Me, then will I also walk contrary unto you, and will punish you yet seven times for your sins [n].

[g] [Plaut. Trinum. act. ii. sc. 4, lin. 38.]
[h] [2 Cor. viii. 12.]
[i] [Gen. ii. 17.]
[k] [Gal. iii. 10; Deut. xxvii. 26.]
[l] [Deut. xxvii. 8.]
[m] [Deut. xxviii.]
[n] [Lev. xxvi. 23, 24, &c.]

He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses [o].

THE NEW COVENANT, OR THE COVENANT OF GRACE.

We are justified [p] freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare I say at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Where is boasting then? it is excluded: by what law? of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.

There is therefore now no condemnation [q] to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For as many as are led by the Spirit, they are the sons of God. Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, . . because He maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God.

He that spared not His own Son [r], but delivered Him up for us all, how shall not He with Him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth.

This is the covenant [s] that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord, I will put My laws in their mind, and write them in their hearts: and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to Me a people; . . all shall know Me from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.

If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature [t]: old things are passed away, all things are become new.

And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation. Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God. For He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.

Repent and be baptized [u] every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise is unto you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call.

And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved [x].

[o] [Heb. x. 28.]
[p] [Rom. iii. 24—28.]
[q] [Rom. viii. 1, 14, 26—28.]
[r] [ver. 32, &c.]
[s] [Heb. viii. 10—12.]
[t] [2 Cor. v. 17—21.]
[u] [Acts ii. 38 sq.]
[x] [Rom. x. 13; Acts ii. 21.]

Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law [y], that the man which doth those things shall live by them. But the righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, . . . The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart, that is, the word of faith, which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.

Death is swallowed up in victory [z]. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.

For what the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh [a], God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, hath for sin condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

His commandments are not grievous [b].

If while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by His life [c]. And not only so, but we also joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me [d].

My grace is sufficient for thee: for My strength is made perfect in weakness [e].

Ask and you shall have, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto you [f].

To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.

Having therefore these promises, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord [g].

THE PRAYER.

I.

O eternal God, Lord of heaven and earth, Father of men and angels, we do adore Thy infinite goodness, we revere Thy justice, and delight in Thy mercies, by which Thou hast dealt with us, not with the utmost right and dominion of a Lord, but with the gentleness of

[y] [Rom. x. 5, 6, 8, 9.]
[z] [1 Cor. xv. 54 sqq.]
[a] [Rom. viii. 3, 4.]
[b] [1 John v. 3.]
[c] [Rom. v. 10.]
[d] [Phil. iv. 13.]
[e] [2 Cor. xii. 9.]
[f] [Matt. vii. 7.]
[g] [2 Cor. vii. 1.—Vid. etiam Isai. xlix. 6, et liii. 12; Psal. xxii. 23—28; Jer. xxxii. 34.]

a Father, treating us like friends who were indeed Thy enemies. Thou, O God, didst see our follies and observe our weaknesses; Thou knowest the averseness of our nature to good, and our proneness to commit vanity; and because our imperfect obedience could not bring us to perfect felicity whither Thou didst design us, the great God of all the world was pleased to make a new covenant with man, and to become a debtor to His servants. Blessed be God, and blessed be that mercy which hath done so great things for us. O be pleased to work that in us which Thou expectest from us. Let us not lose our title in the covenant of faith and repentance, by deferring the one, or dishonouring the other; but let us walk worthy of our vocation, according to the law of faith, and the mercies of God, and the covenant of our Lord Jesus.

II.

O blessed Jesus, never suffer us to abuse Thy mercies, or to turn Thy grace into wantonness. Let the remembrance and sense of Thy glorious favours endear our services, and let Thy goodness lead us to repentance, and our repentance bring forth the fruits of godliness in our whole life. Imprint deeply upon our hearts the fear and terror of Thy majesty, and perpetually entertain our spirits with the highest apprehensions of Thy loving kindness, that we may fear more, and love more, every day more and more hating sin, crucifying all its affections and desires, passionately loving holy things, zealously following after them, prudently conducting them, and indefatigably persevering in them to the end of our lives.

III.

O blessed and eternal God, with Thy spirit enlighten our understandings in the rare mysterious secrets of Thy law. Make me to understand all the most advantageous ways of duty, and kindle a flame in my soul that no difficulty or contradiction, no temptation within or persecution without, may ever extinguish. Give me a mighty grace, that I may design to please Thee with my best and all my services, to follow the best examples, to do the noblest charities, to pursue all perfection, ever pressing forward to the mark of the high calling in Christ Jesus. Let us rather choose to die than to sin against our consciences. Let us also watch, that we may omit nothing of our duty, nor pretermit any opportunity by which Thou canst be glorified, or any Christian instructed, comforted or assisted; not resting in the strictest measures of command, but passing forward to great and prudent significations of love; doing heroic actions, some things by which Thou mayest be greatly pleased, that Thou mayest take delight to pardon, to sanctify, and to preserve Thy servants for ever. Amen.

CHAP. II.

OF THE NATURE AND DEFINITION OF REPENTANCE; AND WHAT PARTS OF DUTY ARE SIGNIFIED BY IT IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

§ 1. The notion of those words that in the Greek and Latin languages express repentance, with the definition and parts of it.

1. THE Greeks use two words to express this duty, *μεταμέλεια* and *μετάνοια*. *Μεταμέλεια* is from *μεταμελεῖσθαι, post factum angi et cruciari*, to be afflicted in mind, to be troubled for our former folly; it is *δυσαρέστησις ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις*, saith Phavorinus [h], 'a being displeased for what we have done:' and it is generally used for all sorts of repentance, but more properly to signify either the beginnings of a good, or the whole state of an ineffective [i] repentance. In the first sense we find it in S. Matthew [j], *Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἰδόντες οὐ μετεμελήθητε ὕστερον, τοῦ πιστεῦσαι αὐτῷ*, 'and ye seeing, did not repent that ye might believe him.' Of the second sense we have example in Judas [k], *μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπέστρεψε*, he 'repented' too, but the end of it was he died with anguish and despair; and of Esau it is said, *μετανοίας τόπον οὐχ εὗρε*, 'he found no place for an (effective) repentance;' but yet he repented too, for he was *μετέπειτα θέλων*, and *μετὰ δακρύων ἐκζητήσας*, he fain would have had it otherwise, and he 'sought it with tears [l];' which two do fully express all the meaning of this *μεταμέλεια*, when it is distinguished from the better and effective repentance. There is in this repentance, a sorrow for what is done, a disliking of the thing with its consequents and effect; and so far also it is a change of mind. But it goes no further than so far to change the mind that it brings trouble and sorrow, and such things which are the natural events of it. *Μεταμέλεια, πάθος ἀνθρώπινον*, saith Suidas [m]. It is an affection incident to man, not to God, who cannot repent: where although by *πάθος* he means an accident or property of man, that is, a quality in the general sense; yet that it is properly a passion in the special sense was the sense of all men, as Tertullian [n] observes; saying that the heathens know repentance to be *passionem animi quandam*, (the same with *πάθος ἀνθρώπινον* in Suidas,) a passion *quæ veniat de offensa sententiæ prioris*, coming from our being offended or troubled at our former course. But Tertullian uses the Latin word, of which I shall give account in the following periods.

2. But when there was a difference made, *μετάνοια* was the better word; which does not properly signify the sorrow for having done

[h] [Ad voc.—col. 1243.]
[i] ['effective' B.]
[j] [ch. xxi. 32.]
[k] [Matt. xxvii. 3.]
[l] [Heb. xii. 17.]
[m] [col. 2469.]
[n] Lib. de pœnit. [cap. i. p. 120 A.]

amiss, but something that is nobler than it, but brought in at the gate of sorrow. For ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη [o], 'a godly sorrow,' that is μεταμέλεια, or the first beginning of repentance, μετάνοιαν κατεργάζεται, 'worketh this better repentance,' μετάνοιαν ἀμεταμέλητον and εἰς σωτηρίαν, 'a repentance not to be repented of,' not to be sorrowed for, a repentance that is 'unto salvation.' Sorrow may go before this, but dwells not with it, according to that of S. Chrysostom [p], *Medicinæ hic locus, non judicii, non pœnas sed peccatorum remissionem pœnitentia tribuit;* μετάνοια is the word; 'repentance brings not pains, but pardon with it; for this is the place of medicine and remedy, not of judgment or condemnation:' meaning that this repentance is wholly salutary, as tending to reformation and amendment. But Tertullian [q] made the observation more express. *In Græco sono, pœnitentiæ nomen non ex delicti confessione sed ex animi demutatione compositum est,* 'to repent among the Greeks signifies not a confession of our fault, but the change of mind.' He speaks of the grammatical sense of the word; for in the whole use of it, it is otherwise.

3. For however the grammarians may distinguish them, yet the words are used promiscuously; for μετάνοια is sometimes used in the bad sense, and μεταμέλεια signifies the better repentance; not often, but sometimes it does. The son [r] that told his father he would not work in his vineyard, afterwards 'was sorry' for refusing, and he 'went' to work, μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπῆλθε· and in the same chapter, ὑμεῖς ἰδόντες οὐ μετεμελήθητε, 'ye seeing were not troubled, and sorrowful, that ye might believe,' that is, amend your fault; μεταμελεῖσθαι is in both places used for a salutary repentance. And on the other side, μετάνοια is used to signify in the evil sense, a state of misery, without remedy. Πανοῦργος ἔρχεται εἰς μετάνοιαν [s], so the Septuagint read that of Solomon, 'the wicked man cometh to repentance,' that is, to misery and sorrow. So that there is nothing of usefulness which can be drawn from the grammatical sense of these words; they both signify a change of mind; and they both signify a sorrow; and they both are used for the same thing: and indeed that will be the best use of them: no man can be truly said to repent, but he who being sorrowful for doing evil betakes himself to wiser courses. So Phavorinus [t], Μετάνοιά ἐστι συναίσθησις ψυχῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξεν ἀτόπως [u], 'repentance is a sense and compunction of the soul for those things which were done foolishly.'

Sum Dea quæ facti non factique exigo pœnas,
Nempe ut pœniteat, sic Metanœa vocor [v].

[o] [2 Cor. vii. 11.]
[p] Homil. ix. [al. iii.] de pœnit. [§ 4. —tom. ii. p. 300 B.]
[q] Lib. ii. adv. Marcion., cap. 20. [leg. 24—p. 394 C.]
[r] [Matt. xxi. 29.]
[s] [Prov. xiv. 15.—וְעָרוּם יָבִין לַאֲשֻׁרוֹ, —'Astutus considerat gressus suos,' ed. vulg.—'The prudent . . . looketh well to his going,' auth. vers.]
[t] [col. 1244.]
[u] [al. ἀτόποις.]
[v] Auson. epigr. [xii.]—Male 'Metanœa' usus est; verbum purum Græcum

Repentance does exact punishment for evils done, and good undone; but besides this, it is ἡ πρὸς κρεῖσσον ἐπιστροφὴ, 'a conversion to that which is better.' So Aretas[x] defines it, Μετάνοιά ἐστι μετάθεσις ἀπὸ χειρόνων, καὶ μεταβολὴ ἐπὶ βέλτιον· the same with the former, 'an eschewing evil, and doing good.'

4. And thus the holy scriptures understand this word and this duty. It is a whole change of state, and life; ἀποστροφὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀπόστασις ἀπ' ἀδικίας, 'a turning from sin;' and it is emphatically called by the apostle μετάνοια ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων[y], 'a repentance from dead works,' that is, a forsaking them with sorrow that ever we committed them: and it is also ἐπιστροφὴ πρὸς Θεὸν[z], 'a conversion to God;' from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God; ἀνανήφειν, 'a returning to sobriety,' the same with μεταβάλλειν, μεταθέσθαι, μεταγινώσκειν, in Justin Martyr, all signifying a departing from our follies and a changing to a better life. And though sometimes 'to repent' is in scripture taken for sorrow only, or a being troubled that the fact is done; yet it is called repentance no otherwise than as alms is called charity; that is, it is an effect of it, a part, or action, or adjunct of the duty and state of repentance: which ought to be observed lest (as it is too commonly) one act be mistaken for the whole state, and we account ourselves perfect penitents, if we have only wept a penitential shower. Which is also to be observed in the definitions which the doctors give of it;—

5. Tertullian[a] calls it 'a passion of the mind, or grief for the offence of our former acts.' S. Austin[b] calls it 'a revenge always punishing in itself that which it grieves to have committed.' These do only describe that part of repentance which is sometimes signified by μεταμέλεια, and is nothing else but a godly sorrow, the porch or beginnings of repentance. On the other side Lactantius[c] describing repentance, gives only the grammatical sense of μετάνοια, *Agere autem pœnitentiam nihil aliud est quam profiteri et affirmare se ulterius non peccaturum,* 'to repent,' saith he, 'is nothing else but a profession and affirmation that he will sin no more;' which descriptions of repentance are just as if we should say, 'a man is a creature that speaks, or laughs, or that can learn to read.' These are effects of his nature, but not the ingredients of a proper definition. Sorrow and revenge, and holy purposes and protestations are but single acts of a returning and penitent man: whereas repentance is a whole

est, nec tamen eo sensu et definitione a Græcis usurpatum: recte igitur et facete fassus est idem Ausonius in epigrammate de abusu hujus verbi parum Latini,

Sum Dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit. [ibid.]

[x] [In Apoc. iii. p. 903.]

[y] [Heb. vi. 1; 1 Kings viii. 35; Isai. lix. 20; 2 Chron. vii. 14; Jer. xviii. 7—9; xxxi. 19.]

[z] [2 Sam. xii. 5, 13; Deut. xxx. 2; Jer. iii. 7; Acts xxvi. 18; Eph. v. 14; Ezek. xxxiii. 12; Luke xix. 8—10.]

[a] De pœnit. in princip. [p. 120 A.]

[b] Lib. de ver. et fals. pœnit., c. viii. [tom. vi. append. col. 236 E.]

[c] Lib. vi. divin. instit., c. 13. [tom. i. p. 471.]

state of a new life, an entire change of the sinner, with all its appendages and instruments of ministry.

6. As the Greeks have, so have the Latins also two words to signify this duty, *pœnitentia* and *resipiscentia*, and these have almost the same fate and the same usages with the other. *Pœnitentia* is used by the old Latin translation: and is most tenaciously retained by all them who make the very life of repentance to run into corporal austerities (like the juice of luxuriant trees into irregular suckers and excrescencies) which therefore by way of eminency they call 'penances;' for they suppose the word in its very nature and institution to signify something that is punitive and afflictive. So Hugo[d], *Pœnitentia quasi punientia, quod per eam homo in se puniat quod male admisit.* Much like that of Scotus[e], *pœnitentia quasi pœnæ tenentia;* which they both learned from S. Austin[f], *Pœnitere est idem quod rei commissæ aliquem pudere ac pigere, ita ut 'pœnitet' sit idem quod 'pœna tenet.'* This sense of the word prevailed long, and therefore some that would speak exactly, observing that the duty of repentance did principally consist in the amendment of our lives, were forced to use the word *resipiscentia*, which better renders the Greek μετάνοια. So Lactantius[g] expressly, *Græci melius et significantius μετάνοιαν dicunt, quam latine possumus resipiscentiam dicere: resipiscit enim ac mentem suam quasi ab insania recipit quem errati piget, castigatque seipsum dementiæ, et confirmat animum suum ad rectius vivendum,* 'he truly repents who recovers his mind from folly, and chastising his error, and grieving for his madness, strengthens his purposes to better living.'

7. Either of the words will serve the turn. *Pœnitentia*, or 'penance,' is the old Latin word; *resipiscentia* is the new one, but very expressive and significant: and it is indifferent which be used, if men had not a design upon one, which cannot prudently be effected by it. But such is the force of words, especially when men choose and affect one particularly and studiously reject another which is apt to signify the same thing, that in the Greek church because their words for 'repentance' did imply only or principally a change of life, they usually describe repentance in that formality; but the later Latins practise and discourse to other purposes; and the college of Rheims render μετανοεῖτε, word for word after their vulgar Latin, *agite pœnitentiam*, 'do penance,' which is so absurd a reddition, that their interest and design is more apparent than their skill in grammar, or their ingenuity. It is much, very much better which we learn from a wise heathen[h], who gives such an account both of the words and thing as might not misbecome the best instructed Christian, so

[d] Lib. iii. de myster. eccles. [In the work of Hugo de S. Victore 'In speculum de mysteriis ecclesiæ,' these words do not occur.]

[e] [In lib. iv. sent. dist. 14. q. i.—tom. ix. p. 23.]

[f] Solil. [? De vera et falsa pœnit.] cap. xix. [tom. vi. append. col. 241 B.]

[g] Lib. vi. c. 24. [p. 503.]

[h] [Hierocles in Pythag., p. 124.]

far as concerns the nature and morality of the duty. His words are excellent words, and therefore I shall transcribe them. Διὸ πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν· ἁμαρτόντας δὲ σπεύδειν ὡς ἐπὶ ἰατρικὴν τῆς πονηρίας τὴν δίκην, ἐπανορθουμένους τὴν ἀβουλίαν τῇ κρείττονι βοηθείᾳ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ ἐκπεπτώκαμεν, τοῦ γίνεσθαι γοῦν ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα μεταμελείᾳ εὐγνώμονι τὴν θείαν ἐπανόρθωσιν εἰσδεχόμενοι· ἡ δὲ μετάνοια αὐτὴ φιλοσοφίας ἀρχὴ γίνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων φυγὴ, καὶ τῆς ἀμεταμελήτου ζωῆς ἡ πρώτη παρασκευὴ· 'We ought principally to take care that we do not sin; but if we be overtaken, then to make diligent haste to return to justice or righteousness as the cure of our wickedness, that we may amend our evil counsels or wills by the help of a better. For when we are fallen from goodness, we receive or recover it again μεταμελείᾳ εὐγνώμονι, by a wise or well principled penitential sorrow, admitting a divine correction; ἡ δὲ μετάνοια αὐτὴ, but repentance itself is the beginning of wisdom, a flying from foolish words and deeds, and the first institution of a life not to be repented of.' Where besides the definition of repentance and a most perfect description of its nature and intention, he with some curiosity differences the two Greek words; making μεταμέλεια to be but the beginning of μετάνοια, sorrow the beginning of repentance; and both together the reformation of the old and the institution of a new life.

8. But to quit the words from being the subject matter of a quarrel, it is observable that the Latin word *pœnitentia* does really signify (by use I mean and custom) as much as the Greek μετάνοια, and is expressive of the whole duty of repentance; and although it implies that sorrow and grief which is the natural inlet of reformation of our lives, and the consequent of our shame and sin, yet it also does signify correction and amendment, which is the formality and essence of repentance; and therefore Erasmus[i] more warily and in imitation of the old Latins, says that *pœnitere* is from *pone tenere, quod est posterius consilium capere;* to be wiser the next time; to choose again and choose better; and so A. Gellius[k] defines it, *Pœnitere tum dicere solemus, cum quæ ipsi fecimus, aut quæ de nostra voluntate nostroque consilio facta sunt, ea nobis post incipiunt displicere, sententiamque in iis nostram demutamus,* 'to repent is when those things which we have done displease us, and we change our minds.' So that here is both a displeasure and a change; a displeasure and sorrow for the evil, and a change to better. And there ought to be no scruple in this; for by the first sorrow of a penitent man is meant nothing else but the first act of eschewing evil; which whether it be by grief alone, or by fear, or by hope, or by all these, it is not without some trouble of mind, and displeasure; for if it were still in all senses a pleasure to go on, they would never return back. And

[i] [In Matth. iii. 2.—tom. vi. col. 18.] [k] Noct. att., lib. xvii. c. 1. [p. 747.]

therefore to suppose repentance without displeasure, is to suppose a change of mind without alteration, or a taking a new course without disliking the old. But then to suppose any other sorrow naturally necessary than this which naturally is included in the change, is to affirm that to be true which experience tells us is not true, and it is to place self-affliction and punition at the head, which is to be looked for in the retinue of repentance; to make the daughter to be before the mother, and the fruit to be kept in the root, not to grow upon the branches. But the Latin words can no way determine any thing of question in this article; and the Greek words are used promiscuously; and when they are distinguished, they differ but as the more and less perfect, as the beginning of repentance and the progress of perfection; according to that saying, *Pœnitentia erroris magnus gradus est ad resipiscentiam,* 'to acknowledge and be sorry for our sin is a great step to repentance;' and both together signify all that piety, that change, and holiness which is the duty of the new man, of the returning sinner; and we can best learn it by the words of Him that revealed and gave this grace to all His servants; even of the holy Jesus speaking to S. Paul at his conversion, from whose blessed words, together with those of S. Paul in his narrative of that story, we may draw this more perfect description; to repent is to 'turn from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God[l],' 'doing works worthy of amendment of life,' 'for the forgiveness of sins,' that we may receive inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

9. Upon this account, the parts of repentance are two; first, leaving our sins: which is properly 'repentance from dead works;' and secondly, doing holy actions in the remaining portion of our days; 'actions meet for repentance,' so the Baptist[m] called them. This is in scripture by way of propriety called 'repentance,' μετάνοια· so the Baptist used it; distinguishing repentance from its fruits; that is, from such significations, exercises and prosecutions of this change, as are apt to represent, and to effect it more and more; such as are confession, weeping, self-afflictions, alms, and the like. So S. Paul[n], using the same words before king Agrippa. But by way of *synecdoche,* not only the fruits and consequent expressions, but the beginning sorrow also is signified by the same word: and all are under the same commandment, though with different degrees of necessity, and expression; of which I shall afterwards give account. Here I only account concerning the essential and constituent parts and definition of repentance.

10. All the whole duty of repentance, and every of its parts, is sometimes called 'conversion.' Thus godly sorrow is a conversion or change: and upon that account S. James[o] calls upon sinners, "Be

[l] [Acts xxvi. 18, 20.]
[m] [Matt. iii. 8.]
[n] [Acts xxvi. 20.]
[o] James iv. [ver. 9.]

afflicted, and mourn, and weep, let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into weeping." This is the first change of our affections, which is attended with a change of our judgment; when we do no longer admire the false beauties of sin, but judge righteously concerning it. And of this the prophet Jeremy [p] gives testimony, 'Surely after that I was turned I repented.' And by this word נָחַם the Hebrews express the duty, which the LXX. indifferently render by μετάνοια and μεταμέλεια, and is best rendered 'conversion.' And then follows the conversion of the whole man, body and soul, mind and spirit; all are set in opposition against sin, and apply themselves to the service of God, and conformity to Jesus.

§ 2. Of repentance in general; or conversion.

1. REPENTANCE and Faith in scriptures signify sometimes more generally; and in the federal sense are used for all that state of grace and favour which the holy Jesus revealed and brought into the world. They both signify the gospel; for the whole gospel is nothing else but that glad tidings which Christ brought to all mankind, that the covenant of works or exact measures should not now be exacted, but men should be saved by second thoughts, that is, by repentance and amendment of life, through faith in the Lord Jesus. That is, if we become His disciples (for that is the condition of the covenant) we shall find mercy, 'our sins shall be blotted out,' and we shall be saved if we obey heartily and diligently, though not exactly. This becoming His disciples is called faith, that is, coming to Him, believing Him, hoping in Him, obeying Him; and consequent to this is, that we are admitted to repentance, that is, to the pardon of our sins. "For Him hath God exalted on His right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, δοῦναι μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, to give repentance and remission of sins [q]." This is the sum total of the gospel. That we have leave to repent, supposes that God will pardon what is past: but then that we have leave to repent, supposes us also highly bound to it. It is in mere pity to our infirmities, our needs and our miseries, that we have leave to do it: and this is given to mankind by faith in Jesus Christ, that is, by becoming His disciples; for He hath power to pardon sins, and to 'take them away,' and to 'cleanse us from all unrighteousness,' viz., which we have committed. This is that which all the world did need, and longed for; it was the κρυπτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων [r], 'the hidden mystery from all ages,' but 'revealed in Christ;' whose blood (as S. Clement [s] expresses it) παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν, 'brought to all the world the grace of repentance.'

2. This is the gospel. For the gospel is nothing else but faith and repentance. The gospel is called faith by S. Paul [t], Πρὸ τοῦ ἐλ-

[p] [Jer. xxxi. 19.]
[q] [Acts v. 31.]
[r] [vid. p. 22, note c, supra.]
[s] [Ad Corinth., ep. i. cap. 7. p. 152.]
[t] [Gal. iii. 23.]

θεῖν τὴν πίστιν, 'before that faith came, we were under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed;' that is, to the gospel, or the glad tidings of repentance; which is called ἀκοὴ πίστεως [u], 'the hearing of faith.' For faith being here opposed to the law, that is, the covenant of mercy to the covenant of works, must mean the covenant of repentance. And therefore although, if we consider them as proper and particular graces and habits, they have differing natures and definitions; yet in the general and federal sense of which I now speak, faith and repentance are only distinguished by relations and respects, not by substance and reality. "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ [v];" that is, repentance for having sinned against God; a repentance, I say, through faith in Jesus Christ; that is, a repentance procured, and preached, and enjoined by Christ, being the sum of His discipline. And that it may appear faith and repentance to be the same thing, and differing only in name and manner of expression, S. Paul confounds the distinction which he formerly made, and that which he called 'repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus' in his sermons in Asia, in his epistle to the Hebrews he calls 'repentance from dead works and faith in God.' And the words are used for each other promiscuously in S. Luke; for that which the rich man in hell called μετανοήσουσιν, Abraham called πεισθήσονται, 'if one comes from the dead they will repent:' no, said Abraham, 'if they will not hear Moses and the prophets, then if one come from the dead they will not believe, or be persuaded.' And S. Peter [x] giving an account of the delaying of the coming of the Lord for the punishment of the obdurate Jews and enemies of Christ, says, it is because God of His infinite goodness expects even them also to be converted to the faith, or becoming Christians, as the whole design of the place infers; and this he calls εἰς μετάνοιαν χωρῆσαι, 'a coming to repentance,' that is, to the faith of Christ. And therefore the gospel is nothing else but an universal publication of repentance and pardon of sins in the name of Christ, that is, procured for all them who are His disciples: and to this we are baptized, that is, adopted into the religion, into that discipleship under which God requires holiness, but not perfect measures; sincerity without hypocrisy, but not impeccability or perfect innocence.

3. And as the gospel is called faith, and faith is repentance, that is, it is the same covenant of grace and mercy, with this only difference, that it is called faith as it relates to Christ who procured this mercy for us, repentance as it signifies the mercy itself so procured: so baptism by the same analogy is called the baptism unto repentance, βάπτισμα μετανοίας, 'the baptism of repentance,' so it is called in the Jerusalem creed [y]; that is, the admission to the grace of the gospel; which the fathers of C.P. in their appendage to the Nicene

[u] [Gal. iii. 2.]
[v] [Acts xx. 21.]
[x] [2 Pet. iii. 9, 15.]
[y] [Cyril. Hierosol., catech. xviii. § 22.]

creed thus express, "I believe one baptism for the remission of sins," that is, to remission of sins we are admitted by baptism alone; no other way shall we have this grace, this title, but by being once initiated into the gospel to be disciples of Jesus. Not that it is to be supposed that our sins are only pardoned when we are baptized; but that by baptism we are admitted to the state and grace of repentance and pardon of sins. And this is demonstratively certain, not only upon those many instances of baptized penitents admitted to pardon, and baptized criminals called upon in scripture to repent, but upon the very nature of the evangelical covenant, and the whole design of Christ's coming. For if we were not admitted to repentance after baptism, then we were still to be judged by the covenant of works, not by the covenant of faith; and we should inherit by the law, or not at all, and not be "heirs according to promise;" and then 'Christ were dead in vain, we are yet in our sins:' and all the world must perish, because all men have sinned, and so none should go to heaven but newly baptized infants, or newly baptized catechumens: and how then could the gospel be a new covenant, it being exactly the same with the law? for so it must be if it promise no mercy or repentance to them that sin after our admittance to it. But baptism is a new birth, and by it we are ἀνακαινιζόμενοι εἰς μετάνοιαν, 'renewed unto repentance,' unto that state of life which supposes holiness and imperfection, and consequently needs mercy all the way; according to that saying, *Justus ex fide vivet*[z], 'the just shall live by faith;' that is, all our righteousness, all our hopes, all our spiritual life is conserved by, and is relying upon this covenant of mercy, the covenant of faith, or repentance: all his life-time the just shall still need pardon, and find it, if he perseveres in it, that is, endeavours to obey according to the righteousness of faith, that is, sincerely, diligently, and by the measures of a man. Of this we shall in the sequel make use.

4. For the present I consider that repentance or conversion admits of degrees, according to the necessities of men. For that repentance which Christ and His apostles preached at the opening of the kingdom was an universal change of life, which men did lead in the darkness of heathen ignorance, and idolatrous impieties among the gentiles, and the more than heathen crimes among the Jews; the whole nation being generally false, superstitious, bloody, persecutors, proud, rebellious, and at last rejectors and crucifiers of their Messias, whom they had longed for ever since they were a people. But in the persuasion and effecting of this repentance, there was some difference of dispensation and ministry.

5. John the baptist began, and he preached repentance to the Jews, that they might believe in the Messias, and so 'flee from the wrath to come,' that is, from the destruction of their nation which he prophetically foretold should come to pass for their rejecting Him

[z] [Habak. ii. 4.]

whom the Baptist did fore-signify. Christ and His apostles pursued the same doctrine, still thrusting forward the design, that is, preaching such a repentance as was proportionable to His purpose; that is, obedience to the gospel, the admission of such doctrines which did destroy the gaieties and cursed[a] usages of the world. So that the repentance which was first preached was in order to faith; that is, the Baptist, and Christ, and Christ's apostles preaching repentance, did mean such a conversion or change as would take them off from those crimes which so prepossessed their hearts that by them they were indisposed to receive Christ's person and doctrine, both which were so contrary to their prejudices of pride and covetousness, malice and ambition.

6. And therefore among the Jews repentance was to go before faith: for they were already sufficiently disposed to believe the revelations of God, they had been used to prophets, and expected the Messias, and prayed for His day, and longed passionately for it; so that they were by nothing hindered in their faith but by their lusts and secular thoughts, and the way to make them believe was to cure their pride. "How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another[b]?" Their hunting after praise among the people did indispose them to the believing and receiving Christ's person and doctrine; therefore until they did repent of that, they could not believe; and accordingly our blessed Saviour complained that when they saw the light which shined in the ministry of John the baptist, 'yet they would not repent that they might believe.' But afterwards the Jews when they were invited to the religion, that is, to believe in Jesus, were first to be called to repentance, because they had crucified the Lord of life: and if they should not repent for crucifying an innocent person, they would be infinitely far from believing Him to be the Lord of life, and their long-desired Messias.

7. But the repentance that was preached to the gentiles, though it had the same design as to the event of things, yet it went in another method. Their religion taught them impiety, lust and folly was placed upon their altars, and their gods bore in their hands smoking fire-brands kindled with the coals of Sodom: they had false confidences, and evil examples, and foolish principles; they had evil laws, and an abominable priesthood, and their demons, whom they called gods, would be worshipped with lusts and cruelty, with drunkenness and revellings; so that their false belief and evil religion betrayed them to evil lives; therefore they were to be recovered by being taught a better belief, and a more holy religion; therefore in these, faith was to go before repentance. *Pœnitentiæ stimulus ex fide acciderat*, as Tertullian's[c] expression is, 'faith was the motive of their repentance.' Πίστεως ἡ μετάνοια κατόρθωμα, so S. Clemens

[a] [i. e. 'perverse.' The word should perhaps be written 'curst.'—See vol. v. pp. 217, 666.]

[b] [John v. 44.]

[c] [Advers. Marcion., lib. iv. cap. 18. p. 432 C.]

Alexandrinus[d]; ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσῃ ἁμάρτημα εἶναι ᾧ προκατείχετο, οὐδὲ μεταθήσεται· κἂν μὴ πιστεύσῃ κόλασιν μὲν ἐπηρτῆσθαι τῷ πλημμελοῦντι, σωτηρίαν δὲ τῷ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς βιοῦντι, οὐδ' οὕτως μεταβαλεῖται· ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς ἐκ πίστεως συνέστηκεν· 'repentance is the perfection and consummation of faith; for unless the sinner believes his action to be a sin, and that evil is his portion if he sins, and that he shall be happy if he live by the rule of the commandments, he can never be converted.' Therefore in the conversion of the gentiles faith was to be ordinarily the first.

8. In proportion to these several methods, the doctrine or state of christianity was sometimes[e] called faith, sometimes repentance: he that believed Jesus Christ, would repent of his sins; and he that did repent, would believe. But sometimes infidelity stood at the gate, and sometimes malice and vile affections: that which stood next, was first to be removed.

9. Now the access of both these to Christ is in scripture called 'conversion,' or repentance. Where faith only was wanting, and the man was of Moses and a good man, the becoming a Christian was a τελείωσις, 'a perfection or consummation,' a progression rather than a returning, προκοπὴ not ἀναστροφὴ. But when Christ had been preached, all the obfirmation and obstinacy of mind by which they shut their eyes against that light, all that was choice, and interest, or passion, and was to be rescinded by repentance. But 'conversion' was the word indifferently used[f] concerning the change both of Jews and gentiles, because they both abounded in iniquity, and did need this change, called by S. Paul[g], ἀπολύτρωσις ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας, 'a redemption from all iniquity;' by S. Peter[h], ἀποστροφὴ ἀπὸ πονηριῶν, 'a conversion from wickedness.'

10. In analogy and proportion to these repentances and conversions of Jews and gentiles, the repentances of Christians may be called 'conversion[i].' We have an instance of the word so used in the case of S. Peter, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren:" that is, When thou art returned from thy folly and sin of denying the Lord, do thou confirm thy brethren, that they may not fall as thou hast done. This is ἀναστροφὴ ἀπὸ ματαίων, and ἀπ' ἀδικίας, 'a conversion from vanity and impiety, or injustice,' when a person of any evil life returns to his duty, and his undertaking in baptism; from the unregenerate to the regenerate estate, that is, from habitual sin to habitual grace. But the repentances of good men for their sins of infirmity, or the seldom interruptions of a good life by single falls, is not properly conversion. But as the distance from God is from whence we are to retire, so is the degree of our conversion. The

[d] Strom., lib. ii. [cap. 6. p. 443.]
[e] [Mark i. 15; Acts xxvi. 20; ii. 38; iii. 19.]
[f] [Acts xiv. 15; xxvi. 18; 2 Cor. iii. 16; Rom. xiii. 12, 13; Eph. v. 8.]
[g] [Tit. ii. 14.]
[h] [Acts iii. 26.]
[i] [Luke xxii. 32; James iii. (? v.) 20; Matt. xiii. 15; John xii. 40.]

term 'from whence,' is various, but the term 'whither' we go, is the same. All must come to God through Jesus Christ in the measures and strictnesses of the evangelical holiness, which is that state of repentance I have been now describing, which is, 'a perfect abrenuntiation of all iniquity, and a sincere obedience in the faith of Jesus Christ: which is the result of all the foregoing considerations and usages of words; and is further manifested in the following appellatives and descriptions by which repentance is signified and recommended to us in scripture.

11. *a.* It is called reconciliation, καταλλαγὴ. 'We pray you in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God[k];' that is, to be friends with Him, no longer to stand in terms of distance; for every habitual sinner, every one that provokes Him to anger by his iniquity, is His enemy: not that every sinner hates God by a direct hate; but as obedience is love, so disobedience is enmity or hatred by interpretation; ἐχθροὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς πονηροῖς, 'enemies in their mind by wicked works,' so S. Paul[l] expresses it: and therefore the reconciling of these, is to represent them 'holy and unblamable and unreprovable in His sight.' Pardon of sins is the least part of this reconciliation; our sins and our sinfulness too must be taken away; that is, our old guilt, and the remanent affections, must be taken off before we are friends of God. And therefore we find this reconciliation pressed on our parts; we are reconciled to God, not God to us. For although the term be relative, and so signifies both parts; as conjunction, and friendship, and society, and union do[m]: yet it pleased the Spirit of God by this expression to signify our duty expressly, and to leave the other to be supposed; because if our parts be done, whatsoever is on God's part can never fail. And secondly, although this reconciliation begins on God's part, and He first invites us to peace, and gave His Son a sacrifice; yet God's love is very revocable till we are reconciled by obedience and conformity.

12. *β.* It is called 'renewing,' and that either with the connotation of the subject renewed, or the cause renewing, 'the re-

[k] [2 Cor. v. 20.]

[l] [Col. i. 21 sq.]

[m] [This important doctrine is stated with great clearness by Pearson.—"In vain it is objected that the scripture saith our Saviour reconciled men to God, but no where teacheth that He reconciled God to man; for in the language of the scripture to reconcile a man to God, is in our vulgar language to reconcile God to man, that is to cause Him who before was angry and offended with him to be gracious and propitious to him." Then he refers to 1 Sam. xxix. 4; Matt. v. 23, 4; 1 Cor. vii. 11, and Rom. v. 10.—"Whence appeareth the weakness of the Socinian exception, (Catech. Racov., c. 8.—Socin. De Christo Servatore, p. i. c. 8.) that in the scriptures we are said to be reconciled unto God; but God is never said to be reconciled unto us. For by that very expression it is understood, that he which is reconciled in the language of the scriptures, is restored unto the favour of him who was formerly offended with that person which is now said to be reconciled. As when David was to be reconciled unto Saul, it was not that David should lay down his enmity against Saul, but that Saul should become propitious and favourable unto David: and therefore where the language is that David should be reconciled unto Saul, the sense is, that Saul, who was exasperated and angry, should be appeased, and so reconciled unto David."—Exposition of the Creed, art. x.]

newing of the Holy Ghost[o],' and 'the renewing of the mind' or 'the spirit of the mind.' The word is exactly the same with *μετάνοια*, which is a change of mind from worse to better, as it is distinguished from the fruits and effects of it. So, 'be renewed in your mind,' that is, throw away all your foolish principles, and nonsense propositions by which you use to be tempted and persuaded to sin, and inform your mind with wise notices and sentences of God: 'that ye put off concerning the old conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness[p].' Which is an excellent description of repentance: in which it is observable, that S. Paul uses two words more to express the greatness and nature of this change and conversion; it is,

13. *γ.* 'A new creature;' 'the new man;' 'created in righteousness[q]:' for the state of repentance is so great an alteration, that in some sense it is greater than the creation; because the things created had in them no opposition to the power of God, but a pure capacity obediential: but a sinner hath dispositions opposite to the spirit of grace, and he must unlearn much before he can learn any thing; he must die before he can be born[r].

> Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
> Continuo hoc mors est illius quod fuit ante[s].

Our sins, the body of sin, the spirit of uncleanness, 'the old man, must be abolished, mortified, crucified, buried;' our sins must be laid away, we must 'hate the garments spotted with the flesh[t],' and our 'garments must be whitened in the blood of the Lamb;' our 'hearts must be purged from an evil conscience, purified as God is pure,' that is, as S. Paul expresses it, 'from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit,' 'denying' or renouncing 'all ungodliness and worldly lusts.'

14. And then as the *antithesis* or consequent of this is, when we have laid away our sin, and renounced ungodliness, we must 'live godly, righteously, and soberly in this present world[u];' we must not live either to the world, or to ourselves, but to Christ:

> — Hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat[v],

our manner of life must be wholly differing from our former vanities, so that 'the life which we now live in the flesh we must live by the faith of the Son of God,' that is, according to His laws and most holy discipline.

15. This is pressed earnestly upon us by those many precepts of 'obedience to God[w],' 'to Christ,' 'to the holy gospel,' 'to the truth,' 'to the doctrine of faith;' of 'doing good,' 'doing righteousness,' 'doing

[o] [Tit. iii. 5; Rom. xii. 2; Eph. iv. 23.]
[p] [Eph. iv. 22.]
[q] [Eph. ii. 10; iii. 9; John iii. 6.]
[r] [James i. 18.]
[s] Lucret. [i. 671.]
[t] [Jude 23; Rev. vii. 14; Heb. x. 22; Psalm l. 9; 2 Cor. vii. 1; 1 John iii. 3.]
[u] Gal. ii. 10; [leg. Tit. ii. 12.]
[v] [Ter. Andr. act. i. sc. 2. lin. 18.]
[w] [Rom. vi. 17; Acts vi. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 3; Eph. ii. 3; James i. 22, 23; 1 John iii. 22; John iii. 4; 1 John i. 6; 2 Cor. viii. 21; Col. i. 10; 1 Cor. xv. 58.]

the truth;' 'serving in the newness of the Spirit;' 'giving our members up as servants of righteousness unto holiness;' 'being holy in all conversations;' 'following after peace with all men, and holiness;' 'being followers of good works;' 'providing things honest in the sight of God and men;' 'abhorring evil, and cleaving to that which is good;' 'perfecting holiness in the fear of God;' 'to be perfect in every good work;' 'being filled with the fruits of righteousness;' 'walking worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing;' 'being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God;' 'abounding in the work of the Lord: *τέλειοι* and *πεπληρωμένοι* are the words often used, 'filled full,' and 'perfect.'

16. To the same purpose is it, that we are commanded to 'live in Christ,' and 'unto God[w],' that is, to live according to their will, and by their rule, and to their glory, and in their fear and love, called by S. Paul[x] to 'live in the faith of the Son of God:' to be 'followers of Christ, and of God,' to 'dwell in Christ, and to abide in Him;' to 'walk according to the commandments of God,' 'in good works,' 'in truth,' 'according to the Spirit,' to 'walk in light;' to 'walk with God,' which was said of Enoch, of whom the Greek LXX. read, *εὐηρέστησε τῷ θεῷ*, 'he pleased God.' There are very many more to the same purpose. For with great caution and earnestness the holy scriptures place the duties of mankind in practice and holiness of living, and removes it far from a confidence of notion and speculation. *Qui fecerit et docuerit*[y], 'he that doth them and teaches them, shall be great in the kingdom;' and, "Why do you call Me Lord, Lord, and do not the things I say to you;" and, "Ye are My friends if ye do what I command you." *Πρέπον οὖν .. μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χριστιανοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λέγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι μακάριον ποιεῖ*[z], 'we must not only be called Christians, but be so; for not to be called but to be so, brings us to felicity;' that is, since the life of a Christian is the life of repentance, whose work it is for ever to contend against sin, for ever to strive to please God, a dying to sin, a living to Christ, he that thinks his repentance can have another definition, or is completed in any other, or in fewer parts, must be of another religion than is taught by Christ and His holy apostles. This is the faith of the Son of God, this is that state of excellent things which He purchased with His blood; and as "there is no other name under heaven," so there is no other faith, no other repentance "whereby we can be saved."

Upon this article it is usual to discourse of sorrow and contrition, of confession of sins, of making amends, of self-affliction, and some other particulars: but because they are not parts, but actions, fruits, and significations of repentance, I have reserved them for their proper

[w] [2 Tim. iii. 12.]
[x] [Gal. ii. 20; 1 Cor. ii. 1 [?]; 1 Thess. i. 6; John ii. 6; Eph. ii. 10.]
[y] [Matt. v. 19; Luke v. (leg. vi.) 46; John xv. 14.]
[z] Ignat. ad Magnes. [interp. § iv. p. 54.]

place. Now I am to apply this general doctrine to particular states of sin and sinners, in the following chapters.

[1] § 3. Descriptions of repentance taken from the holy scriptures.

WHEN heaven is shut up[c], and there is no rain, because they have sinned against Thee: if they pray towards this place, and confess Thy name, and turn from their sin when Thou afflictest them: then hear Thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of Thy servants and of Thy people Israel, that Thou teach them the good way wherein they should walk, and give rain upon Thy land which Thou hast given to Thy people for an inheritance.

And the Redeemer shall come to Zion[d], and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. As for Me, this is My covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.

Again, when I say unto the wicked[e], Thou shalt surely die: if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right: if the wicked restore the pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life without committing iniquity; he shall even live, he shall not die: none of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him; he hath done that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live.

Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him[f], that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh: for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness.

Wherefore my brethren[g], ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to Him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God. For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in the newness of spirit[h], and not in the oldness of the letter.

[c] [1 Kings viii. 35, 36.]
[d] [Isa. lix. 20, 21.]
[e] [Ezek. xxxiii. 14—16.]
[f] [Rom. vi. 6, 11—13, 18 sq.]
[g] [Rom. vii. 4—6.]
[h] ['of the Spirit,' B.]

And that, knowing the time[i], that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

Having therefore these promises[j], dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death. For behold, this self-same thing that ye sorrowed after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of yourselves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge; in all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter.

For the love of Christ constraineth us[k], because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.

That ye put off[l], concerning the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind: and that ye put on that new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.

Let no man deceive you with vain words[m]: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk as children of light. For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth. Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord: and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise: redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.

If ye then be risen with Christ[n], seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God. Mortify therefore your members, which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry. But now, you also put off all these, anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and

[i] [Rom. xiii. 11—13.]
[j] [2 Cor. vii. 1, 10, 11.]
[k] [2 Cor. v. 14, 17.]
[l] [Ephes. iv. 22—24.]
[m] [Ephes. v. 6—11, 15—17.]
[n] [Col. iii. 1—3, 5, 8—10.]

have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him.

For the grace of God[o] that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ: who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses[p], let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us: looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently lest any man fail of the grace of God, lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.

Of His own will[q] begat He us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of His creatures. Wherefore lay apart all filthiness, and superfluity of naughtiness, and receive with meekness the ingraffed word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.

Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises[r], that by these you might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust. And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity: for if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind[s], be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought to you at the revelation of Jesus Christ: as obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts in your ignorance: but as He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.

Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree[t], that we being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness, by whose stripes ye were healed.

[o] [Tit. ii. 11—14.]
[p] [Heb. xii. 1, 2, 14, 15.]
[q] [James i. 18, 21, 22.]
[r] [2 Pet. i. 4—9.]
[s] [1 Pet. i. 13—16.]
[t] [1 Pet. ii. 24.]

THE INDISPENSABLE NECESSITY OF A GOOD LIFE, REPRESENTED IN THE FOLLOWING SCRIPTURES.

Whosoever breaketh one of these least commandments[u], and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

And why call ye Me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say[x]?

Ye are My friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you[y].

I beseech you therefore, brethren[z], by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, that acceptable and perfect will of God.

Who will render to every man according to his deeds[a]: to them who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life. But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness; indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the gentile. But glory, honour and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the gentile.

Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God[b].

Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord[c].

For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature[d].

For in Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love[e].

For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them[f].

And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment[g]: that ye may approve things that are excellent, that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ, unto the glory and praise of God.

[u] [Matt. v. 19.]
[x] [Luke vi. 46.]
[y] [John xv. 14.]
[z] [Rom. xii. 1, 2.]
[a] [Rom. ii. 6—10.]
[b] [1 Cor. vii. 19.]
[c] [1 Cor. xv. 58.]
[d] [Gal. vi. 15.]
[e] [Gal. v. 6.]
[f] [Eph. ii. 10.]
[g] [Phil. i. 9—11.]

Furthermore then we beseech you[h], brethren, and exhort you by the Lord Jesus, that as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk, and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. For ye know what commandments we gave by the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, even your sanctification.

As you know how we exhorted[i], and comforted, and charged every one of you as a father doth his children; that ye should walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto His kingdom and glory. For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, because when ye received the word of God, which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but (as it is in truth) the word of God, which effectually worketh also in you that believe.

How much more shall the blood of Christ[k], who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?

And having an high-priest over the house of God[l], let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water: let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for He is faithful that promised. And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works. Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching. For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?

For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God[m]: and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God?

And every man that hath this hope in him[n], purifieth himself, even as He is pure. And whatsoever we ask, we receive of Him, because we keep His commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in His sight.

And he that overcometh, and keepeth My works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations[o].

[h] [1 Thess. iv. 1—3.]
[i] [1 Thess. ii. 11—13.]
[k] [Heb. ix. 14.]
[l] [Heb. x. 21—29.]
[m] [1 Pet. iv. 17.]
[n] [1 John iii. 3, 22.]
[o] [Apoc. ii. 26.]

A PENITENTIAL PSALM, COLLECTED OUT OF THE PSALMS AND PROPHETS.

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy loving-kindness: according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

For our transgressions are multiplied before Thee, and our sins testify against us: our transgressions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know them;

In transgressing and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood.

Our feet have run to evil, our thoughts are thoughts of iniquity. The way of peace we have not known: we have made us crooked paths, whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace.

Therefore do we wait for light, but behold obscurity: for brightness, but we walk in darkness.

Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of Thy holiness and of Thy glory: where is Thy zeal and Thy strength, the sounding of Thy bowels and of Thy mercies towards me? are they restrained?

We are indeed as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags: and we all do fade as a leaf, and our iniquities like the wind have taken us away.

But now, O Lord, Thou art our Father: we are the clay, and Thou our potter, and we all are the work of Thy hand. Be not wroth very sore, O Lord; neither remember iniquity for ever: behold, see we beseech Thee, we are Thy people. Thou, O Lord, art our Redeemer: Thy name is from everlasting.

O Lord, Father and Governor of my whole life, leave me not to the sinful counsels of my own heart, and let me not any more fall by them. Set scourges over my thoughts, and the discipline of wisdom over my heart, lest my ignorances increase, and my sins abound to my destruction.

O Lord, Father and God of my life, give me not a proud look, but turn away from Thy servant always a haughty mind.

Turn away from me vain hopes and concupiscence, and Thou shalt hold him up that is always desirous to serve Thee.

Let not the greediness of the belly nor the lust of the flesh take hold of me: and give not Thy servant over to an impudent mind.

There is a word that is clothed about with death: God grant it be not found in the portion of Thy servant. For all such things shall be far from the godly, and they shall not wallow in their sins.

Though my sins be as scarlet, yet make them white as snow: though they be red like crimson, let them be as wool.

For I am ashamed of the sins I have desired, and am confounded for the pleasures that I have chosen.

Lord make me to know mine end, and the measure of my days, what it is: that I may know how frail I am, and that I may apply my heart unto wisdom.

Withhold not Thou thy tender mercies from me, O Lord: let Thy loving-kindness and Thy truth continually preserve me.

For innumerable evils have compassed me about, mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up: for they are more than the hairs of my head, therefore my heart faileth me.

But Thou, O Lord, though mine iniquities testify against me, save me for Thy name sake: for our backslidings are many, we have sinned grievously against Thee.

But the Lord God will help me, therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed.

He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me? The Lord God will help me, who is he that shall condemn me? I will trust in the Lord, and stay upon my God.

O let me have this of Thine hand, that I may not lie down in sorrow.

ST. PAUL'S PRAYERS FOR A HOLY LIFE.

I. I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ[p], of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant unto me according to the riches of His glory to be strengthened with might by His spirit in the inner man: that Christ may dwell in my heart by faith; that being rooted and grounded in love, I may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, and may be filled with all the fulness of God, through the same our most blessed Saviour Jesus. Amen.

THE DOXOLOGY.

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us: unto Him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

II. O most gracious God, grant to Thy servant to be filled[q] with the knowledge of Thy will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding;

[p] [Eph. iii. 14 sqq.] [q] [Col. i. 9 sqq.]

to walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, to be fruitful in every good work, increasing in the knowledge of God. Strengthen me, O God, with all might according to Thy glorious power, unto all patience, and long-suffering, and joyfulness: so shall I give thanks unto the Father, who hath made me meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

III. Now God himself and our Father[r], and our Lord Jesus Christ perfect what is lacking in my faith, direct my way unto Him, make me to increase and abound in love towards all men, and establish my heart unblamable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all His saints.

IV. The God of peace[s], that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make me perfect in every good work to do His will, working in me what is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

A PENITENTIAL PRAYER.

I.

O eternal God, most merciful Father, who hast revealed Thyself to mankind in Christ Jesus, full of pity and compassion, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin; be pleased to effect these Thy admirable mercies upon Thy servant, whom Thou hast made to put his trust in Thee. I know, O God, that I am vile and polluted in Thy sight; but I must come into Thy presence or I die. Thou canst not behold any unclean thing, and yet unless Thou lookest upon me, who am nothing but uncleanness, I shall perish miserably and eternally. O look upon me with a gracious eye; cleanse my soul with the blood of the holy Lamb; that being purified in that holy stream, my sins may lose their own foulness, and become white as snow: then shall the leprous man be admitted to Thy sanctuary, and stand before the throne of grace, humble, and full of sorrow for my fault, and full of hope of Thy mercy and pardon, through Jesus Christ.

[r] [1 Thess. iii. 11, 12.]

[s] [Heb. xiii. 20, 21.]

II.

O my God, Thou wert reconciled to mankind by Thy own graciousness and glorious goodness, even when Thou didst find out so mysterious ways of redemption for us by sending Jesus Christ; then Thou didst love us, and that holy Lamb did from the beginning of the world lie before Thee as sacrificed and bleeding; and in the fulness of time He came to actuate and exhibit what Thy goodness had designed and wrought in the counsels of eternity. But now, O gracious Father, let me also be reconciled to Thee; for we continued enemies to Thee, though Thou lovedst us; let me no longer stand at distance from Thee, but run unto Thee, bowing my will, and submitting my understanding, and mortifying my affections, and resigning all my powers and faculties to Thy holy laws, that Thou mayest take delight to pardon and to sanctify, to assist Thy servant with Thy grace, till by so excellent conduct, and so unspeakable mercy, I shall arrive to the state of glory.

III.

O blessed Saviour Jesus, Thou hast made Thyself a blessed peace-offering for sins, Thou hast procured and revealed to us this covenant of repentance and remission of sins; and by the infinite mercies of the Father, and the death and intercession of the Son, we stand fair and hopeful in the eye of the divine compassion, and we have hopes of being saved. O be pleased to work Thy own work in us. The grace and admission to repentance is Thy own glorious production, Thou hast obtained it for us with a mighty purchase: but then be pleased also to take me in, to partake actually of this glorious mercy. Give to Thy servant a perfect hatred of sin, a great displeasure at my own folly for ever having provoked Thee to anger; a perpetual watchfulness against it, an effective resolution against all its tempting instances, a prevailing strife and a glorious victory; that the body of sin being destroyed, I may never any more serve any of its baser interests; but that by a diligent labour, and a constant care, I may approve myself to Thee my God, mindful of Thy covenant, a servant of Thy will, a lover of Thy glory; that being Thy minister in a holy service, I may be Thy son by adoption and participation of the glories of the Lord Jesus. O let me never lie down in sin, nor rise in shame; but be partaker both of the death and the resurrection of our Lord; that my imperfect and unworthy services may, by passing into the holiness of Thy kingdom, be such as Thy servant desires they should, and fit to be presented unto Thee in the perfect holiness of eternity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DISTINCTION OF SINS MORTAL AND VENIAL, IN WHAT SENSE TO BE ADMITTED; AND HOW THE SMALLEST SINS ARE TO BE REPENTED OF, AND EXPIATED.

§ 1. The inconvenience as to the conduct of conscience in distinguishing sins into mortal and venial in their own nature or kind.

1. MEN have not been satisfied with devising infinite retirements and disguises of their follies to hide them from the world, but finding themselves open and discerned by God, have endeavoured to discover means of escaping from that Eye from which nothing can escape but innocence, and from which nothing can be hid but under the cover of mercy. For besides that we expound the divine laws to our own purposes of ease and ambition, we give to our sins gentle censures, and adorn them with good words, and refuse to load them with their proper characters and punishments; and at last are come to that state of things, that since we cannot allow to ourselves a liberty of doing every sin, we have distinguished the question of sins into several orders, and have taken one half to ourselves. For we have found rest to our fancies in the permissions of one whole kind, having distinguished sins into 'mortal' and 'venial' in their own nature; that is, sins which may and sins which may not be done without danger; so that all the difference is, that some sins must be taken heed of, but others there are, and they the most in number, and the most frequent in their instances and returns, which we have leave to commit, without being affrighted with the fearful noises of damnation; by which doctrine, iniquity and confidence have much increased and grown upon the ruins and declension of the Spirit.

2. And this one article hath almost an infinite influence to the disparagement of religion in the determination of cases of conscience. For supposing the distinction to be believed, experience and certain reason will evince that it is impossible to prescribe proper limits and measures to the several kinds; and between the least mortal, and the greatest venial sin, no man is able with certainty to distinguish: and therefore (as we see it daily happen, and in every page written by the casuists) men call what they please venial, take what measures of them they like, appoint what expiation of them they fancy, and consequently give what allowance they list to those whom they please to mislead. For in innumerable cases of conscience it is oftener enquired whether a thing be venial or mortal, than whether it be lawful or not lawful; and as purgatory is to hell, so venial is to sin, a thing which men fear not, because the main stake they think to be secured: for

if they may have heaven at last, they care not what comes between. And as many men of the Roman persuasion will rather choose purgatory, than suffer here an inconsiderable penance, or do those little services which themselves think will prevent it: so they choose venial sins, and hug the pleasures of trifles, warming themselves at phantastic fires, and dancing in the light of the glo-worms[t]; and they love them so well, that rather than quit those little things, they will suffer the intolerable pains of a temporary hell; for so they believe: which is the testimony of a great evil and a mighty danger; for it gives testimony, that little sins can be beloved passionately, and therefore can minister such a delight as is thought a price great enough to pay for the sufferance of temporal evils, and purgatory itself.

3. But the evil is worse yet when it is reduced to practice. For in the decision of very many questions, the answer is, it is a venial sin; that is, though it be a sin, yet there is in it no danger of losing the favour of God by that, but you may do it, and you may do it again a thousand thousand times; and all the venial sins of the world put together, can never do what one mortal sin can, that is, make God to be your enemy: so Bellarmine[u] expressly affirms. But because there are many doctors who write cases of conscience, and there is no measure to limit the parts of this distinction, (for that which is not at all[x] cannot be measured,) the doctors differ infinitely in their sentences; some calling that mortal which others call venial (as you may see in the little summaries of Navar and Emanuel Sà) the poor souls of the laity, and the vulgar clergy who believe what is told them by the authors or confessors they choose to follow, must needs be in infinite danger, and the whole body of practical divinity, in which the life of religion and of all our hopes depends, shall be rendered dangerous and uncertain, and their confidence shall betray them unto death.

4. To bring relief to this state of evil, and to establish aright the proper grounds and measures of repentance; I shall first account concerning the difference of sins, and by what measures they are so differenced; secondly, that all sins are of their own nature punishable as God please, even with the highest expressions of His anger; thirdly, by what repentance they are cured, and pardoned respectively.

§ 2. Of the difference of sins and their measures.

5. *a.* SINS are not equal, but greater or less in their principle as well as in their event. It was one of the errors of Jovinian[y], which he learned from the schools of the stoics, that all sins are alike grievous;

[t] [sic edd. — 'Glo-worme,' Shakespeare, Hamlet, act. i. sc. 5. ed. 1603. —Pericles prince of Tyre, act. ii. sc. 3. ed. 1619.—Holland in his translation of Pliny, book xviii. ch. 26. p. 593, speaks of 'Glo-birds or Glo-wormes.'—Glo, (Gaelic and Welsh) a live coal.—Todd's Johnson.]

[u] Lib. i. de amiss. gratiæ, cap. 13. § 'Alterum est.' [tom. iv. col. 114.]

[x] [vid. Eccles. i. 15.]

[y] [S. Hieron. adv. Jovin., lib. ii.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 222 sq.]

—— Nam dicunt esse pares res
Furta latrociniis, et magnis parva minantur
Falce recisuros simili se, si sibi regnum
Permittant homines[a]; ——

for they supposed an absolute irresistible fate to be the cause of all things; and therefore what was equally necessary, was equally culpable, that is, not at all: and where men have no power of choice, or (which is all one) that it be necessary that they choose what they do, there can be no such thing as laws or sins against them. To which they adding that all evils are indifferent, and the event of things, be it good or bad, had no influence upon the felicity or infelicity of man, they could neither be differenced by their cause nor by their effect; the first being necessary, and the latter indifferent. Against this I shall not need to oppose many arguments; for though this follows most certainly from their doctrine who teach an irresistible decree of God to be the cause of all things and actions, yet they that own the doctrine disavow the consequent, and in that are good Christians, but ill logicians. But the article is sufficiently cleared by the words of our blessed Lord in the case of Judas, whose sin (as Christ told to Pilate) was the greater because he had not power over him but by special concession; in the case of the servant that knows his master's will and does it not; in the several condemnations of the degrees and expressions of anger in the instances of *Raca* and *μῶρε*, 'thou vain man,' or 'thou fool:' by this comparing some sins to gnats, and some to camels[a]: and in proportion to these, there are *πολλαὶ πληγαὶ* in S. Luke, 'many stripes;' a *μεῖζον κρίμα* in S. James, a greater condemnation. Thus to rob a church is a greater sin than to rob a thief; to strike a father is a higher impiety than to resist a tutor; to oppress a widow is clamorous, and calls aloud for vengeance, when a less repentance will vote down the whispering murmurs of a trifling injury, done to a fortune that is not sensible of smaller diminutions.

Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,
Ut qui nocturnus divum sacra legerit[b];—

he is a greater criminal that steals the chalice from a church than he that takes a few coleworts, or robs a garden of cucumers[c]. But this distinction and difference is by something that is extrinsical to the action, the greatness of the mischief, or the dignity of the person; according to that,

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur[d].

[a] [vid.] Hor. serm., lib. i. sat. 3. [lin. 121.]
[a] [Matt. xxiii. 24; Luke vi. 41.]—Ira festuca est, odium vero trabes.—Aug. [serm. ccxi. tom. v. col. 933 D.]
[b] [Hor. sat. i. 3. 115.]
[c] [sic edd.]
[d] [Juv. sat. viii. 140.]

6. β. But this when it is reduced to its proper cause, is, because such greater sins are complicated; they are commonly two or three sins wrapt together, as the unchastity of a priest is uncleanness and scandal too: adultery is worse than fornication, because it is unchastity and injustice, and by the fearful consequents of it is mischievous and uncharitable.

> Et quas Euphrates, et quas mihi misit Orontes
> Me capiant; nolim furta pudica thori [d].

So sacrilege is theft and impiety. And Apicius killing himself when he supposed his estate would not maintain his luxury, was not only a self-murderer, but a gluttonous person in his death:

> Nil est Apici tibi gulosius factum [e].

So that the greatness of sins is in most instances by extension and accumulation; that as he is a greater sinner who sins often in the same instance, than he that sins seldom; so is he who sins such sins as are complicated and entangled, like the twinings of combining serpents. And this appears to be so, because if we take single sins, as uncleanness and theft, no man can tell which is the greater sin; neither can they be differenced but by something that is besides the nature of the action itself. A thought of theft, and an unclean thought, have nothing by which they can excel each other; but when you clothe them with the dress of active circumstances, they grow greater or less respectively, because then two or three sins are put together, and get a new name.

7. γ. There is but one way more by which sins can get or lose degrees, and that is the different proportions of our affections. This indeed relates to God more immediately, and by Him alone is judged; but the former being invested with material circumstances, can be judged by men: but all that God reserves for His own portion of the sacrifice, is the heart; that is, our love and choice; and therefore the degrees of love or hatred is that measure by which God makes differing judgments of them. For by this it is that little sins become great, and great sins become little. If a Jew had maliciously touched a dead body in the days of Easter, it had been a greater crime than if in the violence of his temptation he had unwillingly willed to commit an act of fornication. He that delights in little thefts because they are breaches of God's law, or burns a prayer-book because he hates religion, is a greater criminal than he that falls into a material heresy by an invincible or less discerned deception: secure but to God your affections, and He will secure your innocence or pardon; for men live or die by their own measures. If a man spits in the face of a priest to defy religion, or shaves the beard of an embassador to disgrace the prince (as it happened to David's messengers) his sin is greater than if he killed the priest in his own just defence, or shot

[d] [Propert. ii. 23. 21.]

[e] Mart., lib. iii. epigr. 22. [lin. 5.]

the embassador through the heart, when he intended to strike a lion. For every negligence, every disobedience being against charity or the love of God, by interpretation; this superaddition of direct malice is open enmity against Him, and therefore is more severely condemned by Him who sees every thought and degrees of passion and affection. For the increase of malice does aggravate the sin, just as the complication of material instances. Every degree of malice being as distinct and commensurate a sin, as any one external instance that hath a name; and therefore many degrees of malice combine and grow greater as many sins conjoined in one action, they differ only in nature, not in morality; just as a great number and a great weight: so that in effect all sins are differenced by complication only, that is, either of the external or the internal instances.

8. δ. Though the negligence or the malice be naturally equal, yet sometimes by accident the sins may be unequal, not only in the account of men, but also before God too; but it is upon the account of both the former. It is when the material effect being different upon men, God hath with greater caution secured such interests. So that by interpretation the negligence is greater, because the care was with greater earnestness commanded; or else because in such cases the sin is complicated: for such sins which do most mischief, have besides their proper malignity, the evil of uncharitableness, or hating our brother. In some cases God requires one hand, and in others both. Now he that puts but one of his fingers to each of them, his negligence is in nature the same, but not in value, because where more is required the defect was greater. If a man be equally careless of the life of his neighbour's son and his neighbour's cock, although the will or attendance to the action be naturally equal, that is, none at all, yet morally and in the divine account they differ, because the proportions of duty and obligation were different, and therefore more ought to have been put upon the one than upon the other: just as he is equally clothed that wears a single garment in summer and winter, but he is not equally warm, unless he that wears a silk mantle when the dog-star rages, claps on furs when the cold north-star changes the waters into rocks.

9. ε. Single sins done with equal affection or disaffection do not differ in degrees as they relate to God, but in themselves are equally prevarications of the divine commandment. As he tells a lie that says the moon is four-square[g], as great as he that says there were but three apostles, or that Christ was not the Son of man: and as every lie is an equal sin against truth; so every sin is an equal disobedience and recession from the rule. But some lies are more against charity, or justice, or religion, than others are, and so are greater by complication;

[f] [See vol. iv. p. 617.]

[g] Nihil invenies rectius recto, non magis quam verius vero, quam temperato temperatius: omnis in modo est virtus; modus certa mensura est. Constantia non habet quo procedat, non magis quam fiducia, aut veritas, aut fides.—Sen. ep. lxvii. [leg. lxvi. tom. ii. p. 233.]

but against truth they are all equally opposed: and so are all sins contrary to the commandment. And in this sense is that saying of S. Basil [h], *Primo enim scire illud convenit, differentiam minorum et majorum nusquam in Novo testamento reperiri: siquidem una est et eadem sententia adversus quælibet peccata, cum Dominus dixerit, Qui facit peccatum servus est peccati: et item, Sermo quem loquutus sum vobis, ille judicabit eum in novissimo die: et Joannes vociferans dicat, Qui contumax est in Filium non videbit vitam æternam, sed ira Dei manet super eum: cum contumacia non in discrimine peccatorum sed in violatione præcepti positam habeat futuri supplicii denunciationem;* 'the difference of great and little sins is no where to be found in the New testament: one and the same sentence is against all sins; our Lord saying, He that doth sin is the servant of sin; and, The word that I have spoken, that shall judge you in the last day; and John crieth out, saying, He that is disobedient to the Son shall not see eternal life, but the wrath of God abideth on him: for this contumacy or disobedience does not consist in the difference of sins, but in the violation of the divine law; and for that it is threatened with eternal pain.' But besides these arguments from scripture, he adds an excellent reason, *Prorsus autem si id nobis permittitur ut in peccatis hoc magnum, illud exiguum appellemus, invicto argumento concluditur magnum unicuique esse illud a quo quisque superatur, contraque exiguum quod unusquisque ipse superat: ut in athletis qui vicit fortis est; qui autem victus est, imbecillior eo unde victus est, quisque ille sit;* 'if it be permitted that men shall call this sin great and that sin little, they will conclude that to be great which was too strong for them, and that to be little which they can master; as among champions he is the strongest that gets the victory.' And then upon this account no sin is venial that a man commits, because that is it which hath prevailed upon and mastered all his strengths.

10. The instance is great, whatsoever it be, that God hath chosen for our obedience. To abstain from the fruit of a tree, not to gather sticks or dew after a certain hour, not to touch the curtains of the ark, not to uncover our father's shame, all is one as to God; for there is nothing in all our duty that can add any moments to His felicity, but by what He please He is to try our obedience. Let no man therefore despise a sin, or be bold to plead for it, as Lot for Zoar, "Is it not a little one?" For no man can say it is little, if God hath chosen the commandment which the sin transgresses as an instrument of His glorification and our felicity. Disobedience is the formality of sin; and since the instance or the matter of sin is all one to God, so also is the disobedience.—The result of this consideration is this: first, that no man should indulge to himself the smallest sin, because it is equally against God as the greatest; and though ac-

[h] In regul. brevior. [quæst. ccxciii. tom. ii. p. 518.]

cidentally it may come not to be so exacted, yet of itself it may, and God is just if He does: secondly, there is no sin but if God enters into judgment with us He may justly sentence us for it to the portion of accursed spirits; for if for any, then for all, there being (as to Him) no difference. But these things are to be proved in the following section.

§ 3. That all sins are punishable as God please, even with the pains of hell.

11. α. In the aggravation of sins, the injured person is as considerable as any other circumstance. He that smites a prince, he that fires a temple, he that rails upon the Bible, he that pollutes the sacraments, makes every sin to be a load: and therefore since every sin is against God, it ought not to be called little, unless God himself should be little esteemed. And since men usually give this account, that God punishes a transient sin with an immortal pain, because though the action is finite, yet it was against an infinite God; we may upon the same ground esteem it just that even for the smallest sin God in the rigour of His justice can exact the biggest calamity. For an act of murder, or a whole year of adultery, hath no nearer proportion to an eternity of pains, than one sinful thought hath: for greater or less are no approaches towards infinite: for between them both, and what is infinite, the distance is equally infinite.

12. β. In the distinction of sins mortal and venial, the doctors of the Roman church define venial sins to be such which can consist with the love of God, which never destroy or lessen it[1]; in the very definition supposing that thing which is most of all in question; and the ground of the definition is nothing but the analogy and proportion of the entercourses and usages of men, who for a small offence do not neglect or cast away the endearments of an old friend[k]: of which when I have given account, I suppose the greatest difficulty of the question is removed. Against this therefore I oppose this proposition, 'The smallest sins are destructive of our friendship with God.' For although God's mercies are infinite and glorious, and He forgives millions to us that grudge to remit the trifles of our brother; and therefore whatsoever we can suppose a man will forgive to his friend, that and much more, infinitely more, may we expect from the treasures of His goodness and mercy; yet our present consideration is, not what we can expect from God's mercy, but what is the just demerit of our sins; not what He will forgive, but what He may justly exact; not what are the measures of pardon, but what are the accounts of His justice: for though we have hopes upon other reckonings, yet upon the account even of our smallest sins we have nothing but fear and sadder expectations.—For we are not to account the measures

[1] Venialia peccata, ex consensu omnium theologorum, neque tollunt neque minuunt habitum caritatis, sed solum actum et fervorem ejus impediunt.—Bellarm. de amiss. grat. [lib. i.] c. 13. § 'Alterum est.' [tom. iv. col. 114.]

[k] Idem, ib., cap. 11. § 'Quartum argum.' [col. 102.]

and rules of our friendship with God, by the easiness and ignorance, by the necessities and usual compliances of men; for

13. *α.* Certain it is, that in the usual accounts of men some things are permitted which are not so in the accounts of God. All sorts of ignorance use to lessen a fault amongst men, but before God some sorts of ignorance do aggravate; such as is, the voluntary and malicious, which is the worst sort of vincible. Not that men do not esteem him vicious and unworthy who enquires not for fear he should know, but because men oftentimes are not competent judges whether they do or no.

14. *β.* Because men know not by what purpose their neighbour's action is directed, and therefore reckon only by the next and most apparent cause, not by the secret and most operative and effective.

15. *γ.* Because by the laws of charity we are bound to think the best, to expound things fairly, to take up things by the easier handle; there being left for us no other security of not being confounded by mutual censures, judgments and inflictions, but by being restrained on the surer side of charity, on which the errors of men are not judged criminal and mischievous, as on the other side they are. But God knows the hearts of men, their little obliquities and intricate turnings, every propensity and secret purpose, what malice is ingredient, and what error is invincible, and how much is fit to be pitied, and therefore what may justly be exacted.—For there are three several ways of judgment, according to the several capacities of the judges. (1) The laws of men judge only by the event, or material action, and meddle not at all with the purpose, but where it is opened by an active sign. He that gives me a thousand pounds to upbraid my poverty, or with a purpose to feed my crimes, is not punishable by law; but he is that takes from me a thousand shillings, though secretly he means to give it to my needy brother: because as in the estimation of men, nothing is valuable but what does them good or hurt; so neither can their laws and tribunals receive testimony of any thing but what is seen or felt. And thus it is also in the measures of sins. To break order in a day of battle, is but a disorder; and so it is to break order at S. George's show, at a training, or in a procession; and yet that is punished with death, this with a cudgel; the aptness to mischief, and the evil consequent, being in human judicatories the only measures of judgment: men feel the effects, and the laws do judge accordingly. (2.) In the private judgments of men mercy must interpose; and it can oftener than in the public, because in the private entercourses of men there is a sense, and can be a consideration, of particulars, and little accidents and significations of things; and some purposes may be privately discerned which cannot publicly be proved. He that went to help his friend out of a river, and pulled his arm out of joint, was excused by the wronged preserved person; the evil accident was taken off by the pious purpose: but he that to dishonour his friend

throws a glass of wine in his face, and says he did it in sport, may be judged by his purpose, not by his pretence, because the pretence can be confuted by the observation of little circumstances and adherencies of the action, which yet peradventure cannot legally be proved. *Aliter leges, aliter philosophi tollunt astutias: leges, quatenus manu tenere possunt; philosophi, quatenus ratione et intelligentia,* 'laws regard the great materialities of obedience, the real, sensible effect; but wise men, philosophers and private judges, take in the accounts of accidental moments and incidencies to the action,' said Cicero[l]. But (3) God's judgment is otherwise yet; for He alone can tell the affection, and all that which had secret influence into the event: and therefore He can judge by what is secret, by the purpose and heart, which is indeed the only way of doing exact justice. From hence it follows, that what ought not to dissolve the friendship of man, may yet justly dissolve our friendship with God, for He takes other measures than men may or can.

16. δ. Because offences against God may be avoided, but it is not so in our entercourses with men; for God hath told us plainly what is our duty, what He expects, what will please and what will displease Him: but men are often governed by chance, and that which pleases them to-day shall provoke them to-morrow, and the next day you shall be their enemy for that for which three days ago they paid you thanks.

17. ε. If men exact little things, it becomes their own case; for we sin against our brother and need his pardon: and therefore

Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim[m],

'we give and ask pardon;'

Det ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus[n]:

but we never found iniquity in God, or injustice in the Most High, and therefore he that is innocent may throw a stone at the criminal.

18. ζ. God hath in the smallest instance left us without excuse; for He hath often warned us of small offences. He hath told us their danger; "he that despiseth little things, shall perish by little and little[o]." He hath told us they asperse us with a mighty guilt, for 'he that offends in one commandment is guilty of all[p].' He hath told us that we are not certainly excused, though our conscience do not manifestly accuse us; for so S. Paul[q], 'I am not hereby justified, for God is greater than my conscience.' He hath threatened loss of heaven to him that is guilty of the breach of one, κἂν ἐλαχίστων, 'though of the least of these commandments' (τούτων, 'these' which Christ had reckoned in His sermon, where fetters are laid upon

[l] Offic., lib. iii. [cap. 17.—tom. iii. p. 276.]
[m] [Hor. de art. poet. lin. 11.]
[n] [Sen. Agam., act ii. lin. 267.]
[o] [Ecclus. xix. 1.]
[p] [James ii. 10.]
[q] [1 Cor. iv. 4.]

thoughts and words) 'shall be called the least in the kingdom,' that is, he shall be quite shut out: for *minimus* here is as much as *nullus*[r]; *minimus vocabitur*, that is, *minimi æstimabitur*, he shall not be esteemed at all in the accounts of dooms-day mercy, ἐν τῇ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀποκαταστάσει ἐν ᾗ γίνεται κολαζομένων τε καὶ δοξαζομένων ἡ διαίρεσις[s], in the accounts of the dooms-day book, 'where there shall be a discerning of them who shall be glorified, from them that are to be punished.' And this which is one of the severest periods of holy scripture, can by no arts be turned aside from concluding fully in this question. Bellarmine[t] says it means only to condemn those who by false doctrines corrupt these severe precepts, and teach men as the pharisees did of old; not all those who break them themselves, if they teach others to keep them. "He that breaks one of these, and shall teach men so to do," so are the words of Christ. But (1) it is a known thing that καὶ is oftentimes used for ἤ, he that breaks one of these, 'or' shall teach others. The words were spoken to the persons of the apostles, who were to teach these doctrines κατ' ἐπίτασιν, exactly as Christ preached them; but without peradventure they were also intended to all the church: and the following words, and the whole analogy of the adjoined discourse, make it clear to every observing reader; and the words plainly say this, 'He that shall break one of these least commandments,' and 'he that shall teach men so,' each of them 'shall be called the least in the kingdom.' But (2) why did our blessed Lord so severely threaten those that should teach others to break any of these severe commandments by false interpretation, but only because it was so necessary for all to keep them in the true sense, and so fearful a thing to any to break them. (3) Those who preach severe doctrines to others, and touch them not with one of their fingers, are guilty of that which Christ reproved in the pharisees, and themselves shall be castaways while they preach to others: so that the breaking it by disobedience is damnable, as well as the breaking it by false interpretation:

> Odi homines ignava opera, philosopha sententia[u];
>
> Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam[v].

Indeed it is intolerable to teach men to be vicious; but it is a hateful baseness to shew others that way which ourselves refuse to walk in. Whatever therefore may not be allowed to be taught, may not also be done; for the people are not to be taught evil, because they must not do evil; but may the teachers do what they may not teach, and what the people may not do, or is not the same punishment to them both?

[r] [Cf. vol. iv. p. 172.]

[s] [Just. Martyr, Resp. ad orthod. [ad qu. cxx. p. 492.]

[t] De amiss. grat. [lib. i.] cap. 12. § 'Restat ultim.' [col. 107.]

[u] Pacuvius. [apud Aulum Gellium, lib. xiii. cap. 8. p. 585.]

[v] [Enn., ap. Cic. de div., lib. i. ad fin.]

(4.) Now upon these grounds this very gloss which Bellarmine gives being a false interpretation of these words of Christ (which are a summary of His whole sermon, and as it were the sanction and establishment of the former and following periods into laws) must needs be of infinite danger to the inventor and followers of it: for this gloss gives leave to men to 'break the least of these commandments' some way or other (if they do not 'teach' others so to do) without being affrighted with fears of hell; but in the meanwhile this gloss teaches or gives leave to others to break them, but allows no false interpretation of them but its own. (5.) But then it is worse with them who teach others so to do, and command all men to teach so; and if the Roman doctors who teach that some breach of these commandments is not of its own nature, and by the divine threatenings, exclusive of the transgressors from the kingdom of God, be not in some sense a teaching men so to do, then nothing is: for when God said to Adam, 'That day thou eatest of the forbidden fruit, thou shalt die;' the Tempter said, 'Nay, but ye shall not die;' and so was author to Adam of committing his sin. So when our blessed Saviour hath told us that to break one of these least commandments is exclusive of us from heaven, they that say that not every solution or breaking of them is exclusive from heaven (which are the words of Bellarmine and the doctrine of the Roman church) must even by the consequence of this very gloss of his fall under the danger of the διδάξοντες, of the false teachers, or the breakers of them by false interpretation. However, fearful is the malediction even to the breakers of the least: ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται, that is, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἔσχατος, καὶ ἀπερρίμμενος εἰς γεέννην (that I may use the words of Theophylact [x]) 'he shall be last in the resurrection and shall be thrown into hell:' for that is the meaning of 'least in the kingdom of heaven;' *et fortasse ideo non erit in regno cælorum, ubi nisi magni esse non possunt,* said S. Austin [y]; 'least' is 'none at all,' for into heaven none can enter but they which are great in God's account.

19. η. Lastly, God hath given us the perpetual assistances of His spirit, the presence of His grace, the ministry of His word, the fear of judgments, the endearment of His mercies, the admonition of friends, the severity of preachers, the aid of books, the apprehension of death, the sense of our daily dangers, our continual necessities, and the recollection of our prayers, and above all, He hath promised heaven to the obedient, which is a state of blessings so great and infinite, as upon the account of them it is infinitely reasonable and just if He shall exact of us every sin, that is, every thing which we can avoid.

20. Upon this account it is, that although wise and prudent men do not despise the continual endearments of an old friend, yet in many cases God may and doth; and from the rules and proper measures of human friendship, to argue up to a presumption of God's

[x] [In Matt. v. 19.]

[y] [De serm. Dom. in monte, lib. i. cap. 8.—tom. iii. part. 2. col. 173 E.]

easiness in not exacting our duty, is a fallacious proceeding, but it will deceive no body but ourselves.

21. *a.* Every sin is directly against God's law; and therefore is damnable and deadly in the accounts of the divine justice, one as well, though not so grievously, as another. For though sins be differenced by greater and less, yet their proportion to punishment is not differenced by temporal and eternal, but by greater and less in that kind which God hath threatened. So Origen[z], *Unusquisque pro qualitate et quantitate peccati diversam mulctæ sententiam expendit: si parum est quod peccas, ferieris damno minuti, ut Lucas scripsit, ut vero Matthæus, quadrantis. Verumtamen necesse est hoc ipsum quod exstitisti debitor, solvere; non enim inde exibis, nisi et minima quæque persolveris.* Every one according to the quantity and quality of his sin must pay his fine; but till he hath paid he shall not be loosed from those fearful prisons; that is, he shall never be loosed, if he agree not before he comes thither. The smallest offence is a sin, and therefore it is ἀνομία, 'a transgression of the law,' a violation of that band by which our obedience unites us unto God. And this the holy scripture signifies unto us in various expressions. For though the several words are variously used in sacred and profane writers, yet all of them signify that even the smallest sin is a prevarication of the holy laws; τῆς ἐντολῆς παράβασις, so Damascene[a] calls sin; which we render well by 'transgression:' and even those words which in distinction signify a small offence, yet they also signify the same with the greater words, to shew that they all have the same formality, and do the same displeasure, or at least that by the difference of the words no difference of their natures can be regularly observed. Sins against God only are by Phavorinus[b] called ἁμαρτίαι· ἐξήμαρτε εἰς Θεὸν, ἐξύβρισεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους· and the same word is also used for sin against our neighbours; ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ ἀδελφὸς, 'if thy brother sin against thee,' that is, do thee injury; and this is properly ἀδικία, injustice; but Demosthenes[c] distinguishes injustice from sin, ἀδικία from ἁμαρτία, by voluntary and involuntary; ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκὼν, ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων, 'he that does wrong willingly is unjust, he that does it unwillingly is a sinner.'

παράβασις.

ἁμαρτία.

ἀδικία.

The same indistinction is observable in the other words of scripture; παράπτωμα is by S. Hierome[d] used for the beginnings of sin, *cum cogitatio tacita subrepit, et ex aliqua parte conniventibus nobis, necdum tamen nos impulit ad ruinam,* 'when a sudden thought invades us without our advertency and observation, and hath not brought forth death as yet:' and yet that death is appendent to whatsoever it be that can be signified by παράπτωμα, we may observe,

παράπτωμα.

[z] Hom. xxxv. in Luc. [tom. iii. p. 975.]
[a] Lib. iv. de orthod. fide, cap. 23. [al. 22.—tom. ii. p. 292.]
[b] [vid. in voc. Ἐξαμαρτάνω, f. 193.]
[c] Orat. περὶ στεφάνου. [p. 349.]
[d] [Ut in not. i, infra.]

because the sin of Adam [e] that called death upon all the world is called *παράπτωμα*; and of the Ephesian gentiles S. Paul [f] said they had been dead *παραπτώμασι καὶ ἁμαρτίαις*, 'in trespasses and sins;' and therefore it cannot hence be inferred that such little obliquities, or beginnings of greater sins, are only *παρὰ τὸν νόμον*, 'besides the law,' not against it, for it is (at least the word hinders not but it may be) of the same kind of malignity as was the sin of Adam. And therefore S. Austin [g] renders the word *παράπτωμα delictum* or 'offence,' and so do our Bibles. And the same also is the case of *ἁμαρτία*, which is attributed even to concupiscence or the beginnings of mischief, by S. Paul [h] and by S. Hierome [i]: but the same is used for the consummation of concupiscence in the matter of uncleanness by S. James [j], 'Lust when it hath conceived *τίκτει ἁμαρτίαν*' *peccatum* is the Latin word, which when it is used in a distinct and pressed sense [k], it is taken for the lesser sins, and is distinguished from *crimen*. Paulus Orosius [l] uses it to signify only the concupiscence or sinful thoughts of the heart, and when it breaks forth to action, he calls it a crime; *peccatum cogitatio concipit, crimen vero non nisi actus ostendit:* and it was so used by the ancient Latins. *Peccatus* it was called by them, *quasi pellicatus*, that enticing which is proper to uncleanness. So Cicero in A. Gellius [m], *Nemo ita in manifesto peccatu tenebatur, ut quum impudens fuisset in facto, tum impudentior videretur si negaret.* Thus the indistinction of words mingles all their significations in the same common notion and formality. They were not sins at all, if they were not against a law, and if they be, they cannot be of their own nature venial, but must be liable to that punishment which was threatened in the law whereof that action is a transgression.

23. *β*. The law of God never threatens, the justice of God never inflicts punishment, but upon transgressors of His laws; the smallest offences are not only threatened, but may be punished with death; therefore they are transgressions of the divine law. So S. Basil [n] argues, *Nullum peccatum contemnendum ut parvum, quando D. Paulus de omni peccato generatim pronunciaverat stimulum mortis esse peccatum;* 'the sting of death is sin;' that is, death is the evil consequent of sin, and comes in the tail of it; of every sin, and therefore no sin must be despised as if it were little. Now if every little sin hath this sting also (as it is on all hands agreed that it hath) it follows that every little transgression is perfectly and entirely against a commandment. And indeed it is not sense to say any thing can in any sense be a sin, and that it should not in the same sense be against a commandment; for although the particular instance be

[e] [Rom. v. 18.]
[f] [Eph. ii. 1.]
[g] Quæst. super Levit., lib. iii. q. 20. [tom. iii. part. 1. col. 497.]
[h] [Rom. vii. 5.]
[i] In cap. ii. Ephes. [tom. iv. part. 1. col. 338.]
[j] [James i. 15.]
[k] Vid. com. DD. in Titum, verb. *ἀνέγκλητος*.
[l] Apol. de liber. arbitr. [p. 609.]
[m] Lib. xiii. c. 19. [leg. 20. p. 608.]
[n] [Reg. brev. tract., interrog. iv.—tom. ii. p. 415 E.]

not named in the law, yet every instance of that matter must be meant. It was an extreme folly in Bellarmine[o] to affirm, *Peccatum veniale ex parvitate materiæ est quidem perfecte voluntarium, sed non perfecte contra legem: lex enim non prohibet furtum unius oboli in specie, sed prohibet furtum in genere,* 'that a sin that is venial by the smallness of the matter is .. not perfectly against the law, because the law forbids theft indeed in the general, but does not in particular forbid the stealing of a halfpenny:' for upon the same reason it is not perfectly against the law to steal three pound nineteen shillings three pence, because the law in general only forbids theft, but does not in particular forbid the stealing of that sum. But what is 'besides the law,' and not 'against' it, cannot be a sin; and therefore to fancy any sin to be only besides the law is a contradiction; so, to walk, to ride, to eat flesh or herbs, to wear a long or a short garment, are said to be besides the law; but therefore they are permitted and indifferent. Indifferent, I say, in respect of that law which relates to that particular matter, and indifferent in all senses; unless there be some collateral law which may prohibit it indirectly. So for a judge to be a coachman, for a priest to be a fiddler or innkeeper, are not directly unlawful, but indirectly they are, as being against decency and public honesty or reputation, or being inconvenient in order to that end whither their calling is designed. To this sense are those words of S. Paul[p], "all things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient;" that is, some things which directly are lawful, by an indirect obligation may become unfit to be done; but otherwise, *Licitum est quod nulla lege prohibetur,* saith the law; 'if no law forbids it, then it is lawful;' and to abstain from what is lawful though it may have a worthiness in it more than ordinary, yet to use our liberty is at no hand a sin.—The issue then is this; either we are forbidden to do a venial sin, or we are not. If we are not forbidden, then it is as lawful to do a venial sin as to marry, or eat flesh: if we are forbidden, then every such action is directly against God's law, and consequently fineable at the will of the supreme Judge, and if He please, punishable with a supreme anger. And to this purpose there is an excellent observation in S. Austin[q], *Peccatum et delictum si nihil differrent inter se, et si unius rei duo nomina essent, non curaret scriptura tam diligenter unum esse utriusque sacrificium;* there are several names in scripture to signify our wanderings, and to represent the several degrees of sin; but carefully it is provided for that they should be expiated with the same sacrifice; which proves that certainly they are prevarications of the same law, offences of the same God, provocations of the same anger, and heirs of the same death: and even for small offences a sacrifice was appointed, lest men should neglect what they think God regarded not.

[o] De amiss. grat. [lib. i.] cap. 11. § 'Assumptio .. probatur.' [tom. iv. col. 103.]

[p] [1 Cor. vi. 12.]

[q] Lib. iii. quæst. super Levit. q. 20. [not. g, supra.]

24. γ. Every sin, even the smallest, is against charity, which is the end of the commandment. For every sin or evil of transgression is far worse than all the evils of punishment with which mankind is afflicted in this world; and it is a less evil that all mankind should be destroyed, than that God should be displeased in the least instance that is imaginable. Now if we esteem the loss of our life or our estate, the wounding our head or the extinction of an eye, to be great evils to us, and him that does any thing of this to us to be our enemy or to be injurious, we are to remember that God hates every sin worse than we can hate pain or beggary. And if a nice and a tender conscience, the spirit of every excellent person, does extremely hate all that can provoke God to anger or to jealousy; it must be certain that God hates every such thing with an hatred infinitely greater, so great that no understanding can perceive the vastness of it and immensity. For by how much every one is better, by so much the more he hates every sin; and the soul of a righteous man is vexed and afflicted with the inroads of his unavoidable calamities, the armies of Egypt, the lice and flies, his insinuating, creeping infirmities: now if it be holiness in him to hate these little sins, it is an imitation of God; for what is in us by derivation, is in God essentially; therefore that which angers a good man, and ought so to do, displeases God, and consequently is against charity or the love of God. For it is but a vain dream to imagine, that because just men, such who are in the state of grace, and of the love of God, do commit smaller offences, therefore they are not against the love of God; for every degree of cold does abate something of the heat in any hot body; but yet because it cannot destroy it all, cold and heat may be consistent in the same subject; but no man can therefore say they are not contraries, and would not destroy each other if they were not hindered by something else; and so would the smallest offences also destroy the life of grace, if they were not destroyed themselves. But of this afterwards. For the present, let it be considered, how it can possibly consist with our love to God, with that duty that commands us to love Him with all our heart, with all our strength, with all our might, and with all our soul, how (I say) it can be consistent with a love so extended, so intended, to entertain any thing that He hates so essentially. To these particulars I add this one consideration; that since there is in the world a fierce opinion that some sins are so slight and little that they do not destroy our relation to God, and cannot break the sacred tie of friendship, he who upon the inference and presumption of that opinion shall choose to commit such small sins which he thinks to be the 'all' that is permitted him, is not excused by that supposition. For if it be said that he is therefore supposed to love God, because he only does those little sins which he thinks are not against the love of God, and if he did not think so, he would not do them; this excuses him not, but aggravates the sin, for it is turning the grace of

God into wantonness. For since that such little things are the easier pardoned, is wholly owing to God's grace and His singular goodness, he that abuses this goodness to licentiousness, makes his sin to abound because God's grace abounds; because God is good, he takes leave to do evil, that is, to be most contrary to God. For it is certain that every man in this case hath affections for sin as formerly; indeed he entertains it not in the ruder instances because he dares not, but he does all that he dares do; for when he is taught that some certain sins are not damnable, there he will not abstain: which is a demonstration that though he does something for fear, yet he does nothing for love.

26. δ. From this it follows that every sin, though in the smallest instance, is a turning from God and a conversion to the creature. Suidas[r] defines ἁμαρτίαν, 'sin,' to be τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀποτυχίαν, 'a declension from good;' and ἁμαρτάνειν is τοῦ σκόπου ἀποτυγχάνειν, that is, ἄσκοπα τοξεύειν, 'to shoot besides the mark,' to conduct our actions by an indirect line to a wrong object, from God to the creature. *Peccare est tanquam lineas transilire,* so Cicero[s]; a sinner goes out of those limits and marks which are appointed him by God. Than this, no greater evil can be spoken of any thing, and of this all sin partakes more or less. Some few sins are direct aversions from God; so atheism, blasphemy, apostasy, resolution never to repent, and some few more: but many other very great sins are turnings from God not directly, but by interpretation. He that commits fornication may yet by a direct act of understanding and a full consent, believe God to be the chiefest good: and some very vicious persons have given their lives for a good cause, and to preserve their innocence in some great instance where the scene of their proper and natural temptation does not lie. Some others there are who out of a sincere but an abused conscience persecute a good cause; these men are zealous for God, and yet fight against Him: but because these are real enemies, and but supposed friends, therefore by interpretation and in effect they turn from God and turn to the creature. *Delictum quasi derelictum,* said S. Austin[t], because in every sin God is forsaken; "They have left Me the living fountain, and digged to themselves cisterns that hold no water," so God complains by the prophet[u]. He that prefers pleasure or profit before his duty, rejects God, but loves money, and pays his devotion to interest, or ease, or sensuality. And just so does the smallest sin. For since every action hath something propounded to it as its last end, it is certain he that sins does not do it for God, or in order to Him. He that tells a lie to promote religion, or to save the life of a man, or to convert his soul, does not tell that lie for God, but tells the lie to make way for something else which is in order to God; he breaks his legs that he may

[r] [In voc.—col. 231.]
[s] Parad. iii. [tom. iii. p. 360.]
[t] Lib. iii. quæst. in Levit., c. 20. [not. g, supra.]
[u] [Jer. ii. 13.]

the better walk in the path of the divine commandments. A sin cannot be for God, or in order to Him, no not so much as habitually. For whatsoever can never be referred to God actually, cannot at any time be referred habitually. Since therefore the smallest sins cannot be for God, that which is not with Him is against Him; if it be no way for God, it is either directly or by interpretation for pleasure or ease, or profit or pride, for something that is against Him.

27. And it is not to be neglected, that the smaller the sin is, the less it is excusable if it be done when it is observed. For if it be small, is it not the sooner obeyed, and the more reasonably exacted, and the more bountifully repaid, when heaven is given as the price of so small a service? He that pursues his crime for a mighty purchase, to get a kingdom, or a vast estate, or an exquisite beauty, or something that is bigger than the ordinary virtues of easy and common men, hath something (not to warrant and legitimate, but) to extenuate the offence by greatening the temptation. But to lose the friendship of God for a nut-shell, to save sixpence, to lose heaven with peevishness, to despise the divine laws for a nonsense insignificant vapour and a testy pride, hath no excuse, but it loads the sinner with the disreputation of a mighty folly. What excuse can be made for him that will not so much as hold his peace to please God? what can he do less for Him? how should it be expected he should mortify his lusts, deny his ambition, part with his goods, lose an eye, cut off a hand, give his life for God, when he will not for God lose the no pleasure of talking vainly, and proudly, and ridiculously? if he will not chastise his wanton thoughts to please God, how shall he throw out his whole body of lust? if he will not resist the trifling temptations of a drinking friend to preserve his temperance, how shall he choose to be banished or murdered by the rage of a drunken prince, rather than keep the circle in their giddy and vertiginous method? The less the instance be, the direct aversation from God is also most commonly the less; but in many cases the aversation is by interpretation greater, more unreasonable, and therefore less excusable; as when the small instance is chosen by a perfect and distinct act of election; as it is in those who out of fear of hell quit the acting of their clamorous sins, and yet keep the affections to them, and consequently entertain them in thoughts and little reflexions, in remembrances and fantastic images.

28. ϵ. But if we reduce this question a little nearer to practice and clothe it with circumstances, we shall find this account to be sadder than is usually supposed. But before I instance in the particulars, I shall premise this distinction of venial sins, which is necessary not only for the conducting of this question, but our consciences also in this whole article. The Roman schools say, that sins are venial either (1) by the imperfection of the agent; as when a thing is done ignorantly, or by surprise, or inadvertency; or (2) a sin is venial by the smallness of the matter; as if a man steals a farthing, or eats a little

too greedily at his meal, or lies in bed half an hour longer than would become him: or (3) a sin, say they, is venial in its whole kind, that is, such which God cannot by the nature of the thing punish with the highest punishment; such as are idle words and the like. Now first, I suppose that the two latter will be found to be both one: for either God hath not forbidden idleness or falseness, or He hath made no restraint at all upon words, but left us at liberty to talk as we please; for if He hath in this case made a law, then idle words either cannot pretend to an excuse; or it must be for the smallness of the matter; or else it must fall in with the first, and be excused because they cannot always be attended to.

29. Now concerning the first sort of venial sins, it is not a kind of sins, but a manner of making all sins venial, that is, apt for pardon: for by the imperfection of the agent or the act, all great sins in their matter may become little in their malice and guilt. Now these are those which divines call 'sins of infirmity;' and of them I shall give an account in a distinct chapter, under that title.

30. Concerning the second, i. e. 'sins venial for the smallness of the matter;' I know none such. For if the matter be a particular that God hath expressly commanded or forbidden respectively, it is not little, but all one to Him as that which we call the greatest. But if the particular be wholly relating to our neighbour, the smallness of the matter does not absolutely make the sin venial: for amongst us nothing is absolutely great or absolutely little, but in comparison with something else; and if a vile person had robbed the poor woman that offered two mites to the treasury of the temple, he had undone her; a farthing there was all her substance: so that the smallness of the matter is not directly an excuse. If a man had robbed a rich man of a farthing, he had not indeed done him so great a mischief: but how if the rich man was not willing to part with his farthing, but would be angry at the injury, is it not a sin because the theft was small? No man questions but it is. It follows therefore that the smallness of the matter cannot make a sin venial but where there is a leave expressly given, or justly presumed: and if it be so in a great matter, it is as little a sin as if the matter were small, that is, none at all.

31. But now concerning the third, which the Roman schools dream of, 'sins venial in their own nature,' and in their whole kind; that is it which I have been disputing against all this while, and shall now further conclude against by arguments more practical and moral. For if we consider what are those particulars which these men call venial sins in their whole kind and nature, we shall find that Christ and they give measures differing from each other. The catalogues of them I will take from the fathers, not that they ever thought these things to be in their nature venial (for they that think so of them are strangers to their writings, and to this purpose Bellarmine hath not brought one testimony pertinent and home to

the question) but because they reckon such catalogues of venial sins, which demonstrate that they do mean sins made venial by accident, by men's infirmity, by God's grace, by pardon, by repentance, and not such which are so in their own nature. But the thing itself will be its own proof.

32. S. Austin[v] reckons, *Vanas cachinnationes; in escis aviditatem et immoderatiorem appetitum; in vendendis et emendis rebus caritatis et vilitatis vota perversa; usum matrimonii ad libidinem; judicia apud infideles agitare; dicere fratri, Fatue;* 'vain laughter, greediness in meat, an immoderate or ungoverned appetite; perverse desires of dearness and cheapness in buying and selling commodities; the use of marriage to lustfulness and inordination; to go to law before the unbelievers; to call our brother, Fool.' S. Hierome[x] reckons, 'jestings, anger, and injurious words.' Cæsarius Arelatensis the bishop[y] reckons, 'excess in eating and drinking, idle words, importune silence, to exasperate an importunate beggar, to omit the fasts of the church, sleepiness or immoderate sleeping, the use of a wife to lustfulness, to omit the visitation of the sick and of prisoners, and to neglect to reconcile them that are at variance, too much severity or harshness to our family, or too great indulgence, flattery, talkings in the church, poor men to eat too much when they are brought rarely to a good table, forswearings, [unwary perjury,] slander or reproaches, rash judgment, hatred, sudden anger, envy, evil concupiscence, filthy thoughts, the lust of the eyes, the voluptuousness of the ears, or the itch of hearing, the speaking filthy words:' and indeed he reckons almost all the common sins of mankind. S. Bernard[z] reckons, *stultiloquium, vaniloquium, otiose dicta, facta, cogitata,* 'talking vainly, talking like a fool, idle or vain thoughts, words and deeds.' These are the usual catalogues, and if any be reckoned, they must be these; for many times some of these are least consented to, most involuntary, most ready, less avoidable, of the lightest effect, of an eternal return, incurable in the whole, and therefore plead the most probably, and are the soonest likely to prevail for pardon; but yet they cannot pretend to need no pardon, or to fear no damnation. For our blessed Saviour[a] says it of him that 'speaks an angry word,' that he 'shall be guilty of hell fire.' Now since we find such as these reckoned in the catalogue of venial sins; and S. Austin in particular calls that venial to which our blessed Saviour threatened hell fire; it is certain he must not mean that it is in its own nature venial, but damnable as any other: but it is venial, that is, prepared for pardon, upon other contingencies and

[v] Lib. 1. homil., hom. 1. 7. [al. § 5. tom. v. col. 1355 D.]—Serm. ccxliv. [al. serm. ccxcii. append., tom. v. col. 486 sq.] —Enchir., cap. 78. [et 79.—tom. vi. col. 226 sq.]

[x] Dial. ii. adv. Pelag. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 517.]

[y] Homil. viii. et xiii. [pp. 752, 8.]

[z] De præcept. et dispens., c. 14. [col. 931 K.].

[a] [Matt. v. 22.]

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causes, of which I shall afterwards give account. In the mean time, I consider,

33. ζ. When God appointed in the law expiatory sacrifices for sins, although there was enough to signify that there is difference in the degrees of sin, yet because they were *eodem sanguine eluenda*, and 'without shedding of blood there was no remission[c],' they were reckoned in the same accounts of death and the divine anger. And it is manifest that by the severities and curse of the law no sin could escape, for, 'Cursed is he that continues not in every thing written in the law, to do them[d].' The law was a covenant of works and exact measures. There were no venial sins by virtue of that covenant, for there was no remission; and without the death of Christ we could not be eased of this state of danger. Since therefore that any sin is venial or pardonable is only owing to the grace of God, to the death of Christ; and this death pardons all upon the condition of faith and repentance, and pardons none without it: it follows that though sins differ in degree, yet they differ not in their natural and essential order to death. The man that commits any sin, dies if he repents not, and he that does repent timely and effectually, dies for none. "The wages of sin is death[e];" of sin indefinitely, and therefore of all sin, and all death: for there is no more distinction of sin than death; only when death is threatened indefinitely, that death is to be understood which is properly and specifically threatened in that covenant where the death is named; as death temporal in the law, death eternal under the gospel.

34. And thus it appears in a very material instance relating to this question: for when our blessed Saviour had threatened the degrees of anger, He did it by apportioning several pains hereafter of one sort to the several degrees of the same sin here, which He expresses by the several inflictions passed upon criminals by the houses of judgment among the Jews. Now it is observable, that to the least of these sins Christ assigns a punishment just proportionable to that which the gloss of the Pharisees and the law itself did to them that committed murder, which was capital; 'He shall be guilty of judgment;' so we read it, ἔνοχος τῇ κρίσει[f], not κρίσεως: so it is in the Greek: he shall be guilty in the κρίσις, that is, 'in the court of judgment,' the assembly of the twenty-three elders; and there his punishment was death, but the gentlest manner of it, the decapitation or smiting him through with the sword, and therefore the least punishment hereafter answering to death here, can mean no less than death hereafter[g]. And so also was the second, ἔνοχος τῷ συνεδρίῳ[f], he that

[c] [Heb. ix. 22.]
[d] [Deut. xxvii. 26.]
[e] [Rom. vi. 23.]
[f] [Matt. v. 22. 'Reus judicio,' 'reus concilio,' ed. vulg.—'Pœnæ obnoxius,' 'in jus synedrii trahendus,' Schleusn.]
[g] Ita interpretantur hunc locum Barradius, Maldonatus, et Estius ad hunc locum: et apud vetustiores eadem sententia prævaluit. Hæc enim erat mens Strabi Fuldensis qui glossam ordinariam compilavit, et Hugonis Cardinalis.

called *Raca* shall be guilty, that is, shall be used as one that stands guilty, in the Sanhedrim or council, meaning that he is to die too, but with a severer execution, by stoning to death: this was the greatest punishment by the houses of judgment, for crucifixion was the Roman manner. These two already signify hell, in a less degree, but as certainly and evidently as the third. For though we read 'hell-fire' in the third sentence only, yet γέεννα no otherwise signifies 'hell' than the other two, by analogy and proportionable representment. The cause of the mistake is this: when Christ was pleased to add yet a further degree of punishment in hell to a further degree of anger and reproach, the Jews having no greater than that of stoning by the judgment of the Sanhedrim or council, He would borrow His expression from that which they and their fathers too well understood, a barbarous custom of the Phœnicians of burning children alive in the valley of Hinnom[1], which in succession of time the Hellenists called γέεννα, not much unlike the Hebrew word: and because by our blessed Lord it was used to signify or represent the greatest pains of hell that were spoken of in that gradation, the Christians took the word and made it to be its appellative, and to signify the state or place of the damned: just as גַּן עֵדֶן the garden of Eden is called paradise. But it was no more intended that this should signify 'hell,' than that any of the other two should. The word itself never did so before; but that and the other two were taken as being the most fearful things amongst them here, to represent the degrees of the most intolerable state hereafter: just as damnation is called death; the second death; that because we fear the first as the worst of present evils, we may be affrighted with the apprehensions of the latter. From this authority it follows, that as in the law no sins were venial but by repentance and sacrifice, so neither in the gospel are they; not in their own nature, not by the more holy covenant of the gospel, but by repentance and mortification. For the gospel hath with greater severity laid restraint upon these minutes and little particles of action and passion: and therefore if in the law every transgression was exacted, we cannot reasonably think that the least parts of duty which the gospel superadded with a new and severer caution, as great and greater than that by which the law exacted the greatest commandments, can be broken with indemnity, or without the highest danger. The law exacted all its smallest minutes; and therefore so does the gospel, as being a covenant of greater holiness. But as in the law for the smaller transgressions there was an assignment of expiatory rites; so is there in the gospel of a ready repentance and a prepared mercy.

35. η. Lastly, those sins which men in health are bound to avoid, those sins for which Christ did shed His most precious blood, those sins which a dying man is bound to ask pardon for, though he hopes

[1] גֵּי הִנֹּם. [Grotius ad loc.]

not, or desires not to escape temporal death, certain it is, that those sins are in their nature, and in the economy or dispensation of the divine threatenings, damnable. For what can the dying man fear but death eternal? and if he be bound to repent and ask pardon even for the smallest sins which he can remember, in order to what pardon can that repentance be but of the eternal pain, to which every sin by its own demerit naturally descends? If he must repent and ask pardon when he hopes not or desires not the temporal, it is certain he must repent only that he may obtain the eternal. And they that will think otherwise will also find themselves deceived in this. For if the damned souls in hell are punished for all their sins, then the unpardoned venial sins are there also smarted for. But so it is, and so we are taught in the doctrine of our great Master. If we agree not[j] while we are in the way, we shall be cast into the eternal prison, and shall not depart thence till we have paid the uttermost farthing: that is, even for our smallest sins, if they be unremitted, men shall pay in hell their horrible symbol of damnation. And this is confessed on all hands[k], that they who fall into hell, pay their sorrows there, even for all.—But it is pretended that this is only by accident[l], not by the first intention of the divine justice; because it happens that they are subjected in such persons who for other sins, not for these, go to hell. Well, yet let it be considered whether or no do not the smallest unremitted sins increase the torments of hell in their proportion? If they do not, then they are not at all punished in hell; for if without them the perishing soul is equally punished, then for them there is no punishment at all. But if they do increase the pains, as it is certain they do, then to them properly, and for their own malignity and demerit, a portion of eternal pains is assigned. Now if God punishes them in hell, then they deserved hell; if they be damnable in their event, then they were so in their merit; for God never punishes any sin more than it deserves, though He often does less. But to say that this is by accident, that is, for their conjunction with mortal sins, is confuted infinitely, because God punishes them with degrees of evil proper to them, and for their own demerit. There is no other accident by which these come to be smarted for in hell, but because they were not repented of; for by that accident they become mortal; as by the contrary accident, to wit, if the sinner repents worthily, not only the smallest, but the greatest also become venial. The impenitent pays for all; all together. But if the man be a worthy penitent, if he continues and abides in God's love, he will find a mercy according to his circumstances, by the measures of God's graciousness, and his own repentance: so that by accident they may be pardoned, but if that accident does not happen, if the man be not penitent, the sins shall be punished directly, and for their own natural demerit.—The sum is this;—

[j] [Matt. v. 25.]
[k] Aquinas 1. 2[æ] qu. lxxxvii. [art. 5.]
[l] Bellarm. de amiss. grat., lib. i. c. 14. § 'Ex his ad.' [tom. iv. col. 118.]

If a man repents truly of the greater sins, he also repents of the smallest; for it cannot be a true repentance which refuses to repent of any; so that if it happens that for the smallest he do smart in hell, it is because he did not repent truly of any, greatest nor smallest. But if it happens that the man did not commit any of the greater sins, and yet did indulge to himself a licence to do the smallest, even for those which he calls the smallest, he may perish; and what he is pleased to call little, God may call great. *Cum his peccatis neminem salvandum,* said S. Bernard [m], 'with these' even the smallest sins actually remaining upon him unrepented of in general or particular, 'no man can be saved.'

§ 4. The former doctrine reduced to practice.

36. I HAVE been the more earnest in this article, not only because the doctrine which I have all this while opposed makes all the whole doctrine of moral theology to be inartificial, and in many degrees useless, false and imprudent; but because of the immediate influence it hath to encourage evil lives of men. For,

37. *α*, To distinguish a whole kind of sins is a certain way to make repentance and amendment of life imperfect and false. For when men by fears and terrible considerations are scared from their sins, as most repentances begin with fear, they still retain some portions of affection to their sin, some lookings back and fantastic entertainments, which if they be not pared off by repentance, we love not God with all our hearts; and yet by this doctrine of distinguishing sins into mortal and venial in their whole kind and nature, men are taught to arrest their repentances, and have leave not to proceed further: for they who say sins are venial in their own nature, if they understand the consequences of their own doctrine, do not require repentance to make them so, or to obtain a pardon which they need not.

38. *β*. As by this means our repentances are made imperfect, so is a relapse extremely ready; for while such a leaven is left, it is ten to one but it may sour the whole mass. S. Gregory [n] said well, *Si curare parva negligimus, insensibiliter seducti audenter etiam majora perpetramus;* we are too apt to return to our old crimes, whose reliques we are permitted to keep and kiss.

39. *γ*. But it is worse yet. For the distinction of sins mortal and venial in their nature is such a separation of sin from sin, as is rather a dispensation or leave to commit one sort of them; the expiation of which is so easy, the pardon so certain, the remedy so ready, the observation and exaction of them so inconsiderable. For there being so many ways of making great sins little, and little sins none at all, found out by the folly of men and the craft of the devil, a great portion of God's right, and the duty we owe to Him, is by way

[m] Serm. i. de cœna Dom., et Serm. i. de convers. Pauli. [coll. 146 B, 98 F.]
[n] Lib. x. moral., c. 14. [leg. 11.—tom. i. col. 351.]

of compromise and agreement left as a portion to carelessness and folly: and why may not a man rejoice in those trifling sins for which he hath security he shall never be damned? As for the device of purgatory, indeed if there were any such thing, it were enough to scare any one from committing any sins, much more little ones. But I have conversed with many of that persuasion, and yet never observed any to whom it was a terror to speak of purgatory, but would talk of it as an antidote or security against hell, but not as a formidable story to affright them from their sins, but to warrant their venial sins, and their imperfect repentance for their mortal sins. And indeed let it be considered; if venial sins be such as the Roman DD. describe them; that they neither destroy nor lessen charity [o] or the grace of God, that they only hinder the fervency of an act, which sleep or business, or any thing that is most innocent may do; that they are not against the law, but besides it; as walking and riding, standing and sitting are; that they are not properly sins, that all the venial sins in the world cannot amount to one mortal sin, but as time differs from eternity, as [p] finite from infinite, so do all the venial sins in the world put together from one mortal act; that for all them a man is never the less beloved, and loves God nothing the less; I say if venial sins be such (as the Roman writers affirm they are) how can it be imagined to be agreeable to God's goodness to inflict upon such sinners who only have venial sins unsatisfied for, such horrible pains (which they dream of in purgatory) as are, during their abode, equal to the intolerable pains of hell, for that which breaks none of His laws, which angers Him not, which is not against Him or His love, which is incident to His dearest servants? *Pro peccato magno paulum supplicii satis est patri;* but if fathers take such severe amends of their children for that which is not properly sin, there is nothing left by which we can boast of a father's kindness. In this case there is no remission; for if it be not just in God to punish such sins in hell, because they are consistent with the state of the love of God, and yet they are punished in purgatory, that is, as much as they can be punished; then God does remit to His children nothing for their love's sake, but deals with them as severely as for His justice He can, in the matter of venial sins; indeed if He uses mercy to them at all, it is in remitting their mortal sins, but in their venial sins He uses none at all. Now if things were thus on both sides, it is strange men are not more afraid of their venial sins, and that they are not more terrible in their description, which are so sad in their event; and that their punishment should be so great, when their malice is so none at all; and it is strangest of all that if men did believe such horrible effects to be the consequent of venial sins, they should esteem them little, and inconsiderable, and warn men of them with so little caution. But to take this wonder off, though they affright men with purgatory at

[o] [See Bellarmine, as quoted p. 89, note i, above.]

[p] ['as' deest B.]

the end, yet they make the bugbear nothing by their easy remedies and preventions in the way. Venial sins may be taken off, according to their doctrine, at as cheap a rate as they may be committed; but of this I shall give a fuller account in the sixth section of this chapter. In the mean time, to believe purgatory, serves the ends of the Roman clergy, and to have so much easiness and leave in venial sins, serves the ends of their laity; but as truth is disserved in the former, so is piety and the severities of a holy life very much slackened by the latter.

40. But as care is taken that their doctrine do not destroy charity or good life by looseness and indulgence, so care must be taken that ours do not destroy hope, and discountenance the endeavours of pious people: for if the smallest sins be so highly punishable, who can hope ever to escape the intolerable state of damnation? And if God can be eternally angry for those things which we account small sins, then no man is a servant or a friend of God; no man is in the state of the divine favour; for no man is without these sins; for they are such,

" Quæ non possit homo quisquam evitare cavendo,

a man by all his industry cannot wholly avoid. Now because the scripture pronounces some persons just and righteous, as David and Josiah, Zechary and Elizabeth, who yet could not be innocent and pure from small offences: either these little things are in their own nature venial, or the godly have leave to do that which is punished in the ungodly, or some other way must be found out how that which is in its own nature damnable can stand with the state of grace; and upon what causes sins which of themselves are not so, may come to be venial, that is, more apt and ready to be pardoned, and in the next dispositions to receive a mercy.

§ 5. To deny that there is a sort of sins that are venial in their own nature, how it is consistent with that doctrine which teaches the possibility of keeping the law κατ' ἐπιείκειαν, and with the righteousness of David, Zechary and Elizabeth.

41. *a.* No just person does or can indulge to himself the keeping of any sin whatsoever; for all sins are accounted of by God according to our affections, and if a man loves any, it becomes his poison. Every sin is damnable when it is chosen deliberately, either by express act or by interpretation; that is, when it is chosen regularly or frequently. He that loves to cast over in his mind the pleasures of his past sin, he that entertains all those instances of sin which he thinks not to be damnable, this man hath given himself up to be a servant to a trifle, a lover of little and fantastic pleasures. Nothing of this can stand with the state of grace. No man can love sin and love God at the same time; and to think it to be an excuse to say the sin is little, is as if an adulteress should hope for pardon of her offended lord, because the man whom she dotes upon is an inconsiderable person.

42. *β.* In sins we must distinguish the formality from the matc-

rial part. The formality of sin is disobedience to God, and turning from Him to the creature by love and adhesion. The material part is the action itself. The first can never happen without our will; but the latter may by surprise and indeliberation, and imperfection of condition. For in this life our understanding is weak, our attention trifling, our advertency interrupted, our diversions many, our divisions of spirit irresistible, our knowledge little, our dulness frequent, our mistakes many, our fears potent, and betrayers of our reason[o]; and at any one of these doors sin may enter, in its material part, while the will is unactive, or the understanding dull, or the affections busy, or the spirit otherwise employed, or the faculties wearied, or reason abused: therefore if you enquire for venial sins, they must be in this throng of imperfections, but they never go higher. Let no man therefore say, I have a desire to please myself in some little things; for if he desires it, he may not do it, that very desire makes that it cannot be venial, but as damnable as any, in its proportion.

43. γ. If any man about to do an action of sin enquires whether it be a venial sin or no, to that man at that time that sin cannot be venial: for whatsoever a man considers and acts, he also chooses and loves in some proportion, and therefore turns from God to the sin, and that is against the love of God, and in its degree destructive or diminutive of the state of grace. Besides this, such a person in this enquiry asks leave to sin against God, and gives a testimony that he would sin more if he durst. But in the same degree in which the choice is lessened, in the same degree the material part of the sin receives also diminution.

44. δ. It is remarkable that amongst the ancients this distinction of sins into mortal and venial, or to use their own words, *graviora et leviora*, or *peccata et crimina*, does not mean a distinction of kind, but of degrees. They call them mortal sins which shall never, or very hardly be pardoned, not at all but upon very hard terms. So Pacianus[p], *de modo criminum edisserens, 'Nequis existimet omnibus omnino peccatis summum discrimen impositum;' seduloque requirens quæ sint peccata, quæ crimina, 'Nequis existimet propter innumera delicta quorum fraudibus nullus immunis est, me omne hominum genus indiscreta pœnitendi lege constringere.'* The highest danger is not in every sin; offences and crimes must be distinguished carefully: for the same severe impositions are not indifferently to be laid upon criminals, and those whose guilt is in such instances from which no man is free. "Wherefore covetousness may be redeemed with liberality, slander with satisfaction, morosity with cheerfulness, sharpness with gentle usages, lightness with gravity, perverseness or peevishness with honesty and fair carriage. But what shall the despiser of God do? what shall the murderer do? what

[o] [Wisd. xvii. 12.]

[p] In Paræn. [cap. ii. sq.—p. 270.]

remedy shall the adulterer[q] have? *Ista sunt capitalia, fratres, ista mortalia,* these are the deadly sins, these are capital crimes:" meaning that these were to be taken off by the severities of ecclesiastical or public repentance (of which I am afterwards to give account) and would cost more to be cleansed. To a good man, and *meliorum operum compensatione* (as Pacianus affirms) 'by the compensation of good works,' that is, of the actions of the contrary graces, they are venial, they are cured. For by venial they mean such which with less difficulty and hazard may be pardoned: such as was S. Paul's blasphemy and persecuting the church; for that was venial, that is, apt for pardon, because he did it ignorantly in unbelief: and such are those sins (saith Cæsarius[r]) which are usual in the world, though of their own nature very horrible, as forswearing ourselves, slander, reproach, and the like; yet because they are extremely common, they are such to which if a continual pardon were not offered, God's numbers would be infinitely lessened. In this sense every sin is venial, excepting the three capitals reckoned in Tertullian, idolatry, murder, and adultery; every thing but the sin against the Holy Ghost, and its branches reckoned in Pacianus; every thing but the seven deadly sins, in others. Now according to the degree and malignity of the sin, or its abatement by any lessening circumstance, or intervening considerations, so it puts on its degrees of veniality, or being pardonable. Every sin hath some degree of being venial, till it arrives at the unpardonable state, and then none is. But every sin that hath many degrees of venial, hath also some degrees of damnable. So that to enquire what venial sins can stand with the state of grace, is to ask how long a man may sin before he shall be damned, how long will God still forbear him, how long He will continue to give him leave to repent; for a sin is venial upon no other account but of repentance. If venial be taken for pardonable, it is true that many circumstances make it so, more or less; that is, whatever makes the sin greater or less, makes it more or less venial: and of these I shall give account in the chapter of 'Sins of infirmity.' But if by venial we mean actually pardoned, or not exacted; nothing makes a sin venial but repentance, and that makes every sin to be so. Therefore,

45. ϵ. Some sins are admitted by holy persons, and yet they still continue holy; not that any of these sins is permitted to them; nor that God cannot as justly exact them of His servants as of His enemies; nor that in the covenant of the gospel they are not imputable; nor that their being in God's favour hides them, for God is most impatient of any remaining evil in His children: but the only reasonable account of it is, because the state of grace is a state of repentance; these sins are those which as Pacianus expresses it, *contrariis emendata proficiunt,* they can be helped by contrary

[q] Fornicator, promiscue; sæpius usurpantur fornicatio et adulterium.
[r] [p. 101, not. y, supra, et p. 112, not. x, infra.]

actions: and the good man does perpetually watch against them, he opposes a good against every evil; that is, in effect he uses them just as he uses the greatest that ever he committed. Thus the good man when he reproves a sinning person overacts his anger, and is transported to undecency, though it be for God: some are over zealous, some are fantastic and too apt to opinion, which in little degrees of inordination are not so soon discernible. A good man may be overjoyed or too much pleased with his recreation, or be too passionate at the death of a child, or in a sudden anger go beyond the evenness of a wise Christian, and yet be a good man still, and a friend of God, His son and His servant: but then these things happen in despite of all his care and observation; and when he does espy any of these obliquities, he is troubled at it, and seeks to amend it; and therefore these things are venial, that is, pitied and excused, because they are unavoidable, but avoided as much as they well can, all things considered; and God does not exact them of him because the good man exacts them of himself. These being the rules of doctrine, we are to practise accordingly.

To which add the following measures.

Some more particular measures of practice.

46. ζ. This difference in sins, of mortal and venial, that is, greater and less, is not to be considered by us, but by God alone, and cannot have influence upon us to any good purposes. For,

First, We do not always know by what particular measures they are lessened: in general we know some proportions of them, but when we come to particulars, we may easily be deceived, but can very hardly be exact. S. Austin[s] said the same thing, *Quæ sint levia et quæ gravia peccata, non humano sed divino sunt pensanda judicio*, 'God only, not man, can tell which sins are great, and which little.' For since we see them equally forbidden, we must with equal care avoid them all. Indeed if the case should be so put, that we must either commit sacrilege, or tell a spiteful lie, kill a man, or speak unclean words, then it might be of use to us to consider which is the greater, which is less, that of evils we might choose the less: but this case can never be, for no man is ever brought to that necessity that he must choose one sin: for he can choose to die before he shall do either, and that's the worst that he can be put to. And therefore though right reason and experience, and some general lines of religion, mark out some actions as criminal, and leave others under a general and indefinite condemnation, yet it is in order to repentance and amends when such things are done, not to greater caution directly of avoiding them in the days of temptation; for of two infimites in the same kind, one cannot be bigger than the other. We are tied with the biggest care to avoid every sin, and bigger than the biggest we find not. This only: for the avoiding of the greatest sins,

[s] Enchirid., cap. 78. [tom. vi. col. 226.]

there are more arguments from without, and sometimes more instruments and ministries of caution and prevention are to be used, than in lesser sins; but it is because fewer will serve in one than in another; but all that is needful must be used in all, but there is no difference in our choice that can be considerable, for we must never choose either; and therefore beforehand to compare them together, whereof neither is to be preferred before the other, is to lay a snare for ourselves, and make us apt to one by undervaluing it, and calling it less than others that affright us more. Indeed when the sin is done, to measure it may be of use, as I shall shew; but to do it beforehand hath danger in it of being tempted, and more than a danger of being deceived. For our hearts deceive us, our purposes are complicated, and we know not which end is principally intended, nor by what argument amongst many, we were finally determined, or which is the prevailing ingredient; nor are we competent judges of our own strengths, and we can do more than we think we can; and we remember not that the temptation which prevails was sought for by ourselves; nor can we separate necessity from choice, our consent from our being betrayed; nor tell whether our fort is given up because we would do so, or because we could not help it. Who can tell whether he could not stand one assault more, and if he had, whether or no the temptation would not have left him? The ways of consent are not always direct, and if they be crooked, we see them not. And after all this, if we were able, yet we are not willing to judge right, with truth, and with severity; something for ourselves, something for excuse, something for pride; a little for vanity, and a little in hypocrisy, but a great deal for peace and quiet, that the rest of the mind may not be disturbed, that we may live and die in peace, and in a good opinion of ourselves. These indeed are evil measures, but such by which we usually make judgment of our actions, and are therefore likely to call great sins little, and little sins none at all.

47. Secondly, that any sins are venial being only because of the state of grace and repentance under which they are admitted; what condition a man is in, even for the smallest sins, he can no more know, than he can tell that all his other sins are pardoned, that his repentance is accepted, that nothing of God's anger is reserved, that He is pleased for all, that there is no judgment behind hanging over his head, to strike him for that wherein he was most negligent. Now although some men have great and just confidences that they are actually in God's favour, yet all good men have not so. For there are coverings sometimes put over the spirits of the best men; and there are intermedial and doubtful states of men, (as I shall represent in the chapter of 'Actual sins;') there are also ebbings and flowings of sin and pardon: and therefore none but God only knows how long this state of veniality and pardon will last; and therefore as no man can pronounce concerning any kind of sins, that they are

in themselves venial, so neither can he know concerning his own, or any man's particular state, that any such sins are pardoned, or venial to him. He that lives a good life will find it so in its own case, and in the event of things; and that's all which can be said as to his particular: and it is well it is so, *ne studium proficiendi ad omnia peccata cavenda pigrescat* (as S. Austin well observed.) If it were otherwise, and that sins in their own nature by venial and not venial are distinguished and separate in their natures from each other, and that some of them are of so easy remedy, and inconsiderable a guilt, they would never become earnest to avoid all.

48. Thirdly, there are some sins which indeed seem venial, and were they not sentenced in scripture with severe words would pass for trifles; but *in scripturis demonstrantur opinione graviora* (as S. Austin[t] notes) 'they are by the word of God declared to be greater than they are thought to be;' and we have reason to judge so concerning many instances in which men are too easy and cruelly kind unto themselves. S. Paul said, 'I had not known concupiscence to be a sin if the law had not said, Thou shalt not lust:' and we use to call them scrupulous and fantastic persons who make much ado about a careless word, and call themselves to a severe account for every thought, and are troubled for every morsel they eat, when it can be disputed whether it might not better have been spared. Who could have guessed that calling my enemy 'fool' should be so great a matter? But because we are told that it is so, told by Him that shall be our Judge, who shall call us to account for every idle word, we may well think that the measures which men usually make by their customs and false principles, and their own necessities, lest they by themselves should be condemned, are weak and fallacious: and therefore whatsoever can be of truth in the difference of sins, may become a danger to them who desire to distinguish them, but can bring no advantages to the interests of piety and a holy life.

49. Fourthly, we only account those sins great which are unusual, which rush violently against the conscience, because men have not been acquainted with them. *Peccata sola inusitata exhorrescimus, usitata vero diligimus*[u]; but those which they act every day, they suppose them to be small, *quotidianæ incursiones*, the unavoidable acts of every day; and by degrees our spirit is reconciled to them, conversing with them as with a tame wolf, who by custom hath forgotten the circumstances of his barbarous nature, but is a wolf still. Τὰ μικρὰ καὶ συνήθη τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, as Synesius calls them, 'the little customs of sinning,' men think ought to be dissembled. This was so of old; Cæsarius bishop of Arles[x] complained of it in his

[t] Enchirid., c. 79. [tom. vi. col. 227.]

[u] August. ubi supra. [—Usitata vero .... sæpe videndo omnia tolerare, sæpe tolerando non nulla etiam facere cogimur.]

[x] Hom. xvi. [p. 762.]

time. *Vere dico, fratres &c.*, "I say truly to you brethren, this thing according to the law and commandment of our Lord never was lawful, neither is it, nor shall it ever be; but as if it were worse[a], *ita peccata ista in consuetudinem missa sunt, et tanti sunt qui illa faciunt, ut jam quasi ex licito fieri credantur,* 'these sins are so usual and common that men now begin to think them lawful.' And indeed who can do a sin every day, and think it great and highly damnable? If he thinks so, it will be very uneasy for him to keep it: but if he will keep it, he will also endeavour to get some protection or excuse for it; something to warrant, or something to undervalue it; and at last it shall be accounted venial, and by some means or other reconcilable with the hopes of heaven. He that is used to oppress the poor every day, thinks he is a charitable man if he lets them go away with any thing he could have taken from them: but he is not troubled in conscience for detaining the wages of the hireling, with deferring to do justice, with little arts of exaction and lessening their provisions. For since nothing is great or little but in comparison with something else, he accounts his sin small, because he commits greater; and he that can suffer the greatest burden, shrinks not under a lighter weight; and upon this account it is impossible but such men must be deceived and die.

50. η. Let no man think that his venial or smaller sins shall be pardoned for the smallness of their matter, and in a distinct account; for a man is not quit of the smallest but by being also quit of the greatest: for God does not pardon any sin to him that remains His enemy; and therefore unless the man be a good man and in the state of grace, he cannot hope that his venial sins can be in any sense indulged; they increase the burden of the other, and are like little stones laid upon a shoulder already crushed with an unequal load: either God pardons the greatest, or the least stand uncancelled.

51. θ. Although God never pardons the smallest without the greatest, yet He sometimes retains the smallest, of them whose greatest He hath pardoned. The reason is, because although a man be in the state of grace and of the divine favour, and God will not destroy His servants for every calamity of theirs, yet He will not suffer any thing that is amiss in them. A father never pardons the small offences of his son who is in rebellion against him; those little offences cannot pretend to pardon till he be reconciled to his father; but if he be, yet his father may chastise his little misdemeanours, or reserve some of his displeasure so far as may minister to discipline, not to destruction: and therefore if a son have escaped his father's anger and final displeasure, let him remember that though his father is not willing to disinherit him, yet he will be ready to chastise him. And we see it by the whole dispensation of God, that 'the righteous are punished[b],' and afflictions 'begin at the house of God[c];' and

[a] ['sed quod pejus est.'] [b] [See p. 42, note j, above.] [c] [1 Pet. iv. 17.]

God is so impatient even of little evils in them, that to make them pure He will draw them through the fire; and there are some who are 'saved, yet so as by fire[e].' And certainly, those sins ought not to be neglected, or esteemed little, which provoke God to anger even against His servants. We find this instanced in the case of the Corinthians, who used undecent circumstances and unhandsome usages of the blessed sacrament; even for this God severely reproved them; "for this cause many are weak, and sick, and some are fallen asleep[e]," which is an expression used in scripture to signify them that die in the Lord, and is not used to signify the death of them that perish from the presence of the Lord. These persons died in the state of grace and repentance, but yet died in their sin; chastised for their lesser sins, but so that their souls were saved. This is that which Clemens Alexandrinus[f] affirms of sins committed after our illumination, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐκκαθαίρεται, these sins must be 'purged,' with a παίδευσις, with the 'chastisement of sons.' The result of this consideration is that which S. Peter[g] advises, that we 'pass the time of our sojourning here in fear:' for no man ought to walk confidently, who knows that even the most laudable life hath in it evil enough to be smarted for with a severe calamity.

52. *i.* The most trifling actions, the daily incursions of sins, though of the least malignity, yet if they be neglected, combine and knit together till by their multitude they grow insupportable; this caution I learn from Cæsarius Arelatensis[h], *Et hoc considerate, fratres, quia etiamsi vobis capitalia crimina non subreperent, ipsa minuta peccata quæ (quod pejus est) aut non attendimus, aut certe pro nihilo computamus, si simul omnia congregentur, nescio quæ bonorum operum abundantia illis præponderare sufficiat,* 'although capital sins invade you not, yet if your minutes, your small sins which either we do not consider at all, or value not at all, be combined or gathered into one heap, I know not what multitude of good works will suffice to weigh them down.' For little sins are like the sand, and when they become a heap are heavy as lead; and a leaking ship may as certainly perish with the little inlets of water as with a mighty wave; for of many drops a river is made; and therefore, *ipsa minuta vel levia non contemnantur: . . illa utique quæ humanæ fragilitati quamvis parva tamen crebra subrepunt; quæ si collecta contra nos fuerint, ita nos gravabunt . . sicut unum aliquod grande peccatum*[i]; 'let not little sins be despised, for even those smallest things which creep upon us by our natural weakness, yet when they are gathered together against us, stand on an heap, and like an army of flies can destroy us, as well as any one deadly enemy.' *Quæ quamvis singula non lethali vulnere*

[e] [1 Cor. iii. 15; xi. 30.]
[f] Strom. iv. [cap. 24 fin.—p. 634.]
[g] [1 Pet. i. 17.]
[h] Hom. xiii. [p. 758 B.]
[i] S. August. epist. cviii. [al. cclxv.] ad Seleuc. [§ 8. tom. ii. col. 898 E.]—Lib. 1. homil. 42. [cap. ix. tom. v. col. 342.]—Idem, tract. i. in ep. Joan. [cap. i. § 6.] Levia multa faciunt unum grande. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 830.]

ferire sentiantur, sicut homicidium, et adulterium, vel cætera hujusmodi; tamen omnia simul congregata velut scabies, quo plura sunt, necant, aut nostrum decus ita exterminant ut ab illius sponsi speciosi forma præ filiis hominum castissimis amplexibus separent, nisi medicamento quotidianæ pœnitentiæ dissecentur[k], 'indeed we do not feel every one of them strike so home and deadly, as murder and adultery does, yet when they are united, they are like a scab, they kill with their multitude, and so destroy our internal beauty, that they separate us from the purest embraces of the Bridegroom, unless they be scattered with the medicine of a daily repentance.' For he that does these little sins often, and repents not of them, nor strives against them, either loves them directly, or by interpretation.

53. κ. Let no man when he is tempted to a sin, go then to take measures of it; because it being his own case he is an unequal and incompetent judge; his temptation is his prejudice and his bribe, and it is ten to one but he will suck in the poison by his making himself believe that the potion is not deadly. Examine not the particular measures unless the sin be indeed by its disreputation great, then examine as much as you please, provided you go not about to lessen it. It is enough it is a sin, condemned by the laws of God, and that death and damnation are its wages.

54. λ. When the mischief is done, then you may in the first days of your shame and sorrow for it, with more safety take its measures. For immediately after acting, sin does to most men appear in all its ugliness and deformity: and if in the days of your temptation you did lessen the measure of your sin, yet in the days of your sorrow do not shorten the measures of repentance. Every sin is deadly enough; and no repentance or godly sorrow can be too great for that which hath deserved the eternal wrath of God.

55. μ. I end these advices with the meditation of S. Hierome[l], *Si ira et sermonis injuria, atque interdum jocus, judicio concilioque et gehennæ ignibus delegatur, quid merebitur turpium rerum appetitio, et avaritia quæ radix est omnium malorum?* 'if anger, and injurious words, and sometimes a foolish jest is sentenced to capital and supreme punishments, what punishment shall the lustful and the covetous have?' And what will be the event of all our souls, who reckon these injurious or angry words of calling 'fool' or 'sot' amongst the smallest, and those which are indeed less we do not observe at all? for who is there amongst us almost, who calls himself to an account for trifling words, loose laughter, the smallest beginnings of intemperance, careless spending too great portions of our time in trifling visits and courtships, balls, revellings, fantastic dressings, sleepiness, idleness, and useless conversation, neglecting our times of prayer frequently, or causelessly, slighting religion and

[k] [al. 'desiccentur.'] Lib. 1. homil., hom. 1. c. 8. [al. serm. cccli. de pœnit. § 5.—tom. v. col. 1355 E.]

[l] [Dialogus adversus Pelagianos, lib. ii. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 517.]

religious persons, siding with factions indifferently, forgetting our former obligations upon trifling regards, vain thoughts, wanderings and weariness at our devotion, love of praise, laying little plots and snares to be commended; high opinion of ourselves, resolutions to excuse all, and never to confess an error; going to church for vain purposes, itching ears, love of flattery, and thousands more? The very kinds of them put together are a heap; and therefore the so frequent and almost infinite repetition of the acts of all those are, as David's[m] expression is, without *hyperbole*, 'more than the hairs upon our head;' they are like the number of the sands upon the sea shore for multitude.

§ 6. What repentance is necessary for the smaller or more venial sins.

56. *a.* UPON supposition of the premises; since these smaller sins are of the same nature, and the same guilt, and the same enmity against God, and consigned to the same evil portion that other sins are, they are to be washed off with the same repentance also as others. Christ's blood is the lavatory, and faith and repentance are the two hands that wash our souls white from the greatest and the least stains: and since they are by the impenitent to be paid for in the same fearful prisons of darkness, by the same remedies and instruments the intolerable sentence can only be prevented. The same ingredients, but a less quantity possibly may make the medicine. Cæsarius bishop of Arles[n], who spake many excellent things in this article, says that for these smaller sins a private repentance is proportionable. *Si levia sunt fortasse delicta, verbi gratia, si homo vel in sermone vel in aliqua reprehensibili voluntate, si oculo peccavit, aut corde; verborum et cogitationum maculæ quotidiana oratione curandæ, et privata compunctione terendæ sunt.* The sins of the eye, and the sins of the heart, and the offences of the tongue are to be cured by secret contrition and compunction, and a daily prayer. But S. Cyprian commends many whose conscience being of a tender complexion, they would even for the thoughts of their heart do public penance: his words are these, *Multos timoratæ conscientiæ, quamvis*[o] *nullo sacrificii aut libelli facinore constricti essent, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipsum apud sacerdotes Dei dolenter et simpliciter confitentes exomologesin conscientiæ fecisse, animi sui pondus exposuisse, salutarem medelam parvis licet et modicis vulneribus exquirentes,* 'because they had but thought of complying with idolaters, they sadly and ingenuously came to the ministers of holy things, God's priests, confessing the secret turpitude of their conscience, laying aside the weight that pressed their spirit, and seeking remedy even

[m] [Ps. xl. 12.]

[n] Homil. i. [p. 745.]

[o] De lapsis. [p. 134. From 'quamvis' to the end, are the words of S. Cyprian, somewhat altered; the preceding words are from some later writer in whom Taylor saw them. Nider's 'Consolatorium timoratæ conscientiæ' had appeared A.D. 1487, and another edition A.D. 1604.]

for their smallest wounds.' And indeed we find that among the ancients[p] there was no other difference in assignation of repentance to the several degrees of sin, but only by public, and private: capital sins they would have submitted to public judgment; but the lesser evils to be mourned for in private: of this I shall give account in the chapter of 'Ecclesiastical repentance.' In the meantime, their general rule was, that because the lesser sins came in by a daily incursion, therefore they were to be cut off by a daily repentance; which because it was daily, could not be so intense and signally punitive as the sharper repentances for the seldom returning sins, yet as the sins were daily, but of less malice, so their repentance must be daily, but of less affliction. *Medicamento quotidianæ pœnitentiæ dissecentur;* that was S. Austin's[q] rule; those evils that happen every day, must be cried out against every day.

57. β. Every action of repentance, every good work done for the love of God and in the state of grace, and designed and particularly applied to the intercision of the smallest unavoidable sins, is through the efficacy of Christ's death, and in the virtue of repentance, operative towards the expiation or pardon of them. For a man cannot do all the particulars of repentance for every sin; but out of the general hatred of sin picks out some special instances, and apportions them to his special sins; as to acts of uncleanness he opposes acts of severity, to intemperance he opposes fasting. But then as he rests not here, but goes on to the consummation of repentance in his whole life: so it must be in the more venial sins. A less instance of express anger is graciously accepted, if it be done in the state of grace and in the virtue of repentance; but then the pardon is to be completed in the pursuance and integrity of that grace, in the sums total. For no man can say that so much sorrow, or such a degree of repentance, is enough to any sin he hath done: and yet a man cannot apportion to every sin large portions of special sorrow, it must therefore be done all his life time; and the little portions must be made up by the whole grace and state of repentance. One instance is enough particularly to express the anger, or to apply the grace of repentance to any single sin which is not among the capitals; but no one instance is enough to extinguish it. For sin is not pardoned in an instant (as I shall afterwards discourse) neither is the remedy of a natural and a just proportion to the sin. Therefore when many of the ancient doctors apply to venial sins special remedies by way of expiation, or deprecation, such as are beating the breast, saying the Lord's prayer, alms, communicating, confessing, and some others[r]; the doctrine of

[p] Vide S. Aug., lib. lxxxiii. q. 26. [tom. vi. col. 7.] et Cæsar. Arelat., homil. i. [ubi supra.]

[q] Lib. I. hom. h. l. c. 8. [p. 115, not. k, supra.]

[r] Ecclesia Romana alia excogitavit facile, quorum non nulla declinant aperte nimis ad superstitionem;

Confiteor, tundo, 'conspergor,' conteror, oro,
'Signor,' edo, dono, per hæc venialia pono.

such remedies is not true, if it be understood that those particulars are just physically or meritoriously proportioned to the sin. No one of these alone is a cure or expiation of the past sin; but every one of these in the virtue of repentance is effective to its part of the work, that is, he that repents and forsakes them as he can, shall be accepted, though the expression of his repentance be applied to his fault but in one or more of these single instances; because all good works done in the faith of Christ, have an efficacy towards the extinction of those sins which cannot be avoided by any moral diligence; there is no other thing on our parts which can be done, and if that which is unavoidable were also irremediable, our condition would be intolerable and desperate. To the sense of this advice we have the words of S. Gregory[s], *Si quis ergo peccata sua tecta esse desiderat, Deo ea per vocem confessionis ostendat, &c.*, 'if any man desires to have his sins covered, let him first open them to God in confession: but there are some sins, which so long as we live in this world, can hardly, or indeed not at all be wholly avoided by perfect men. For holy men have something in this life which they ought to cover; for it is altogether impossible that they should never sin in word or thought. Therefore the men of God do study to cover the faults of their eyes or tongue with good deeds, they study to overpower the number of their idle words with the weight of good works. But how can it be that the faults of good men should be covered, when all things are naked to the eye of God, but only because that which is covered is put under, something is brought over it? our sins are covered when we bring over them the cover of good works.' But Cæsarius[t] the bishop is more punctual, and descends to particulars. For having given this general rule, *Illa parva vel quotidiana peccata bonis operibus redimere non desistant*, 'let them not cease to redeem or expiate their daily and small faults with good works;' he adds, 'but I desire more fully to insinuate to you, with what works small sins are taken off; so often as we visit the sick, go (in charity) to them that are in prison, reconcile variances, keep the fasts of the church, wash the feet of strangers, repair to the vigils and watches of the church, give alms to passing beggars, forgive our enemies when[u] they ask pardon,' *istis enim operibus et his similibus minuta peccata quotidie redimuntur*, 'with these and the like works the minute or smaller sins are daily redeemed' or taken off.

58. γ. There is in prayer a particular efficacy, and it is of proper use and application in the case of the more venial and unavoidable sins, rather this than any other alone, especially being helped by charity, that is, alms and forgiveness: because the greatest number of venial sins comes in (as I shall afterwards demonstrate[x]) upon the

[s] [Expos. in psalm. pœnit. ii. ver. 1.—tom. iii. part. 2. col. 474 B.]

[t] [Cæsar. Arelat., hom. viii. p. 753 D.]

[u] ['quotiens.']

[x] Chap. 'Of sins of infirmity.'

stock of ignorance, or which is all one, imperfect notices and acts of understanding; and therefore have not any thing in the natural parts and instances of repentance, so fit to expiate or to cure them. But because they are beyond human cure, they are to be cured by the divine grace, and this is to be obtained by prayer. And this S. Clement advised in his epistle[y], Ἐξετείνατε[z] τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Θεὸν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἵλεων γίνεσθαι εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε, 'lift[z] up your eyes to God almighty, praying Him to be merciful to you, if you have unwillingly fallen into error.' And to the same purpose are the words of S. Austin[a], *Propter levia sine quibus esse non possumus, oratio inventa,* 'for those lighter sins without which we cannot be, prayer is invented as a remedy.'

59. δ. Perpetually watch, and perpetually resolve against them, as against any, never indulging to thyself leave to proceed in one. Let this care be constant and indefatigable, and leave the success to God. For in this there is a great difference between capital or deadly, and the more venial sins: for he that repents of great sins, does so resolve against them, that he ought really to believe that he shall never return to them again. No drunkard is truly to be esteemed a penitent, but he that in consideration of himself, his purpose, his reasons, and all his circumstances, is by the grace of God confident that he shall never be drunk again. The reason is plain: for if he thinks that for all his resolution and repentance the case may happen or will return, in which he shall be tempted above his strength, that is, above the efficacy of his resolution, then he hath not resolved against the sin in all its forms or instances: but he hath left some roots of bitterness which may spring up and defile him; he hath left some weak places, some parts unfortified, and does secretly purpose to give up his fort, if he be assaulted by some sort of enemies. He is not resolved to resist the importunity of a friend, or a prevailing person, a prince, his landlord, or his master; that for the present he thinks impossible, and therefore owes his spiritual life to chance, or to the mercies of his enemy, who may have it for asking: but if he thinks it possible to resist any temptation, and resolves to do it if it be possible, the natural consequent of that is, that he thinks he shall never fall again into it. But if beforehand he thinks he shall relapse, he is then but an imperfect resolver, but a half-faced penitent. But this is not so in the case of smaller sins coming by ignorance or surprise, by inadvertency and imperfect notices, by the unavoidable weakness and imperfect condition of mankind. For he who in these resolves the strongest, knows that he shall not be innocent, but that he shall feel his weakness in the same or in other instances; and that this shall be his condition as long as he lives, that he shall always need to pray, 'Forgive me my trespasses:' and even his not

[y] [Ad Corinth. ep. i. § 2.—p. 148.]
[z] ['extendebatis.']
[a] De symb. ad catech., lib. i. c. 6. [leg. 7.—tom. vi. col. 554.] et lib. l. homil. 28. [al. serm. xvii. cap. 5 fin. et 6.—tom. v. col. 96 sq.]

knowing concerning all actions, and all words, and all thoughts, whether they be sins or no, is a certain betraying him into a necessity of doing something for the pardon of which Christ died, for the preventing of which a mighty care is necessary, in the suffering of which he ought to be humbled, and for the pardon of which he ought for ever to pray. And therefore S. Chrysostom[b] upon those words of S. Paul, 'I am conscious in nothing[c],' that is, I do not know of any failing in my ministry, saith, καὶ τί δήποτε, 'what then?' he is not hereby justified, ὅτι συνέβαινεν ἡμαρτῆσθαι μὲν αὐτῷ τινα ἁμαρτήματα, μὴ μὴν αὐτὸν εἰδέναι ταῦτα ἁμαρτήματα, 'because some sins might adhere to him he not knowing that they were sins.' *Ab occultis meis munda me Domine,* was an excellent prayer of David[d], 'Cleanse me, O Lord, from my secret faults.' *Hoc dicit, ne quid forte per ignorantiam deliquisset,* saith S. Hierome[e]; 'he prayed so, lest peradventure he should have sinned ignorantly.' But of this I shall give a further account in describing the measures of 'sins of infirmity.' For the present, although this resolution against all is ineffective as to a perfect immunity from small offences, yet it is accepted as really done, because it is done as it can possibly.

60. ϵ. Let no man rely upon the catalogues which are sometimes given, and think that such things which the doctors have called 'venial sins,' may with more facility be admitted, and with smaller portions of care be regarded, or with a slighter repentance washed off. For besides that some have called perjuries, anger, envy, injurious words, by lighter names and titles of a little reproof, and having lived in wicked times, were betrayed into easier sentences of those sins which they saw all mankind almost to practise, which was the case of some of the doctors who lived in the time of those wars which broke the Roman empire; besides this, I say, venial sins can rather be described[f] than enumerated. For none are so in their nature, but all that are so are so by accident; and according as sins tend to excuse, so they put on their degrees of veniality. No sin is absolutely venial, but in comparison with others: neither is any sin at all times and to all persons alike venial. And therefore let no man venture upon it upon any mistaken confidence: they that think sins are venial in their own nature, cannot agree which are venial, and which are not; and therefore nothing is in this case so certain, as that all that doctrine which does in any sense represent sins as harmless or tame serpents, is infinitely dangerous, and there is no safety, but by striving against all beforehand, and repenting of all as there is need.

61. I sum up these questions and these advices with the saying of Josephus[g], Τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις παρανομεῖν ἰσοδύναμόν ἐστι,

[b] [In 1 Cor. iv. 4, hom. xi. § 2. tom. x. p. 89 A.]
[c] [1 Cor. iv. 4.]
[d] [Ps. xix. 12.]
[e] [vid. dial. adv. Pelag., lib. i.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 504 init.]
[f] See chap. vii. 'Of sins of infirmity.'
[g] Εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους. [cap. v.—p. 1397.]

'it is as damnable to indulge leave to ourselves to sin little sins as great ones:' a man may be choked with a raisin[h], as well as with great morsels of flesh; and a small leak in a ship, if it be neglected, will as certainly sink her as if she sprung a plank. Death is the wages of all; and damnation is the portion of the impenitent, whatever was the instance of their sin. Though there are degrees of punishment, yet there is no difference of state, as to this particular: and therefore we are tied to repent of all, and to dash the little Babylonians against the stones[i], against the Rock that was smitten for us. For by the blood of Jesus, and the tears of repentance, and the watchfulness of a diligent, careful person, many of them shall be prevented, and all shall be pardoned.

A PSALM TO BE FREQUENTLY USED IN OUR REPENTANCE FOR OUR DAILY SINS.

Bow down Thine ear, O Lord, hear me, for I am poor and needy; rejoice the soul of Thy servant, for unto Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul.

For Thou, Lord, art good, and ready to forgive, and plenteous in mercy unto all them that call upon Thee: teach me Thy way, O Lord, I will walk in Thy truth; unite my heart to fear Thy name.

Shall mortal man be more just than God? shall a man be more pure than his Maker? behold, He put no trust in His servants, and His angels He charged with folly.

How much less on them that dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth? doth not their excellency which is in them go away? they die even without wisdom.

The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple: moreover by them is Thy servant warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Who can understand his errors? cleanse Thou me from my secret faults: keep back Thy servant also from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me, then shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.

O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn My glory into shame? how long will ye love vanity and seek after leasing? But know, that the Lord hath set apart him that is godly for Himself: the Lord will hear when I call unto Him.

Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord; Lord hear my voice: O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint.

[h] [See vol. iv. p. 408.] [i] [Ps. cxxxvii. 9. Cf. Orig. cont. Cels. vii. 22.]

If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord who may abide it? But there is mercy with Thee, therefore shalt Thou be feared.

Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips: take from me the way of lying, and cause Thou me to make much of Thy law.

The Lord is full of compassion and mercy, long-suffering, and of great goodness: He will not alway be chiding, neither keepeth He his anger for ever.

Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear Him: for He knoweth whereof we are made, He remembereth that we are but dust.

Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits; which forgiveth all thy sin, and healeth all thine infirmities.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

THE PRAYER.

I.

O eternal God, whose perfections are infinite, whose mercies are glorious, whose justice is severe, whose eyes are pure, whose judgments are wise; be pleased to look upon the infirmities of Thy servant, and consider my weakness. My spirit is willing, but my flesh is weak; I desire to please Thee, but in my endeavours I fail so often, so foolishly, so unreasonably, that I extremely displease myself, and I have too great reason to fear that Thou also art displeased with Thy servant. O my God, I know my duty, I resolve to do it, I know my dangers, I stand upon my guard against them, but when they come near I begin to be pleased, and delighted in the little images of death, and am seized upon by folly, even when with greatest severity I decree against it.—Blessed Jesus pity me, and have mercy upon my infirmities!

II.

O dear God, I humbly beg to be relieved by a mighty grace, for I bear a body of sin and death about me; sin creeps upon me in every thing that I do or suffer. When I do well, I am apt to be proud, when I do amiss, I am sometimes too confident, sometimes affrighted: if I see others do amiss, I either neglect them, or grow too angry; and in the very mortification of my anger I grow angry

and peevish. My duties are imperfect, my repentances little, my passions great, my fancy trifling: the sins of my tongue are infinite, and my omissions are infinite, and my evil thoughts cannot be numbered, and I cannot give an account concerning innumerable portions of my time which were once in my power, but were let slip and were partly spent in sin, partly thrown away upon trifles and vanity: and even of the basest sins of which in accounts of men I am most innocent, I am guilty before Thee, entertaining those sins in little instances, thoughts, desires and imaginations, which I durst not produce into action and open significations.—Blessed Jesus pity me, and have mercy upon my infirmities!

III.

Teach me, O Lord, to walk before Thee in righteousness, perfecting holiness in the fear of God. Give me an obedient will, a loving spirit, a humble understanding, watchfulness over my thoughts, deliberation in all my words and actions, well-tempered passions, and a great prudence, and a great zeal, and a great charity, that I may do my duty wisely, diligently, holily. O let me be humbled in my infirmities, but let me be also safe from my enemies; let me never fall by their violence, nor by my own weakness; let me never be overcome by them, nor yet give myself up to folly and weak principles, to idleness, and secure, careless walking; but give me the strengths of Thy Spirit, that I may grow strong upon the ruins of the flesh, growing from grace to grace till I become a perfect man in Christ Jesus. O let Thy strength be seen in my weakness; and let Thy mercy triumph over my infirmities; pitying the condition of my nature, the infancy of grace, the imperfection of my knowledge, the transportations of my passion. Let me never consent to sin, but for ever strive against it, and every day prevail, till it be quite dead in me, that Thy servant living the life of grace, may at last be admitted to that state of glory where all my infirmities shall be done away, and all tears be dried up, and sin and death shall be no more. Grant this, O most gracious God and Father, for Jesus Christ his sake. Amen.

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

CHAP. IV.

OF ACTUAL, SINGLE SINS, AND WHAT REPENTANCE IS PROPER TO THEM.

§ 1. A catalogue of sins that are severely threatened in scripture, of which men commonly believe not such hard things.

1. THE first part of conversion or repentance is a quitting of all sinful habits, and abstaining from all criminal actions whatsoever.

> Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
> Stultitia caruisse[k].

For unless the Spirit of God rule in our hearts, we are none of Christ's; but He rules not where the works of the flesh are frequently, or maliciously, or voluntarily entertained. All the works of the flesh, and whatsoever leads to them, all that is contrary to the Spirit, and does either grieve or extinguish Him, must be rescinded and utterly taken away. Concerning which, it is necessary that I set down the catalogues[l] which by Christ and His apostles are left us as lights and watch towers to point out the rocks and quick-sands where our danger is: and this I shall the rather do, not only because they comprehend many evils which are not observed or feared; some which are commended, and many that are excused; but also because although they are all marked with the same black character of death, yet there is some difference in the execution of the sentence, and in the degrees of their condemnation, and of the consequent repentance.

2. EVIL THOUGHTS, or DISCOURSINGS, Διαλογισμοὶ οἱ κακοὶ, 'evil reasonings.'—Διαλογισμοὶ, ἀδολεσχίαι, says Hesychius[m], that is, 'prating;' importune prattling and looseness of tongue, such as is usual with bold boys and young men; prating much and to no purpose. But our bibles read it, 'evil thoughts,' or 'surmisings;' for in scripture it is συνεχὴς μελέτη; so Suidas[n] observes concerning ἀδολεσχία, and ἀδολεσχήσω, that is, διηνεκῶς μελετήσω, to think long and carefully, to dwell in meditation upon a thing: to which when our blessed Saviour adds κακοὶ, 'evil,' He notes and reproves such kind of morose thinkings and fancying of evil things: and it is not unlikely that He means thoughts of uncleanness, or lustful fancies. For διαλέγεσθαι, τὸ συνουσιάζειν, saith Suidas[o]: ἐπὶ τὸ συνουσιά-

[k] [Hor. epist. i. 1. 41.]

[l] [Matt. xv. 19; Mark vii. 21; Gal. v. 16, 19—21; Eph. iv. 31; v. 3—5; 2 Tim. iii. 2—5; Rom. i. 29—32; 1 Cor. vi. 9; Rev. xxi. 8; 1 Pet. iv. 3, 15.]

[m] [Ad voc.—tom. i. col. 951.]

[n] [Ad voc.—col. 94.]

[o] [Ad voc.—col. 946.]

ζειν, says Hesychius[p]; it signifies such words as are prologues to wantonness: so *διαλέγοιντο γυναιξὶν* in Aristophanes[q],

Τὴν μέν γε πρώτην διαλέγουσαν τὴν ὀπὴν
κατέλαβον, ᾗ τοῦ Πανός ἐστι τ' αὐλίον.

So that here are forbidden all wanton words, and all morose delighting in venereous thoughts, all rollings and tossing such things in our minds. For even these defile the soul. *Verborum obscœnitas si turpitudini rerum adhibeatur, ludus ne libero quidem homine dignus est*, said Cicero[r], 'obscene words are a mockery not worthy of an ingenuous person.' This is that *μωρολογία*, or *εὐτραπελία*[s], that 'foolish talking and jesting,' which S. Paul joins to *αἰσχρότης*, that 'filthiness of communication,' which men make a jest of, but is indeed the basest in the world; the sign of a vile dishonest mind: and it particularly noted the talk of mimics and parasites, buffoons and players, whose trade was to make sport, *γελωτοποιοὶ*, and they did use to do it with nastiness and filthy talkings; as is to be seen in Aristophanes, and is rarely described and severely reproved in S. Chrysostom in his sixth homily upon S. Matthew[t]. For *per verba dediscitur rerum pudor*; which S. Paul also affirms in the words of Menander[u],

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί,

'evil words corrupt good manners;' and evil thoughts being the fountain of evil words, lie under the same prohibition. Under this head is the *ὁ προπετὴς*, *ὁ πρόγλωσσος*, 'a talkative rash person, ready to speak, slow to hear;' against S. James his rule.

3. INVENTORS OF EVIL THINGS.—Contrivers of all such artifices as minister to vice. Curious inventions for cruelty, for gluttony, for lust; witty methods of drinking, wanton pictures, and the like; which for the likeness of the matter I have subjoined next to the *κακοὶ διαλογισμοὶ*, the 'evil thinkings' or 'surmisings[v]' reproved by our blessed Saviour, as these are expressly by S. Paul.

4. *Πλεονεξίαι*, COVETOUSNESS: or, 'Inordinate, unreasonable desires.'—For the word does not only signify the designing and contrivances of unjust ways of purchasing, which is not often separated from covetous desires: but the very *studium habendi*, the thirst, or greediness, secret and impatient desires of having abundance: *πλεονεξία ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ πλείονος βλάβη*, 'the hurt of immoderate lusting or desire;' and is sometimes applied to the matter of uncleanness; but in this catalogue I wholly separate it from this, because this is comprised under other words. Neither will it be hard to discern and to reprove this sin of desires in them that are guilty of

[p] [Ubi supra.]
[q] Lysistrata. [lin. 720.]
[r] [vid. De offic., lib. i. cap. 29.]
[s] *Εὐτραπελία, καταχρηστικῶς* pro *βωμολοχία*.—Eph. v. [4.]
[t] [§ 7 sq.—tom. vii. p. 99 sqq.]
[u] [See vol. vi. p. 523, note e.]
[v] ['surmises' B.]

it, though they will not think or confess what is and what is not 'abundance.' For there is not easily to be found a greater testimony of covetousness than the error concerning the measure of our possessions. He that is not easy to call that abundance which by good and severe men is thought so, desires more than he should. Τὸ *περισσεύειν τι τῇ ζωῇ*, 'when any thing is over and above the needs of our life,' that is too much; and to desire that, is covetousness, saith S. Luke. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ *φυλάσσετε ἀπὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας*, 'take heed and keep your selves from covetousness; for our life consisteth not in abundance;' intimating, that to desire more than our life needs, is to desire abundance, and that is covetousness; and that is the root of all evil: that is, all sins and all mischiefs can come from hence.

> Divitis hoc vitium est auri; nec bella fuere
> Faginus adstabat cum scyphus ante dapes[x].

There were no wars in those days when men did drink in a treen[y] cup.

5. Πονηρία, WICKEDNESS.—This is the same that the Latins call *malitia;* a scurvy, base disposition; aptness to do shrewd turns, to delight in mischiefs and tragedies; a loving to trouble our neighbour, and to do him ill offices; crossness, perverseness and peevishness of action in our entercourse. Πονηρία, ὁ ἐκ *παρασκευῆς εἴς τινα παρά του πόνος γινόμενος*, saith Suidas[z]; *facessere negotium alicui*, to do a man an evil office, or to 'put him to trouble.' And to this is reducible that which S. Paul calls *κακοήθειαν*, 'malignity;' a baseness of nature by which we take things by the wrong handle, and expounding things always in the worst sense. *Vitiositas* is the Latin word for it, and it seems to be worse than the former, by being a more general principle of mischief. *Malitia certi cujusdam vitii est, vitiositas omnium,* said Cicero[a]. This is in a man's nature an universal depravation of his spirit; that is in manners, and is sooner cured than this.

6. Κακία, CRAFTINESS.—That is, a wiliness and aptness to deceive; a studying by some underhand trick to over-reach our brother: like that of Corax his scholar, he cozened[b] his master with a trick of his own art; Κακοῦ *κόρακος κακὸν ὠὸν*[c], 'a crafty crow laid a

[x] [Tibull. i. 10. 7.]
[y] [i. e. 'wooden.']
[z] [col. 3042.]
[a] Tuscul. iv. [cap. 15.]
[b] ['Cousen'd' edd.—See p. 3, note a, above.]
[c] [Τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πτηνοῦ ζώου φασὶν εἰρῆσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε αὐτὸς βρωτὸς ἐστὶ, οὔτε τὸ ὠὸν ὃ ἔχει. Οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ Κόρακος τοῦ Συρακουσίου ῥήτορος, πρώτου διδάξαντος τέχνην ῥητορικήν. Ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου, ὡς φασὶ, μαθητὴς Τισίας ὀνόματι μισθὸν ἀπαιτούμενος, καὶ εἰσαγόμενος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κόρακα, Εἰ μέν με νικήσειας, ὦ Κόραξ, οὐδὲν μεμάθηκα, καὶ οὐ λήψῃ τι· εἰ δ' ἡττηθήσῃ, οὐ κομιῇ τὸν μισθὸν ὡσαύτως. Θαυμάσαντες οὖν οἱ δικασταὶ τὸ σόφισμα τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἐπεφώνησαν, Κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν ὠόν.—Proverb. Zenob. iv. 82. apud Gaisf. Paræmiogr., p. 331. 8vo. Oxon. 1836.]

crafty egg.' By which is not signified that natural or acquired sagacity by which men can contrive wittily, or be too hard for their brother if they should endeavour it: but a studying how to circumvent him, and an habitual design of getting advantage upon his weakness; a watching him where he is most easy and apt for impression, and then striking him upon the unarmed part. But this is brought to effect, by

7. DECEIT; *cum aliud simulatur, aliud agitur, alterius decipiendi causa,* said Ulpian and Aquilius; that is, all dissembling to the prejudice of thy neighbour; ἡ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλή τε καὶ μηχανὴ παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ [d], any thing designed to thy neighbour's disadvantage by simulation or dissimulation.

8. UNCLEANNESS, Ἀσέλγεια—'Stinking:' so the Syriac interpreter [e] renders it; and it means, obscene actions. But it signifies all manner of excess or immoderation; and so may signify πολυτέλειαν, 'prodigal or lavish expences,' and immoderate use of permitted pleasures, even the excess of liberty in the use of the marriage bed. For the ancients use the word not only for 'unchaste,' but for 'great and excessive.'

— Πίονές εἰσιν ἀσελγῶς [f],

'they are exceeding fat:' and a goat with great horns is called ἀσελγόκερως [g]. It is *luxuria,* or the excess of desire in the matter of pleasures. Every excess is ἀσέλγεια, it is intemperance: ἀκαθαρσία signifies a special kind of crime under this; it means all voluntary pollutions of the body, or

9. WANTONNESS.—That is, all tempting foolish gestures; such which Juvenal reproves,

Cheironomon Ledam molli saltante Batyllo [h],

which being presented in the theatre would make the vestal wanton. Every thing by which a man or woman is κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικὰ, 'abominable in their lusts;' to which the τὰ ἄῤῥητα, the 'lusts not to be named' are reducible: amongst which S. Paul [i] reckons the 'effeminate,' and 'abusers of themselves with mankind;' that is, they that do, and they that suffer such things: Philoctetes [k] and Paris; Cæsar and the king of Pontus. *Mollities* or softness is the name by which this vice is known, and the persons guilty of it, are also called the ἐβδελυγμένοι [l], the 'abominable.'

10. HATRED, Ἔχθραι καὶ θυμοὶ; 'great, but transient angers.' —The cause, and the degree, and the abode makes the anger criminal. By these two words are forbidden all violent passion, fury, re-

[d] [Suidas in voc. δόλος.]

[e] [ ] Mark vii. 22, translated by Leusden and Schaaf (in that place) 'fœtor.']

[f] [Aristoph. Plut. 560.]

[g] [Apud Platon. Comic.—Suid. et Hesych. in κριὸς ἀσελγόκερως.]

[h] [Juv. sat. vi. 63.]

[i] [1 Cor. vi. 9.]

[k] [Schol. in Thucyd. i. 12.]

[l] John [Apoc.] xxi. 8.

vengefulness; ἐχθρὸς ὁ ἐκδικητὴς, 'the enemy and the avenger,' says David[m]. But not this only, but the misliking and hating of a man, though without actual designs of hurting him, is here noted; that is, when men retain the displeasure, and refuse to converse or have any thing to do with the man, though there be from him no danger of damage, the former experiment being warning enough; the forbearing to salute him, to be kind or civil to him, and every degree of anger that is kept, is an ἐχθρὰ, a part of enmity or hatred. To this are reduced the 'unmerciful;' that is, such as use their right in extreme severity towards servants and malefactors, criminal or obnoxious persons: and the 'implacable,' that is a degree beyond; such who being once offended will take no satisfaction, but the utmost and extremest forfeiture.

11. DEBATE, CONTENTIONS.—That is, all striving in words or actions, scolding and quarrels, in which as commonly both parties are faulty when they enter, so it is certain they cannot go forth from them without having contracted the guilt of more than one sin. Whither is reduced clamour[n], or loud expressions of anger: "Clamour is the horse of anger," said S. Chrysostom[o], "anger rides upon it; throw the horse down, and the rider will fall to the ground." Blasphemy; 'backbiting' we read it, but the Greek signifies all words that are injurious to God or man.

12. WHISPERERS.—That is, such who are apt to do shrewd turns in private; a speaking evil of our neighbour in a man's ear;

> — Hic nigræ succus loliginis, hæc est
> Ærugo mera[p];

this is an arrow that flieth in the dark, it wounds secretly, and no man can be warned of it. Καταλάλους, 'backbiters;' it is the same mischief, but it speaks out a little more than the other; and it denotes such who pretend friendship and society, but yet traduce their friend, or accuse him secretly; καινὸς τροπὸς διαβολῆς τὸ μὴ ψέγοντας ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦντας λυμαίνεσθαι, as Polybius[q] calls it, 'a new way of accusation, to undermine a man by praising him,' that you seeming his friend, a lover of his virtue and his person, by praising him may be the more easily believed in reporting his faults: like him in Horace[r], who was glad to hear any good of his old friend Capitolinus, whom he knew so well, who had so kindly obliged him,

> Sed tamen admiror quo pacto judicium illud
> Fugerit; —

[m] [Ps. viii. 2, LXX.—ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητὴν.]
[n] [Eph. iv. 31.]
[o] [In Joan. hom. xxvi. § 3, et in Eph. iv. hom. xv. § 2.—tom. viii. p. 152 C, et xi. 112 C.—Cf. vol. iv. p. 297.]
[p] [Hor. sat. i. 4. 100.]
[q] [See vol. iv. p. 299.]
[r] [Ubi supra, lin. 99.]

'but yet I wonder that he escaped the judge's sentence in his criminal cause.' There is a louder kind of this evil, ὑβριστὰς, 'railers;' that's when the smoke is turned into a flame, and breaks out; it is the same iniquity with another circumstance; it is the vice of women and boys, and rich imperious fools, and hard rude masters to their servants, and it does too often infect the spirit and language of a governor. Our bibles read this word, by 'despiteful;' that notes an aptness to speak spiteful words, cross and untoward, such which we know will do mischief or displease.

13. FOOLISHNESS;—which we understand by the words of S. Paul[s], 'Be not foolish, but understanding what the will of the Lord is:' it means a neglect of enquiring into holy things; a wilful or careless ignorance of the best things, a not studying our religion, which indeed is the greatest folly and sottishness[t], it being a neglecting of our greatest interests, and of the most excellent notices, and it is the fountain of many impure emanations. A christian must not be ἀσύνετος, he must not call fool, nor be a fool. 'Heady' is reduced to this, and signifies rash and indiscreet in assenting and dissenting; people that speak and do foolishly, because they speak and do without deliberation.

14. PRIDE.—Καταφρόνησίς τις πλὴν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων, 'a despising of others, if compared with ourselves:' so Theophrastus[u] calls it. Concerning which we are to judge ourselves by the voices of others, and by the consequent actions observable in ourselves; anything whereby we overvalue ourselves, or despise others, preferring ourselves, or depressing them in unequal places or usages, is the signification of this vice: which no man does heartily think himself guilty of, but he that is not; that is, the humble man. A particular of this sin is that which is in particular noted by the apostle, under the name of ἀλαζονεία, 'arrogance,' or 'bragging;' which includes pride and hypocrisy together: for so Plato[x] defines it to be, ἕξις προσποιητικὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μὴ ὑπαρχόντων, 'a pretending to excellencies which we have not;' a desiring to seem good but a carelessness of being so; reputation and fame, not goodness, being the design. To this may be referred 'emulations,' ζῆλοι, so the apostle calls them, 'zeals;' it signifies immoderate love to a lawful object: like that of the wife of Ajax in Sophocles[y],

——— ἴδετε τὴν ὁμευνέτιν
Αἴαντος, ὃς μέγιστον ἴσχυσε στρατοῦ,
οἵας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει.

She did him most strange, zealous services, as if her affection had no

[s] [Eph. v. 17.]
[t] [Prov. xxiv. 9.]
[u] [κεφ. κ', Περὶ ὑπερηφανίας.—tom. i. p. 866.]
[x] [In Defin., tom. ix. p. 273.]
[y] [Aj. 501.]

measure[z]. It signifies also violent desires of equalling or excelling another for honour's sake, ambition and envy mixed together: it is a violent pursuit after a thing that deserves it not. A consequent of these is,

15. Διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, 'SEDITIONS or SCHISMS, and HERESIES.'—That is, divisions in the church upon diversity of opinions, or upon pride, faction and interest, as in choosing bishops, in prelations and governments ecclesiastical, from factious rulers or factious subjects; which are properly schisms, but use commonly to belch forth into heresy: according to that saying, *Plerumque schisma in hæresin eructat.*

16. AN EVIL EYE.—That is, a repining at the good of others; envy, a not rejoicing in the prosperity of our neighbour; a grieving because he grieves not. *Aut illi nescio quid incommodi accidit, aut nescio cui aliquid boni*[a]; when good happens to another, it is as bad as if evil happened to himself.

Ὦ τῆς μεγίστης τοῦ φθόνου πονηρίας·
τὸν εὐτυχῆ μισεῖ τις ὃν θεὸς φιλεῖ[b].

This is one of the worst of crimes, for a man to hate him that is prosperous; hate him whom God loves or blesses. It bears part of its punishment along with it: the sin hath in it no pleasure, but very much torment.

Nam sese excruciat qui beatis invidet[c].

A part of this is unthankfulness[d]; those who do not return kindness to others from whom they have received any, neither are apt to acknowledge them: which is properly an envying to our friend the noblest of all graces, that of charity; or it is pride or covetousness, for from any of these roots this equivocal issue can proceed.

17. LOVERS OF PLEASURES.—Such who study and spend their time and money to please their senses;

——— rarum ac memorabile magni
Gutturis exemplum, conducendusque magister[e]:

Rare epicures and gluttons, such which were famous in the Roman luxury, and fit to be presidents of a Greek symposiac, not for their skill in philosophy, but their witty arts of drinking.

Ingeniosa gula est, Siculo scarus æquore mersus
Ad mensam vivus perducitur[f];——

[z] ['quibus nunc urgetur servitiis pro illa quam habuit prius invidenda sorte.'—Brunck.]

[a] [Bion sophist. apud Stobæum, floril. tit. xxxviii. 50.—Macrob., saturn., lib. ii. cap. 2.—p. 349.]

[b] [Vet. poet.—Grotius in Jac. iv. 2.]

[c] [Poet. incert. ad calc. Apulcii, ed. Oudendorp, tom. ii. p. 610.]

[d] [2 Tim. iii. 2.]

[e] [Juv. sat. ii. 113.]

[f] Petron. [satyr., cap. cxix. p. 561.]

Sensual men: such who are dull, and unaffected with the things of God, and transported with the lusts of the lower belly; persons that are greedy of baser pleasures. Ὁ ἄδικος αὐτῷ πλέον τῶν ἡδέων νέμει, said the scholiast [g] upon Aristotle. The wicked man allows to himself too large a portion of sweet things. 'Licorishness' is the common word to express this vice in the matter of eating and drinking.

18. BUSY-BODIES.—That is, such who invade the offices, or impertinently obtrude their advice and help when there is no need, and when it is not liked, not out of charity, but of curiosity, or of a trifling spirit: and this produces talking of others, and makes their conversation a scene of censure and satire against others; never speaking of their own duty, but often to the reproach of their neighbours, something that may lessen or disparage him.

19. THE FEARFUL, and THE UNBELIEVERS.—That is, they that fear man more than God, that will do any thing but suffer nothing, that fall away in persecution; such who dare not trust the promises, but fear want, and fear death, and trust not God with cheerfulness, and joy, and confidence.

20. Συνευδοκοῦντες τοῖς πράσσουσι, 'THEY THAT TAKE PLEASURE IN THOSE THAT DO THESE THINGS.'—That is, they who in any sense encourage, or promote, or love the sin of another, are guilty themselves; not of the other's sin, but of their own. He that commands a man to swear, is not guilty of that swearing, but of that commanding him. It is a sin to do so; but that sin to which the man is encouraged, or tempted, or assisted, is his own sin, and for it he is to repent; every man for his own. For it is inartificially said by the masters of moral theology, that by many ways we are guilty of the sins of others. By many ways indeed we can procure them to sin; and every such action of ours is a sin, against charity and the matter of that commandment in which the temptation was instanced: but their sin is not ours; their sin does not properly load us, neither does our being author of it excuse them. It was the case of Adam, and Eve, and the serpent, who yet did every one bear their own burden. Aristotle, Zeno, and Chrysippus were notorious in this kind. *Non est enim immunis a scelere qui ut fieret imperavit, nec est alienus a crimine cujus consensu, licet non a se admissum crimen, tamen publice legitur*, said S. Cyprian [h]. He that commands, and he that consents, and he that delights, and he that commends, and he that maintains, and he that counsels, and he that tempts, or conceals, or is silent in another's danger, when his speaking will prevent it, is guilty before God. *Corrumpere, et corrumpi sæculum vocatur* [i]. This evil is of a

[g] Alex. Aphrod. in lib. de anim. [p. 155. fol. Venet. MDXXXIV.]

[h] Epist. xxi. [leg. xxxi. al. xxx. p. 57. —Est autem epistola presbyterorum &c. ad Cyprianum.]

[i] [Tac. Germ. xix.—tom. iv. p. 95.]

great extent, but receives its degrees according to the influence or causality it hath in the sins of others.

21. These I have noted and explicated, because they are not so notorious as others, which have a public name, and filthy character, and easy definition; such as, adulteries, fornication, drunkenness, idolatry, hating of God and good men, perjury, malicious lies, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, as S. Paul adds, 'and such like;' these, and those, and all that are like these, exclude us from the kingdom of heaven[j]. They are "the works of the flesh;" but these which are last reckoned are such which all the world condemns, and they are easily discerned, as smoke, or a cloud upon the face of the sun: but the other are sometimes esteemed innocent, often excused, commonly neglected, always undervalued. But concerning all these, the sentence is sad and decretory, "They that are such shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven[k];" but "they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone[l]." Now if we list to observe it, many of these are such which occur so frequently in our daily conversation, are so little noted and so confidently practised, that to try men concerning their hopes of heaven by such measures would seem strange and hard: but it is our faults that it is so; these are the measures of the sanctuary, and not to be prejudged by later and looser customs.

§ 2. Whether every single act of these sins puts a man out of God's favour.

22. In this question, by 'a single act' I mean a deliberate act, a wilful, observed, known act; for concerning acts by surprise, by incogitancy, by imperfection, I shall give a special account in a chapter on purpose. To this therefore I answer by several propositions.

23. *a.* There are some acts of sin so vile and mischievous that they cannot be acted but by a great malice or depravation of the will; and do suppose a man to be gone a great way from God before he can presumptuously or wilfully commit any of them; such as are idolatry, wilful murder, adultery, witchcraft, perjury, sacrilege, and the like: such which by reason of their evil effect are called *peccata clamantia ad Dominum*, 'crying sins;' as, oppressing widows, entering into the fields of the fatherless, killing a man by false accusation, grinding the face of the poor, some sort of unnatural lusts: or such which by reason of their scandal, and severe prohibitions of them, and their proper baseness and unholiness, are *peccata vastantia cönscientiam*[m], they 'lay a man's conscience waste;' such are all these that I have now reckoned. Now concerning every one of these there is amongst wise and good men no question, but every act of them is exclusive of a man from all his hopes of heaven, unless he repent timely and

[j] [Gal. v. 21.]
[k] [1 Cor. vi. 10.]
[l] [Rev. xxi. 8.]
[m] [S. August.—ch. v. § 3, infr.]

effectually. For every act of these is such as a man cannot be surprised in the commission of it; he can have no ignorance, no necessity, no infirmity to lessen or excuse his fault; which because it is very mischievous in the event, expressly and severely and by name forbidden, is also against holiness and against charity, against God and against the commandment so apparently, that there is nothing to lessen them into the neighbourhood of an excuse, if he that commits them have a clear use of reason. Some acts of other sins are such which as they are innocent of doing mischief to our neighbour, so they are forbidden only in general, but concerning the particular there is not any express certainty; as in drunkenness, which though every Christian knows to be forbidden, yet concerning every particular act it is not always so certain that it is drunkenness, because the acts partake of more and less; which is not true in murder, in adultery, apostasy, witchcraft, and the like. Besides which, in some of the forbidden instances there are some degrees of surprise, even when there are some degrees of presumption and deliberation, which in others there cannot be. Upon which considerations it is apparent that the single acts of these greater sins are equal to a habit in others, and are for the present destructive of the state of God's favour; a man that does them is in the state of damnation till he hath repented; that is, no good man can do one of these acts, and be a good man still; he is a wicked person, and an enemy of God, if he does.

24. β. This is apparent in those acts which can be done but once; as in parricide, or murdering our father or mother, and in the wilful murder of our self. There can be no habit of these sins; all their malignity is spent in one act; and the event is best declared by one of them; the man dies in his sin, in that sin which excludes him from heaven. Every act of these sins is like the stinging of bees,

—— animamque in vulnere ponunt[n];

he cannot strike again, he can sin that sin over no more; and therefore it is a single act that damns in that case. Now though it is by accident that these sins can be but once acted, yet it is not by accident that these single acts destroy the soul, but by their malice and evil effect, their mischief or uncharitableness: it follows therefore that it is so in all the single acts of these great crimes; for since they that cannot be habitual, yet are highly damnable; the evil sentence is upon every act of these greater crimes.

25. γ. Concerning the single acts of other sins which are not so highly criminal, yet have a name in the catalogues of condemned sins, the sentence in scripture is the same; the penalty extreme, the fine is the whole interest: S. Paul in his epistle to the Corinthians[o] seems only to condemn the habit, 'thieves, drunkards, covetous, rail-

[n] [vid. Virg. georg. iv. 238.]

[o] [1 Cor. vi. 10.]

ers,' &c., 'shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.' Now one act does not make them properly such; a habit, not an act, denominates. But lest this be expounded to be a permission to commit single acts, S. Paul in his epistle to the Galatians[p] affixes the same penalty to the actions as to the habits; τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες, 'they that do such things;' that is, the actions of those sins are damnable and exclusive from heaven as verily as the habits. And however in moral accounts, or in Aristotle's ethics, a man is not called by the name of a single action, yet in all laws both of God and man he is. He that steals once is a thief, in the courts of God and the king; and one act of adultery makes a man an adulterer; so that by this measure, 'they that are such,' and 'they that do such things,' means the same; and the effect of both is exclusion from the kingdom of heaven.

26. δ. Single actions in scripture are called, 'works of darkness,' 'deeds of the body,' 'works of the flesh[q];' and though they do not reign, yet if they enter, they disturb the rest and possession of the spirit of grace; and therefore are in their several measures against the holiness of the gospel of Christ. All sins are single in their acting, and a sinful habit differs from a sinful act but as many differ from one, or as a year from an hour: a vicious habit is but one sin continued or repeated; for as a sin grows from little to great, so it passes from act to habit: a sin is greater because it is complicated externally or internally, no other way in the world; it is made up of more kinds, or more degrees of choice; and when two or three crimes are mixed in one action, then the sin is loud and clamorous; and if these still grow more numerous, and not interrupted and disjoined by a speedy repentance, then it becomes a habit. As the continuation of an instant or its perpetual flux makes time and proper succession, so does the re-acting or the continuing in any one or more sins make an habitual sinner. So that in this question, the answer for one will serve for the other: wherever the habit is forbidden, there also the act is criminal and against God, damnable by the laws of God, and actually damning without repentance. Between sins great and little, actual and habitual, there is no difference of nature or formality, but only of degrees.

27. ε. And therefore the words that represent the state of sin are used indifferently both for acts and habits. Ποιεῖν signifies to do single acts, and by aggravation only can signify an habitual sinner: ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, 'he that commits sin is of the devil;' so S. John[r]: by which although he means especially him that commits sin frequently or habitually; for where there is greater reason, there is the stronger affirmative: yet that he must also mean it of single sins is evident, not only by the nature of the thing, some single acts in some instances being as mischievous and malicious as a habit in

[p] [Gal. v. 21.] [q] [Eph. v. 11; Rom. viii. 13.] [r] [1 John iii. 8.]

others; but by the words of our blessed Saviour, that 'the devil is the father of lies[s],' and therefore every one that tells a lie is of the devil, *eatenus*. To which add also the words of S. John[t] explicating his whole design in these and all his other words, "These things I write unto you that ye might not sin," that is, that ye might not do sinful actions; for it cannot be supposed that he did not as verily intend to prevent every sin, as any sin, or that he would only have men to beware of habitual sins, and not of actual, single sins, without which caution he could never have prevented the habitual. To do sin, is to do one, or to do many; and are both forbidden under the same danger.

28. The same manner of expression in a differing matter hath a different signification. 'To do sin' is to do any one act of it: but 'to do righteousness' is to do it habitually. 'He that doeth[u] sin,' that is, one act of sin, 'is of the devil;' but 'he that doth righteousness,' viz., habitually, 'he [only] is righteous.' The reason of the difference is this, because one sin can destroy a man, but one act of virtue cannot make him alive: as a phial is broken, though but a piece of its lip be cut away; but it is not whole unless it be entire and unbroken in every part. *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex qualibet particulari*[v]. And therefore since 'he that does righteousness' (in S. John's phrase) 'is righteous;' and yet no man is righteous for doing one act of righteousness; it follows, that by 'doing righteousness,' he must mean doing it habitually. But because one blow can kill a man or wound him desperately; therefore when S. John speaks of 'doing sin,' he means doing any sin, any way, or in any degree of act or habit. For this is that we are commanded by the Spirit of Christ; we must περιπατεῖν ἀκριβῶς[x], 'walk exactly,' 'not having spot or wrinkle, or anything of that nature,' ἅγιοι καὶ ἄμωμοι, 'holy and unblamable;' so must the church be; that is, so must be all the faithful, or the men and women of the christian church; for the church is nothing but a congregation or collective body of believing persons; Christ therefore intending to represent the church to God 'without spot, or wrinkle, or fault,' intends that all His servants should be so. For, 'Let no man deceive himself; *omnis homo qui post baptismum mortalia crimina commiserit, hoc est homicidium, adulterium, furtum, falsum testimonium, vel reliqua crimina perpetraverit, unde per legem mundanam mori poterat, si pœnitentiam non egerit, eleemosynam justam non fecerit, nunquam habebit vitam æternam, sed cum diabolo descendet ad infernа*[y], every man who after his baptism hath committed mortal or killing sins, that is to say, murder, adultery, theft, false witness, or any other crimes which are capital by human laws, if he does not repent, if he

[s] [John viii. 44.]
[t] [John ii. 1.]
[u] ['doth' B.]
[v] Dionys. de divin. nomin.—[See vol. iv. p. 514, note b.]
[x] [Eph. v. 15, 27.]
[y] Cæsar. Arelat., hom. xvi. [leg. xlii. p. 784.]

does not give just measures of alms, he shall not have eternal life, but with the devil he shall descend into hell.' This is the sad sentence against all single acts of sin in the capital or greater instances.

But upon this account who can be justified? who can hope for heaven, since even the most righteous man that is, sinneth, and by single acts of unworthiness interrupts his course of piety and pollutes his spirit? If a single act of these great or mortal sins can stand with the state of grace, then not acts of these but habits are forbidden, and these only shut a man from heaven. But if one single act destroys the state of grace, and puts a man out of God's favour, then no man abides in it long, and what shall be at the end of these things?

29. To this I answer, first, that single acts are continually forbidden, and in every period of their commission displease God, and provoke Him to anger. To abide in any one sin, or to do it often, or to love it, is against the covenant of the gospel, and the essence and nature of repentance, which is a conversion from sin to righteousness: but every single act is against the cautions and watchfulness of repentance. It is an act of death, but not a state; it is the way of death, but is not in the possession of it. It is true that every single act of fornication merits an eternal hell, yet when we name it to be a single act, we suppose it to be no more, that is, to be rescinded and immediately cut off by a vigorous and proportionable repentance: if it be not, it is more than a single act, for it is a habit, as I shall remonstrate in the chapter of Habits. But then upon this account a single act of any sin may be incident to the state of a good man, and yet not destroy his interests or his hopes; but it is upon no other ground but this,—It is a single act, and it does not abide there, but passes immediately into repentance: and then though it did interrupt or discompose the state of grace or the divine favour, yet it did not destroy it quite. The man may pray David's[z] prayer: "I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost; O seek Thy servant, for I do not forget Thy commandments."

30. So that if a man asks whether a good man falling into one act of these great sins, still remains a good man; the answer is to be made upon this consideration, He is a good man that is so sorry for his sin, and so hates it, that he will not abide in it: and this is the best indication that in the act there was something very pitiable, because the man's affections abide not there; the good man was smitten in a weak part, or in an ill hour, and then repents: for such is our goodness; to need repentance daily for smaller things, and too often for greater things. But be they great or little, they must be speedily repented of; and he that does so is a good man still. Not but that the single act is highly damnable, and exclusive of heaven, if itself were not excluded from his affections: but it does not the mischief,

[z] [Psalm cxix. ult.]

because he does not suffer it to proceed in finishing that death which it would have effected, if the poison had not been speedily expelled, before it had seized upon a vital part.

31. But secondly, I answer that being in the state of grace is a phrase of the schools, and is of a large and almost infinite comprehension. Every Christian is in some degree in the state of grace, so long as he is invited to repentance, and so long as he is capable of the prayers of the church. This we learn from those words of S. John[a], "All unrighteousness is sin, and there is a sin not unto death;" that is, some sorts of sins are so incident to the condition of men and their state of imperfection, that the man who hath committed them is still within the methods of pardon, and hath not forfeited his title to the promises and covenant of repentance: but "there is a sin unto death;" that is, some men proceed beyond the measures and economy of the gospel, and the usual methods and probabilities of repentance, by obstinacy, and persevering in sin, by a wilful, spiteful resisting or despising the offers of grace and the means of pardon; for such a man S. John does not encourage us to pray: if he be such a person as S. John described, our prayers will do him no good; but because no man can tell the last minute or period of pardon, nor just when a man is gone beyond the limit; and because the limit itself can be enlarged, and God's mercies stay for some longer than for others, therefore S. John left us under this indefinite restraint and caution; which was decretory enough to represent that sad state of things in which the refractary[b] and impenitent have immerged themselves, and yet so indefinite and cautious, that we may not be too forward in applying it to particulars, nor in prescribing measures to the divine mercy, nor passing final sentences upon our brother, before we have heard our Judge himself speak. 'Sinning a sin not unto death,' is an expression fully signifying that there are some sins which though they be committed and displease God, and must be repented of, and need many and mighty prayers for their pardon, yet the man is in the state of grace and pardon, that is, he is within the covenant of mercy, he may be admitted to repentance, if he will return to his duty. So that being in the state of grace, is having a title to God's loving kindness, a not being rejected of God, but a being beloved by Him to certain purposes of mercy: and that hath these measures and degrees;—

32. *a.* A wicked Christian that lives vilely, and yet is called to repentance by the vigorous and fervent sermons of the gospel, is in a state of grace, of this grace; God would fain save him, willing He is and desirous he should live; but His mercy to him goes but thus far, that He still continues the means of his salvation; He is angry with him, but not finally. The Jews were in some portions of this state until the final day came in which God would not be merciful any more;

[a] [1 John v. 17.]

[b] [sic A.—'refractarius' lat.]

'Even in this thy day, O Jerusalem,' said our blessed Saviour[c]; so long as their day lasted, their state of grace lasted, God had mercy for them, if they had had gracious hearts to receive it.

33. β. But he that begins to leave his sins, and is in a continual contestation against them, and yet falls often, even most commonly, at the return of the temptation, and sin does in some measure prevail; he is in the state of a further grace, nearer to pardon, as he is nearer to holiness; his hopes are greater and nearer to performance, he is 'not far from the kingdom of heaven,' so our blessed Lord[d] expressed the like condition; he is τεταγμένος εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον[e], 'ordered, disposed towards life eternal:' and this is a further approach towards the state of life.

34. γ. He that loves no sin, but hath overcome his affections to all, and hates all, but yet with so imperfect a choice or aversation that his faith is weak, and his repentance like an infant; this man is in a better state than both the former: God will not 'quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed[f];' God hath in some measure prevailed upon him: and as God is ready to receive the first unto the means, and the second unto the grace of repentance; so this third he is ready to receive unto pardon, if he shall grow and persevere in grace. And these are the several stages and periods of being in the state of grace.

1) With the first of these not only an act, but a habit of sin is consistent; but how long and how far, God only knows.

2) With the second period a frequency of falling into single sins is consistent: but if he comes not out of this state, and proceed to the third period, he will relapse to the first, he must not stay here long.

3) But they that are in the third period, do sometimes fall into single sins, but it is but seldom, and it is without any remanent portion of affection, but not without much displeasure and a speedy repentance; and to this person the proper remedy is to grow in grace, for if he does not, he cannot either be secure of the present, or confident of the future.

35. δ. But then if by being in the state of grace is meant a being actually pardoned and beloved of God unto salvation, so that if the man dies so, he shall be saved, it is certain that every deliberate sin, every act of sin that is considered and chosen, puts a man out of the state of grace; that is, the act of sin is still upon his account, he is not actually pardoned in that for any other worthiness of state, or relation of person; he must come to new accounts for that; and if he dies without a moral retractation of it, he is in a sad condition if God should deal with him *summo jure*, that is, 'be extreme to mark that which was done amiss[g].' The single act is highly damnable;

[c] [Luke xix. 42.] [d] [Mark xii. 34.] [e] [Acts xiii. 48.]
[f] [Is. xlii. 3.] [g] [Ps. cxxx. 3.]

the 'wages of it are death[h],' it 'defiles a man,' it excludes from heaven, it 'grieves the holy Spirit of grace,' it is against his undertaking, and in its own proportion against all his hopes: if it be not pardoned, it will bear the man to hell; but then how it comes to be pardoned in good men, and by what measures of favour and proper dispensation, is next to be considered. Therefore,

36. ϵ. Though by the nature of the thing and the laws of the covenant, every single deliberate act of sin provokes God to anger, who therefore may punish it by the severest laws which He decreed against it; yet by the economy of God and the divine dispensation it is sometimes otherwise. For besides the eternal wrath of God, there are some that suffer His temporal; some suffer both, some but one. God uses to smite them whom He would make to be, or them who are, His sons, if they do amiss. If a wicked man be smitten with a temporal judgment, and thence begins to fear God and to return, the anger will go no further; and therefore much rather shall such temporal judgments upon the good man that was "overtaken in a fault[i]" be the whole exaction. God smites them that sin these single sins, and though He could take all, yet will demand but a fine.

37. ζ. But even this also God does not do but in the case of scandal or danger to others: as it was in the particular of David[k], "Because thou hast made the enemies of God to blaspheme, the child that is born unto thee shall die:" or else, secondly, when the good man is negligent of his danger, or dilatory in his repentance, and careless in his watch, then God awakens him with a judgment, sent with much mercy.

38. η. But sometimes a temporal death[l] happens to good men so overtaken; it happened so to Moses and Aaron for their fault at the waters of Massah and Meribah; to the prophet of Judah that came to cry out against the altar in Bethel; to Uzzah for touching the ark with unhallowed fingers, though he did it in zeal; to the Corinthians who had not observed decent measures in receiving the holy sacrament; and thus it happened (say some of the ancient doctors[l]) to Ananias and Sapphira; God took a fine of them also *salvo contenemento*[m], 'their main stake being secured,'

[h] [Rom. vi. 23; Matt. xv. 11; Eph. iv. 30.]

[i] [Gal. vi. 1.]

[k] [2 Sam. xii. 14.]

[l] [See vol. iv. p. 670.]

[m] ['Contenementum,' Æstimatio, et conditionis forma ac ratio, qua quis in republica subsistit, Spelmanno: seu potius quod cuique ad sumptus necessarios sufficit, ex voce 'Continere.'—Magna Charta libertatum Angliæ, cap. 14. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto nisi secundum modum illius delicti, et pro magno delicto secundum magnitudinem delicti, salvo sibi Contenemento suo, et mercatori eodem modo salva mercandisa, et villanus . . . salvo wainagio.—Glanvilla, lib. ix. cap. 8. Secundum quantitatem feodorum suorum, et secundum facultates, ne nimis gravari inde videantur, vel suum Contenementum amittere. Id est, ne conditioni suæ derogare cogantur, amissis vel certe imminutis suis facultatibus.—Du Cange, 'Contenementum.'

'The old law was, that when a man was fined, he was to be fined 'salvo contenemento,' so as his countenance might be safe, taking countenance in the same sense as your countryman does, when he

—Culpam hanc miserorum morte piabant [n].

There is in these instances this difference: Moses and Aaron were not smitten in their sin, but for it, and (as is not doubted) after they had repented: but Uzzah, and the prophet, and Ananias and Sapphira, and the Corinthians, died not only for their sin, but in it too: and yet it is hoped God's anger went no further than that death, because in every such person who lives well, and yet is overtaken in a fault, there is much of infirmity and imperfection of choice, even when there are some degrees of wilfulness and a wicked heart. And though it be easy to suppose that such persons in the beginning of that judgment, and the approach of that death, did morally retract the sinful action by an act of repentance, and that upon that account they found the effect of the divine mercies by the blood of the Lamb who was slain from the beginning of the world; yet if it should happen that any of them die so suddenly as not to have power to exercise one act of repentance, though the case be harder, yet it is to be hoped that even the habitual repentance and hatred of sin by which they pleased God in the greater portions of their life, will have some influence upon this also. But this case is but seldom, and God's mercies are very great and glorious; but because there is in this case no warrant, and this case may happen oftener than it does, even to any one that sins one wilful sin, it is enough to all considering persons to make them fear: 'but the fool sinneth [o] and is confident.'

39. *θ.* But if such overtaken persons do live, then God's dispensation is all mercy, even though He strikes the sinner, for He does it for good. For God is merciful and knows our weaknesses, our natural and circumstant follies: He therefore recals the sinning man, He strikes him sharply, or He corrects him gently, or He calls upon him hastily, as God please, or as the man needs. The man is fallen from the favour or grace of God, but (I say) fallen only from one step of grace; and God is more ready to receive him than the man is to return; and provided that he repent speedily, and neither add a new crime, nor neglect this, his state of grace was but allayed and disordered, not broken in pieces or destroyed.

40. *ι.* I find this thing rarely well discoursed of by some of the ancient doctors of the church. Tertullian's [p] words are excellent words to this purpose: *Licet perisse dicatur, erit et de perditionis genere retractare, quia et ovis non moriendo sed errando, et drachma non intereundo sed latitando, perierunt: ita licet dici perisse quod salvum est,* 'that may be said to be lost which is missing, and the sheep that went

says, If you will come unto my house, I will shew you the best countenance I can, that is, not the best face, but the best entertainment. The meaning of the law was, that so much should be taken from a man, such a gobbet sliced off, that yet notwithstanding he might live in the same rank and condition he lived in before: but now they fine men ten times more than they are worth.'—Selden, Table Talk, art. 'Fines.']

[n] [vid. Virg. Æn. ii. 140.]

[o] ['transilit,' ed. vulg.—'rageth,' auth. vers.—Prov. xiv. 16.]

[p] Lib. de pudicit., c. xii. [p. 559.]

astray was also lost; and so was the groat, which yet was but laid aside, it was so lost that it was found again: and thus that may be said to have perished, which yet is safe.' *Perit igitur et fidelis elapsus in spectaculum quadrigarii furoris et gladiatorii cruoris, et scenicæ fœditatis et xysticæ vanitatis, in lusus, in convivia sæcularis solennitatis, in officium, in ministerium alienæ idololatriæ; aliquas artes adhibuit curiositas, in verbum ancipitis negationis . . impegit, ob tale quid extra gregem datus est; vel et ipse forte ira, tumore, æmulatione, quod denique sæpe sit, dedignatione castigationis abrupit, debet requiri atque revocari;* 'the Christian is (in some sort) perished, who sins by beholding bloody or unchaste spectacles, who ministers to the sins of others; who offends by anger, emulation, rage, and swelling, too severe animadversions; this man must be sought for and called back, but this man is not quite lost.' *Quod potest recuperari non perit, nisi foris perseveravit*[q]*: bene interpretaberis parabolam, viventem adhuc revocans peccatorem;* 'that which may be recovered is but as it were lost, unless it remains abroad, and returns not to the place from whence it wandered.'

41. To the same purpose S. Cyprian and S. Ambrose discourse of the parable of him that fell among the thieves and was wounded and half dead. Such are they who in times of persecution fell away into dissimulation. *Nec putemus mortuos esse, sed magis semianimes jacere eos quos persecutione funesta sauciatos videmus, qui si in totum mortui essent, nunquam de eisdem postmodum et confessores et martyres fierent*[r], 'for if these were quite dead, you should not find of them to return to life, and to become martyrs and confessors' for that faith which through weakness they did seemingly abjure. These men therefore were but 'wounded and half dead:' for they still keep the faith, they preserve their title to the covenant, and the promises of the gospel, and the grace of repentance: *quam fidem qui habet, vitam habet,* saith S. Ambrose[s]; 'he that hath this faith hath life, that is, he is not excluded from pardon; . . whom therefore peradventure the good Samaritan does not pass by, because He finds there is life in him, some principle by which he may live again.' Now as it was in the matter of faith, so it is of charity and the other graces. Every act of sin takes away something from the contrary grace; but if the root abides in the ground, the plant is still alive, and may bring forth fruit again. "But he only is dead who hath thrown God off for ever, or entirely, with his very heart;" so S. Ambrose[t]. To be "dead in trespasses and sins," which is the phrase of S. Paul[u], is the same with that expression of S. John[x], of 'sinning a sin unto death,' that is, habitual, refractary[y], pertinacious and incorrigible sin-

[q] [al. 'non poterit, si foris perseveraverit.']
[r] [S. Cyprian.] De lapsis ad Anton. ep. lii. [al. lv. p. 108.]
[s] Lib. i. de pœnit., c. 10. [al. 11.—tom. ii. col. 403 sq.]
[t] [ibid., col. 404.]
[u] [Eph. ii. 1.]
[x] [1 John v. 17.]
[y] [p. 137, note b, above.]

ners, in whom there is scarce any hopes or sign of life. These are they upon whom, as S. Paul's [z] expression is, "the wrath of God is come upon them to the uttermost;" εἰς τὸ τέλος, unto death; so was their sin, it was a sin unto death, so is their punishment.

The result of these considerations is this. He that commits one act of a wilful sin, hath provoked God to anger; which whether it will be final or no, we cannot know but by the event, by His forbearing us, and calling us, and accepting us to repentance. One act does not destroy the life of grace utterly, but wounds it more or less, according to the vileness and quantity, or abode in the sin.

§ 3. What repentance is necessary for single acts of sin.

42. *a.* Upon consideration of the premisses [a] it appears to be dangerous practically to enquire how far single acts of sin can stand with the state of grace, or the being of a good man. For they ought not to be at all, and if they be once, we must repent, and the sin must be pardoned, or we die. And when it can be asked how far any sin can be consistent with the state of God's favour, it cannot be meant that God indulges it to a good man with impunity, or that His grace and favour consists in this, that he may safely sin once or twice in what instance or in any instance he shall choose: but in this it does; a single act of sin does not so destroy the hopes of a good man, but that if he returns speedily he shall be pardoned speedily; for this God will do for him, not by permitting him to sin again, but by taking his sin away, and healing his soul; but how soon, or how much, or how long God will pardon or forbear, He hath no way told us. For in the several states and periods of the soul in order to virtue or vice respectively, there is no specifical difference but of degrees only, not of state. As the sins are more or longer, God is more angry, and the man further off; but the man is not wholly altered from his state of grace till he be arrived at the unpardonable condition. He is a good or an evil man, more or less, according as he sins or repents. For neither of the appellatives are absolute and irrespective; and though in philosophy we use to account them such by the prevailing ingredient, yet the measures of the spirit are otherwise. The whole affair is arbitrary, and gradual, various by its own measures and the good pleasure of God, so that we cannot in these things which are in perpetual flux, come to any certain measures. But although in judging of events we are uncertain, yet in the measures of repentance we can be better guided. Therefore first in general:

43. *β.* S. Cyprian's [b] rule is a prudent measure, *Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus, ut pœnitentia crimine minor non sit.* According to the greatness of the sin, so must be the greatness of the sorrow: and therefore we are in our beginnings and progressions of repentance to consider all the [1] circumstances of aggravation, [2] the

[z] [1 Thess. ii. 16.] [a] [sic edd.] [b] [De lapsis, p. 137.]

complication of the crime, [3] the scandal and [4] evil effect; and in proportion to every one of these, the sorrow is to be enlarged and continued. For if it be necessary to be afflicted because we have done evil, it is also necessary that our affliction and grief be answerable to all the parts of evil: because a sin grows greater by being more in matter, or choice; in the instances, or in the adhesion; and as two sins must be deplored more than one, so must two degrees, that is, the greater portions of malice and wilfulness, be mourned for with a bigger sorrow than the less.

44. γ. Every single act of sin must be cut off by a moral revocation, or a contrary act; by which I mean, an express hatred and detestation of it. For an act of sin being in its proportion an aversion or turning from God, and repentance being in its whole nature a conversion to Him, that act must be destroyed as it can be. Now because that which is done cannot naturally be made undone, it must morally; that is, it must be revoked by an act of nolition, and hatred of it, and a wishing it had never been done, for that is properly a conversion from that act of sin.

45. δ. But because in some cases a moral revocation may be like an ineffective resolution, therefore besides the inward nolition or hating of the sin, in all signal and remarked instances of sin, it is highly requisite that the sinning man do oppose an act of virtue to the act of sin in the same instance where it is capable; as to an act of gluttony, let him oppose an act of abstinence; to an act of uncleanness, an act of purity and chastity; to anger and fierce contentions, let him oppose charity and silence: for to hate sin and not to love virtue is a contradiction, and to pretend it is hypocrisy. But besides this, as the nolition or hatred of it does, if it be real, destroy the moral being of that act, so does the contrary act destroy its natural being, as far as it is capable. And however it be, yet it is upon this account necessary. For since one act of sin deliberately chosen was an ill beginning and inlet of a habit, it is necessary that there be as much done to obtain the habit of the contrary virtue, as was done towards the habit of vice; that to God as entire a restitution as can may be made of His own right and purchased inheritance.

46. ε. Every act of sin is a displeasure to God, and a provocation of an infinite majesty, and therefore the repentance for it must also have other measures than by the natural and moral proportions. One act of sorrow is a moral revocation of one act of sin, and as much a natural deletion of it as the thing is capable. But there is something more in it than thus, for a single act of sin deserves an eternal hell; and upon what account soever that be, it is fit that we do something of repentance in relation to the offence of an infinite God: and therefore let our repentance proceed towards infinite as much as it may: my meaning is, that we do not finally rest in a moral revocation of an act by an act, but that we beg for pardon all our days even for that

one sin. For besides that every sin is against an infinite God, and so ought to be washed off with a sorrow as near to infinite as we can; we are not certain in what periods of sorrow God will speak to us in the accents of mercy and voice of pardon. He always takes of them that repent less than He could in justice exact if He so pleased, but how much less He will take, He hath no where told us, and therefore let us make our way as secure as we can; let us still go on in repentance, and in the progression we are sure to meet with God. But there is in it yet more. For however the act of sin be usually called and supposed to be a single act, yet if we consider how many fancies and temptations were preparatory to it, how many consentings to the sin, how many desires and acts of prosecution, what contrivances, and resistances of the holy motions of God's spirit and the checks of conscience, how many refusings of God and His laws, what unfitting means and sinful progressions were made to arrive thither, what criminal and undecent circumstances, what degrees of consent, and approaches to a perfect choice, what vicious hopes, and vile fears, what expence of time and mis-employed passions were in one act of fornication or murder, oppression of the poor, or subornation of witnesses, we shall find that the proportions will be too little to oppose but one act of virtue against all these evils; especially since an act of virtue (as we order our affairs) is much more single than an act of vice is.

47. ζ. Every single act of vice may and must be repented of particularly, if it be a wilful, deliberate, and observed action. A general repentance will not serve the turn in these cases. When a man hath forgotten the particulars, he must make it up as well as he can. This is the evil of a delayed repentance, it is a thousand to one but it is imperfect and lame, general and unactive; it will need arts of supply and collateral remedies, and reflex actions of sorrow, and what the effect will be is in many degrees uncertain: but if it be speedy, and particular, the remedy is the more easy, the more ready, and the more certain. But when a man is overtaken in a fault, he must be restored again as to that particular; for by that he transgressed, there he is smitten and wounded, in that instance the habit begins, and at that door the divine judgment may enter, for His anger is there already. For although God pardons all sins or none, in respect of the final sentence and eternal pain, yet God strikes particular sins with proper and specific punishments in this life, which if they be not diverted by proper applications may break us all in pieces. And therefore David's repentance was particularly applied to his special case, of murder and adultery: and because some sins are harder to be pardoned and harder to be cured than others, it is certain they must be taken off by a special regard. A general repentance is never sufficient, but when there cannot be a particular.

48. η. Whoever hath committed any one act of a great crime, let him take the advantage of his first shame and regret, and in the

activity of that passion let him design some fasting days, as the solemnities of his repentance, which he must employ in the bitterness of his soul, in detestation of his sin, in judging, condemning, and executing sentence upon himself; and in all the actions of repentance, which are the parts and fruits of this duty, according as he shall find them described in their proper places.

49. These are the measures of repentance for single acts of deliberate sin, when they have no other appendage, or proper consideration.

But there are some acts of sin, which by several ways and measures pass into habits, directly, or by equivalency and moral value. For first, the repetition of acts and proceeding in the same crime is a perfect habit, which as it rises higher to obstinacy, to perseverance, to resolutions never to repent, to hardness of heart, to final impenitence, so it is still more killing and damnable: secondly, if a man sins often in several instances, it is a habit, properly so called; for although the instances be single, yet the disobedience and disaffection are united and habitual: thirdly, when a single act of sin is done, and the guilt remains, not rescinded by repentance, that act which naturally is but single, yet morally is habitual. Of these I shall give account in the next chapter where they are of proper consideration.—But there are yet three ways more by which single acts do become habits by equivalency and moral value, and are here to be considered accordingly.

50. *θ.* First, if a single act of sin have a permanent matter, so long as that matter remains, the sin is uncancelled. Of this nature is theft, which cannot be cut off by a moral revocation, or an internal act: there must be something done without. For it is a contradiction to say that a man is sorry for his act of stealing, who yet rejoices in the purchase and retains it. Every man that repents is bound to make his sinful act as much as he can to be undone: and the moral revocation or nolition of it, is our entercourse with God only, who takes and accepts that, which is the 'all' which can be done to Him. But God takes care of our brother also, and therefore will not accept His own share unless all interested persons be satisfied as much as they ought. There is a great matter in it, that our neighbour also do forgive us[a], that his interest be served, that he do not desire our punishment: of this I shall afterwards give accounts; in the mean time, if the matter of our sin be not taken away, so long as it remains, so long there is a remanency and a tarrying in it, and that is a degree of habit.

51. *ι.* Secondly, if the single act have a continual flux or emanation from itself, it is as a habit by moral account, and is a principle of action, and is potentially many. Of this nature is every action whose proper and immediate principle is a passion; such as hatred of our neighbour, a fearfulness of persecution, a love of pleasures.

[a] [Matth. v. 24; and compare 2 Sam. xxi.

For a man cannot properly be said to have an act of hatred, an actual expression of it he may; but if he hates him in one act, and repents not of it, it is a vicious affection, and in the sense of moral theology it is a habit; the law of God having given measures to our affections as well as to actions. In this case when we have committed one act of uncharitableness, or hatred, it is not enough to oppose against it one act of love; but the principle must be altered, and the love of our neighbour must be introduced into our spirit.

52. κ. There is yet another sort of sinful action which does in some sense equal a habit, and that is an act of the greatest and most crying sins, a complicated sin. Thus for a prince or a priest to commit adultery, for a child to accuse his father falsely, to oppress a widow in judgment, are sins of a monstrous proportion; they are three or four sins apiece, and therefore are to be repented of by untwining the knot, and cutting asunder every thread: he that repents of adultery, must repent of his uncleanness, and of his injustice or wrong to his neighbour, and of his own breach of faith, and of his tempting a poor soul to sin and death; and he must make amends for the scandal besides, in case there was any in it. In these and all the like cases, let no man flatter himself when he hath wept and prayed against his sin; one solemnity is not sufficient; one act of contrition is but the beginning of a repentance; and where the crime is capital by the laws of wise nations, the greatest, the longest, the sharpest repentance is little enough in the court of conscience. So Pacianus[b], *Hæc est novi testamenti tota conclusio; despectus in multis Spiritus sanctus hæc nobis capitalis periculi conditione legavit. Reliqua peccata meliorum operum compensatione curantur; hæc vero tria crimina, ut basilisci alicujus afflatus, ut veneni calix, ut lethalis arundo metuenda sunt: non enim vitiare animam, sed intercipere noverunt.* Some sins do pollute, and some do kill the soul, that is, are very near approaches to death, next to the unpardonable state: and they are to be repented of, just as habits are[c], even by a long and a laborious repentance, and by the piety and holiness of our whole ensuing life. *De peccato remisso noli esse securus,* said the son of Sirach[d]. Be not secure though your sin be pardoned; when therefore you are working out and suing your pardon, be not too confident.

53. λ. Those acts of sin which can once be done and no more, as parricide, and such which destroy the subject or person against whom the sin is committed, are to be cured by prayer and sorrow, and entercourses with God immediately: the effect of which because it can never be told, and because the mischief can never be rescinded so much as by fiction of law, nor any supply be made to the injured person, the guilty man must never think himself safe, but in the daily and nightly actions of a holy repentance.

[b] Paræn. ad pœnit. [cap. iv. p. 270.] [c] See chap. v. [d] [Ecclus. v. 5.]

54. *μ.* He that will repent well and truly of his single actual sins, must be infinitely careful that he do not sin after his repentance, and think he may venture upon another single sin, supposing that an act of contrition will take it off; and so interchange his days by sin and sorrow, doing to-morrow what he was ashamed of yesterday. For he that sins upon the confidence of repentance, does not repent at all, because he repents that he may sin: and these single acts so periodically returning, do unite and become a habit. He that resolves against a sin, and yet falls when he is tempted, is under the power of sin in some proportion, and his estate is very suspicious; though he always resolved against that sin which he always commits. It is upon no other account that a single sin does not destroy a man, but because itself is speedily destroyed; if therefore it goes upon its own strength, and returns in its proper period, it is not destroyed, but lives and indangers the man.

55. *ν.* Be careful that you do not commit a single act of sin toward the latter end of your life; for it being uncertain what degrees of anger God will put on, and in what periods of time He will return to mercy, the nearer to our death such sins intervene, the more degrees of danger they have. For although the former discourse is agreeable to the analogy of the gospel, and the economy of the divine mercy; yet there are sad words spoken against every single sin. "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one instance, he shall be guilty of all," saith S. James[e]; plainly affirming, that the admitting one sin, much more the abiding in any one sin, destroys all our present possession of God's favour. Concerning which, although it may seem strange that one prevarication in one instance should make an universal guilt, yet it will be certain and intelligible if we consider that it relates not to the formality, but to the event of things. He that commits an act of murder is not therefore an adulterer, but yet for being a murderer he shall die. He is as if he were guilty of all; that is, his innocence in the other shall not procure him impunity in this. One crime is inconsistent with God's love and favour.

56. But there is something more in it than this. For every one that breaks a commandment, let the instance be what it will, is a transgressor of the same bond by which he was bound to all. *Non quod omnia legis præcepta violarit, sed quod legis auctorem contempserit, eoque præmio merito careat quod legis cultoribus propositum est,* saith venerable Bede[f]. He did not violate all the commandments, but he offended Him who is the giver of all the commandments. It is like letting one bead fall from a rosary or coronet of bugles. This, or that, or a third makes no difference, the string is as much broken if he lets one to slide, as if he dropped twenty. It

[e] [James ii. 10.]

[f] [So Corn. a Lapide, and Justinianus, on James ii. 10.—But Bede's own explanation of that text is that he who breaks one commandment, violates charity and so breaks the whole law.]

was not an ill conceit of Menedemus[g] the Eretrian, that there was but one virtue which had divers names. Aristo Chius[g] expressed the same conceit with a little difference; affirming all virtues to be the same in reality and nature, but to have a certain diversification or rational difference by relation to their objects. As if one should call the sight when it looks upon a crow μελανθέαν[g], if upon a swan λευκοθέαν; so is virtue. When it moderates the affections, it is temperance; when it balances contracts, it is justice; when it considers what is and what is not to be done, it is prudence. That which they call virtue, if we call it the grace of God, or obedience, it is very true which they say. For the same spirit, the same grace of obedience, is chastity, or temperance, or justice, according as is the subject-matter. The love of God, if it be in us, is productive of all worthiness: and this is it which S. John[h] said, "this is love, that we keep His commandments;" "the love of God constraineth us;" it 'worketh all the works of God in us;' it is "the fulfilling of the commandments." For this is a *catholicon*, an universal grace. Charity gives being to all virtues, it is the life and spirit of all holy actions. Abstinence from feasts and inordination, mingled with charity, is temperance. And justice is charity, and chastity is charity, and humility is still but an instance of charity. This is that transcendent that gives life and virtue to alms, to preaching, to faith, to miracles: it does all obedience to God, all good offices to our neighbours: which in effect is nothing but the sentence of Menedemus and Aristo, that there is an universal virtue; that is, there is one soul and essence of all virtue: they call it virtue, S. Paul calls it charity; and this is that one thing which is necessary, that one thing which every man that sins does violate: he that is guilty of all is but guilty of that one, and therefore he that is guilty of that one, of the breach of charity, is guilty of all. And upon this account it is, that no one sin can stand with the state of grace; because he that sins in one instance, sins against all goodness: not against all instances of duty, but against that which is the life of all, against charity and obedience.

A PRAYER TO BE SAID IN THE DAYS OF REPENTANCE FOR THE COMMISSION OF ANY GREAT CRIME.

O MOST glorious God, I tremble to come into Thy presence, so polluted and dishonoured as I am by my foul stain of sin which I have contracted; but I must come, or I perish. O my God, I cannot help it now; miserable man that I am, to reduce myself to so sad a state of things, that I neither am worthy to come unto Thee,

[g] [Plutarchus de virtute morali, tom. vii. p. 734.]
[h] [2 John 6; 2 Cor. v. 14; John vi. 28 sq.; Rom. xiii. 10.]

nor dare I stay from Thee: miserable man that I am, who lost that portion of innocence which if I should pay my life in price I cannot now recover. O dear God, I have offended Thee my gracious Father, my Lord, my Patron, my Judge, my Advocate, and my Redeemer. Shame and sorrow is upon me, for so offending Thee my gracious Saviour. But glory be to Thee, O Lord, who art such to me who have offended Thee. It aggravates my sin, that I have sinned against Thee who art so excellent in Thyself, who art so good to me: but if Thou wert not so good to me, though my sin would be less, yet my misery would be greater. The greatness of my crime brings me to my remedy; and now I humbly pray Thee to be merciful to my sin, for it is very great.

II.

O my God, pity me, and relieve my sad condition, which is so extremely evil, that I have no comfort but from that which is indeed my misery: my baseness is increased by my hopes; for it is Thy grace and Thy goodness which I have so provoked. Thou, O God, didst give me Thy grace, and assist me by Thy holy spirit, and call by Thy word, and instruct me by Thy wisdom, and didst work in me to will and to do according to Thy good pleasure. I knew my sin, and I saw my danger, and I was not ignorant, and I was not surprised: but wilfully, knowingly, basely, and sensually I gave Thee away for the pleasure of a minute, for the purchase of vanity; nay I exchanged Thee for shame and sorrow, and having justly forfeited Thy love, am placed I know not where, nor in what degree of Thy anger, nor in what neighbourhood of damnation.

III.

O God, my God, what have I done? whither am I fallen? I was well and blessed, circled with Thy graces, conducted by Thy spirit, sealed up to the day of redemption, in a hopeful way towards Thee; and now I have listened to the whispers of a tempting spirit, and for that which hath in it no good, no reason, no satisfaction, for that which is not, I have forfeited those excellencies, for the recovery of which my life is too cheap a price. I am ashamed, O God, I am ashamed. I put my mouth in the dust, and my face in darkness; and hate myself for my sin, which I am sure Thou hatest. But give Thy servant leave to hope that I shall feel the gracious effluxes of Thy love: I know Thou art angry with me, I have deserved it. But if Thou hadst not loved me and pitied me, Thou mightest have stricken me in the act of my shame: I know the design of Thy mercy and loving kindness is to bring me to repentance and pardon, to life and grace. I obey Thee, O God, I humbly obey Thy gracious purposes.

Receive, O Lord, a returning sinner, a poor wounded person, smitten by my enemies, broken by my sin, weary and heavy laden; ease me of my burden, and strengthen me by a mighty grace, that hereafter I may watch more carefully, resist more pertinaciously, walk more circumspectly, and serve Thee without the interruptions of duty by the intervening of a sin. O let me rather die than choose to sin against Thee any more. Only try me this once, and bear me in Thy arms, and fortify my holy purposes, and conduct me with Thy grace, that Thou mayest delight to pardon me, and to save me through Jesus Christ my Lord and dearest Saviour. Amen.

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: O seek Thy servant, for I do not forget Thy commandments.

CHAP. V.

OF HABITUAL SINS, AND THEIR MANNER OF ERADICATION OR CURE, AND THEIR PROPER INSTRUMENTS OF PARDON.

§ 1. The state of the question. BOETHUS[1] the epicurean being asked, upon occasion of the fame of Strato's comedy, why, it being troublesome to us to see a man furious, angry, timorous or sad, we do yet with so great pleasure behold all these passions acted with the highest, nearest, and most natural significations; in answer to the question, discoursed wittily concerning the powers of art and reason, and how much ourselves can add to our own natures by art and study. Children choose bread efformed in the image of a bird or man, rather than a loaf plucked rudely from the baker's lump; and a golden fish rather than an artless ingot: because reason and art being mingled with it, it entertains more faculties, and pleases on more sides.

2. Thus we are delighted when upon a table we see Cleopatra dying with her aspics, or Lucretia piercing her chaste breast. We give great prices for a picture of S. Sebastian shot through with a shower of arrows, or S. Laurence roasting upon his gridiron, when the things themselves would have pierced our eyes with horror, and rent our very hearts with pity and compassion: and the country fellows were so taken with Parmeno's[k] imitating the noise of swine, that they preferred it before that of the Arcadian boar, being so deceived with fancy and prejudice, that they thought it more natural than that which indeed was so.

3. For first we are naturally pleased with imitation[l], and have secret

[i] [Plut. symposiac., lib. v. qu. 1.—tom. viii. p. 677.]

[k] [Plut. ubi supra, p. 682.]

[l] [Aristot. poet., cap. iv.]

desires to transcribe the copy of the creation, and then having weakly imitated the work of God in making some kind of production from our own perfections, such as it is, and such as they are, we are delighted in the imagery, as God is in the contemplation of the world. For we see a nature brought in upon us by art and imitation. But what in natural things we can but weakly imitate, in moral things we can really effect. We can efform our nature over anew, and create ourselves again, and make ourselves bad when God had made us good: and what was innocent in nature, we make to be vicious by custom and evil habit; or on the contrary, what was crooked in nature, we can make straight by philosophy, and wise notices, and severe customs; and there is nothing in nature so imperfect or vicious, but it can be made useful and regular by reason and custom, and the grace of God; and even our brute parts are obedient to these. Homer[m] observes it of the wise Ulysses, that though he was troubled to see his wife weep for him, yet

Ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὡσεὶ κέρα ἔστασαν, ἠὲ σίδηρος,
Ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι, δόλῳ δ' ὄγε δάκρυα κεῦθεν.

He held the corners of his eyes as firmly as the horn of his bow, or the iron of his spear, and by his wit he kept his eyes from running over. Reason can make every member of the body obey; but use can make it obey willingly: that can command nature, but this can change it: that can make it do what it pleases, but this can make it be so.

4. For there being in man so much brutishness and inclination to forbidden actions and things, to sensual and weak fruitions, nature in many instances calls upon us to die.

Ἔα μ' ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο γάρ μοι συμφέρει[n].

'let me perish, for it is for my advantage;' I desire to die because it is pleasant.

Γνώμην ἔχοντα μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται[n].

Nature does seem to do violence to us, and constrain us by violent inclinations to things against reason: but then when Passion supervenes and like strong winds blow vehemently and raise a storm, we should certainly perish, if God did not give us other principles which might be as effective of His purposes, as Nature and Passion are of death and folly. Passion can be commanded by reason, but nothing hath sufficient and final effort and strength against nature, but custom.

Ναῦς ὥς τις ἐκ μὲν γῆς ἀνήρτηται βρόχοις,
πνεῖ δ' οὖρος, ἡμῖν δ' εἰσὶ[o] τὰ πείσματα·

'for our ship is kept fast and firm in its station by cables, and when

[m] Ὀδυσσ. τ. [211.]
[n] [Apud Plutarchum de virtute morali, tom. vii. p. 752.]
[o] [al. ἡμῖν δ' ἐὸ κρατεῖ.]

the winds blow, we have anchors and fastnesses to secure it.' Which verses Plutarch [p] expounding, Πείσματα γὰρ λέγει τὰς ἀντεχούσας κρίσεις πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρὸν εἶτα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος πολλοῦ ῥηγνυμένας, saith, that 'the cables which are to secure our ship in tempests are the firm and permanent judgments against that which is filthy.' They secure us when the winds of passion are violent and dangerous. But then because the storm is renewed every day, and μένουσιν αἱ φύσεις ὡς προῆλθον τὸ πρότερον, nature will revert, and for ever be longing after its own proportions, we must introduce a nature against a nature: and as passion sets nature on work, and is itself overcome by reason, so if this reason become constant, firm, and habitual, it makes nature an artless, jointless enemy.

5. But then on the other side if we let our evil appetites prevail, and use them to satisfaction and empire, bringing in evil customs upon our vicious and ill-disposed nature, we are fallen into an evil state of things: for custom and vicious habits are like the locks and bars to hell gates, a man cannot but do evil, and then his case is intolerable.

6. Now because this is a great state of danger, and consequently a great caution against continuing in sin, I shall put some strength to it, and rescue the whole doctrine concerning this article from the false glosses and imperfect notices of men, which hang upon the duty of repentance like shackles and fetters hindering it to begin betimes, and so to proceed to its measures by the many and just limits and steps of its progression. For the case is this:

If you ask when every man is bound to repent? I answer, as soon as ever he hath sinned. But how if he does not? Then he adds more sin both against God and against his own soul by delaying this duty, to that he did before in the single action of which he is tied to repent. For every man is bound to repent instantly of every known sin; he sins anew if he does not, though he add no more of the same actions to his heap. But it is much worse if he sins on; not only because he sins oftener, but because if he contracts a custom or habit of sin, he superadds a state of evil to himself, distinct from the guilt of all those single actions which made the habit. This I shall endeavour to prove against the doctrine of the Roman schools, who teach;

7. *a.* That no man is ordinarily bound to repent instantly of his sin; for the precept of repentance being affirmative, it does not oblige to its present or speedy performance. For it is as in the case of baptism, or prayers; to the time[q] of the performance of which duties, the commandment of God does not specifically bind us: now, or an hour hence, or when it is convenient, or when it becomes accidentally necessary, and determined by something else that intervenes. So it is in repentance; so it be done at all, it matters not when, as to the

[p] [De virtute morali, tom. vii. p. 753.]
[q] Navarr. compend. manual., cap. i. n. 31. [p. 85. 8vo. Paris. 1620.]

duty of it; when you come to die, or when you justly fear it; as in the days of the plague, or before a battle, or when the holy man comes to take his leave of his dying parishioner, then let him look to it[r]. But else he is not obliged. For the sin that was committed ten years since, grows no worse for abiding; and of that we committed yesterday we are as deeply guilty, as of the early sins of our youth; but no single sin can increase its guilt by the putting off our repentance and amendment.

8. β. The guilt of sin which we have committed, they call 'habitual sin;' that is, a remaining obligation to punishment for an action that is passed, a guiltiness: or as Johannes de Lugo[s] expresses it, *peccatum actuale moraliter perseverans*, 'the actual sin morally remaining,' by which a man is justly hated by God. But this habitual sin is not any real quality, or habit, but a kind of moral denomination or ground thereof, which remains till it be retracted by repentance. The person is still esteemed 'injurious and obliged to satisfaction.' That is all[t].

9. γ. The frequent repetition of sinful acts will in time naturally produce a habit, a proper physical, inherent, permanent quality; but this is so natural, that it is no way voluntary but in its cause, that is, in the actions which produced it, and therefore it can have in it no blame, no sinfulness, no obliquity distinct from those actions that caused it, and requires no particular or distinct repentance; for when the single acts of sin are repented of, the remaining habit is innocent, and the facility to sin which remains is no sin at all.

10. δ. These habits of sin may be pardoned without the contrary habit of virtue, even by a single act of contrition, or attrition with the sacrament. And the event of all is this, it is not necessary that your repentance should be so early, or so holy, as to obtain by the grace of God the habits of virtue, or to root out the habit of sin; and secondly, it is not necessary that it should be at all before the hour of death, unless by accident it be inferred and commanded.

I do suppose these propositions not only to be false, but extremely dangerous and destructive of the duty of repentance, and all its consequent hopes, and therefore I shall oppose against them these conclusions.

1) Every man is bound to repent of his sin as soon as ever he hath committed it.

2) That a sinful habit hath in it proper evils, and a proper guiltiness of its own, besides all that which came directly by the single actions.

3) That sinful habits do require a distinct manner of repentance, and are not pardoned but by the introduction of the contrary.

[r] Vide [Knott against Chillingworth,] Infidelity unmasked, p. 604. "It is true, the best divines teach that a sinner is not bound to repent himself instantly of his sin," &c. [See vol. vi. p. 243.]

[s] De pœnit. disp. vii. sect. 5. n. 48. [p. 605.]—Sic etiam Suarez, tom. iv. in 3. part. disp. 9. sect. 4. n. 23. [p. 124.]

[t] Granatens. in materia de peccatis, tract. 8. disp. 1. sect. 1. [?—Cf. vol. vi. p. 243, not. u.] Infidelity unmasked, pp. 605, 7. [note r, above.]

The consequent of these propositions will be this; our repentance must not be deferred at all, much less to our death-bed; secondly, our repentance must be so early, and so effective of a change, that it must root out the habits of sin, and introduce the habits of virtue; and in that degree in which this is done, in the same degree the repentance is perfect, more or less. For there is a latitude in this duty, as there are degrees of perfection.

§ 2. *a.* Every man is bound to repent of his sin as soon as he hath committed it.

1. 'EVERY man is bound to repent of his sin as soon as he hath committed it.'—That this doctrine is of great usefulness and advantage to the necessity and persuasions of holy life, is a good probable inducement to believe it true; especially since God is so essential an enemy to sin, since He hath used such rare arts of the Spirit for the extermination of it, since He sent His only Son to destroy it; and He is perpetually destroying it, and will at last make that it shall be no more at all, but in the house of cursing, the horrible regions of damnation. But I will use this only as an argument to all pious and prudent persons, to take off all prejudices against the severity of this doctrine. For it is nothing so much against it if we say it is severe, as it makes for it that we understand it to be necessary. For this doctrine which I am now reproving, although it be the doctrine properly of the Roman schools, yet it is their and our practice too. We sin with greediness, and repent at leisure.

> Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in qua
> Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus[x];—

No man puts on his mourning garment till he be dead: this day we seldom think it fit to repent, but the day appointed for repentance is always to-morrow. Against which dangerous folly I offer these considerations.

2. *a.* If the duty of repentance be indispensably required in the danger of death, and he that does not repent when he is arrested with the probability of so sad a change is *felo de se*, uncharitable to himself and a murderer of his own soul, then so is he in his proportion who puts it off one day: because every day of delay is a day of danger; and the same law of charity obliges him to repent to-day if he sinned yesterday, lest he be dead before to-morrow. The necessity indeed is not so great, and the duty is not so urgent, and the refusal is not so great a sin in health, as in sickness, and dangers imminent and visible: but there are degrees of necessity as there are degrees of danger; and he that considers how many persons die suddenly, and how many more may, and no man knows that he shall not, cannot but confess that because there is danger, there is also an obligation of duty and charity to repent speedily, and that positively or

[x] [Juv. sat. iii. 171.]

carelessly to put it off, is a new fault and increases God's enmity against him. He that is well, may die to-morrow. He that is very sick, may recover and live many years. If therefore a *periculum ne fiat*, a danger lest repentance be never done, is a sufficient determination of the divine commandment to do it then, it is certain that it is in every instant determinately necessary; because in every instant there is danger. In all great sicknesses there is not an equal danger;—yet in all great sicknesses it is a particular sin not to repent, even by the confession of all sides; it is so therefore in all the periods of an uncertain life; a sin, but in differing degrees. And therefore this is not an argument of caution only, but of duty. For therefore it is of duty, because it is of caution. It could not be a caution, unless there were a danger; and if there be a danger, then it is a duty. For he that is very sick must do it. But how if he escapes, was he obliged for all that? He was, because he knew not that he should escape. By the same reason is every one obliged, because whether he shall or shall not escape the next minute, he knows not. And certainly, it was none of the least reasons of God's concealing the day of our death, that we might ever stand ready. And this is plainly enough taught us by our blessed Saviour[y], laboriously persuading and commanding us not to defer our repentance, by His parable of the rich man who promised to himself the pleasures of many years: He reproved that folly with a *Stulte, hac nocte;* and it may be any man's case; for

> Nemo tam felix ——
> Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri[z].

But He adds a precept, "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights shining, and ye yourselves like men that wait for their lord;" and "blessed are those servants whom their lord when he cometh shall find watching." And much more to the same purpose. Nay, that it was the reason why God concealed the time of His coming to us, that we might always expect Him, He intimated in the following parable, "This know, that if the goodman of the house had known what hour the thief would come, he would have watched; . . be ye therefore ready also, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not." Nothing could better have improved this argument, than these words of our blessed Saviour; we must stand *in procinctu*, 'ready girded,' ἑτοίμως πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχοντες, ready for the service, always watching, as uncertain of the time, but in perpetual expectation of the day of our Lord. I think nothing can be said fuller to this purpose. But I add the words of S. Austin[a], *Verum quidem dicis quod Deus pœnitentiæ tuæ indulgentiam promisit, sed huic dilationi tuæ crastinum non promisit*, 'to him that repents, God hath promised pardon,

[y] [Luke xii. 20.]

[a] In psal. cxiv. [leg. cxliv. § 11. tom. iv. col. 1618 B.]

[z] [Nemo tam divos habuit faventes
Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri.
Sen. Thyest., act. iii. lin. 619.]

but to him that defers repentance He hath not promised the respite of one day.' It is certain therefore He intended thou shouldest speedily repent; and since He hath by words and deeds declared this to be His purpose, he that obeys not is in this very delay properly and specifically a transgressor.

3. β. I consider, that although the precept of repentance be affirmative, yet it is also limited, and the time sufficiently declared, even the present and none else. As soon as ever you need it, so soon you are obliged. "To-day if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts[b]." That is, defer not to hear Him, this day; for every putting it off is a 'hardening your hearts.' For He that speaks to-day, is not pleased if you promise to hear Him to-morrow. It was Felix[c] his case to S. Paul, 'Go away, I will hear thee some other time.' He that calls every day, means every day that we should repent. For although to most men God gives time and leisure, and expects and perseveres to call, yet this is not because He gives them leave to defer it; but because He still forbears to strike, though their sin grows greater. Now I demand, when God calls us to repentance, is it indifferent to Him whether we repent to-day or no? why does He call so earnestly if He desires it so coldly? or if He be not indifferent, is He displeased if we repent speedily? This no man thinks. But is He not displeased if we do not? does not every call, and every expectation, and every message, when it is rejected, provoke God's anger and exasperate Him? does not He in the day of vengeance smite more sorely, by how much with the more patience He hath waited? This cannot be denied. But then it follows that every delay did grieve Him and displease Him, and therefore it is of itself a provocation distinct from the first sin.

4. γ. But further let it be considered: if we repent to-day, it is either a duty so to do, or only a counsel of perfection, a work of supererogation. If it be a duty, then to omit it is a sin. If it be a work of supererogation, then he that repents to-day does not do it in obedience to a commandment, for this is such a work (by the confession of the Roman schools) which if a man omits he is nevertheless in the state of grace and the divine favour; as he that does not vow perpetual chastity, or poverty, is nevertheless the servant of God; but he that does not repent to-day of his yesterday's sin, is not God's servant, and therefore this cannot be of the nature of counsels, but of precept and duty respectively. But to put it past all question: it is expressly commanded us by our blessed Saviour[d], "Agree with thine adversary ταχὺ, quickly." For as it is amongst men of merciful dispositions, he that yields quickly obtains mercy, but he that stands out as long as he can must expect the rigour of the law: so it is between God and us; a hasty repentance reconciles graciously, whilst the delay and putting it off provokes His severe anger. And this

[b] [Ps. xcv. 7.] [c] [Acts xxiv. 25.] [d] [Matt. v. 25.]

the Spirit of God was pleased to signify to the angel or bishop of the church of Ephesus[e], "Remember whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy first works: if thou doest not, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχὺ, I come unto thee quickly, and will remove the candlestick out of its place, unless thou do repent." Christ did not mean to wait long and be satisfied with their repentance, be it when it would be; for He comes quickly, and yet our repentance must prevent His coming. His coming here is not by death, or final judgment, but for scrutiny and enquiry: for the event of the delaying their repentance would have been the removing of their candlestick. So that ἔρχομαι ταχὺ is, I come speedily to exact of thee a speedy repentance, or to punish thee for delaying; for so the *antithesis* is plain, ἔρχομαι ταχὺ and ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς, 'I come quickly, unless thou dost repent,' viz., 'quickly;' εἰ μὴ παραχρῆμα μετάμελος εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, κατέγνω τῶν πεπραγμένων (that I may use the words of Libanius[f]), 'God will condemn our actions, unless we appear before Him with a speedy repentance.'

5. δ. Add to this, that though God gives time and respite to some, yet to all He does not. God takes away some in their early sins, and gives them no respite, not a month, not a week, not a day; and let any man say whether this be not a sufficient indication, not only that no man can be secure but he alone that repents instantly, but that God does intend that every man should presently repent; for He that hath made it damnation to some for not repenting instantly, hath made it damnable to all, and therefore to repent speedily is certainly a duty. The earth does not open and swallow up all rebels in the day of their mutiny; but it did so once, and by that God did sufficiently consign to all ages His displeasure against rebellion. So it is in the deferring repentance. That some have smarted for it eternally, is for ever enough to tell us that God is displeased with every one that does defer it; and therefore commands us not to defer it. But this consideration is sufficiently heightened upon this account: for there is no sinner dies, but he is taken away without one day's respite. For though God did many times forbear him, yet now He does not, and to his last sin, or his last refusal to hear God, either He afforded no time, or no grace of repentance.

6. S. Paul's[g] discourse and treaty of the Corinthians is sufficient to guide us here: he feared that at his coming again God would 'humble him,' that is, afflict him with grief and sorrow to see it, that himself should be forced 'to bewail many,' that is, to excommunicate, or deliver to Satan 'them that have sinned already, and have not repented.' If they had repented before S. Paul's coming, they should escape that rod, but for deferring it they were like to smart bitterly. Neither ought it to be supposed that the not repenting of sins is no otherwise than as the being discovered of theft. The thief dies for

[e] [Rev. ii. 5.] [f] [Teste Phavorino, voc. μετάμελος.] [g] [2 Cor. iii. 21.]

his robbery, not for his being discovered; though if he were not discovered he should have escaped for his theft. So for their uncleanness S. Paul would have delivered them over to Satan, not for their not repenting speedily. For the case is wholly differing here. A thief is not bound at all to discover himself to the criminal judge; but every man is bound to repent. If therefore his repenting speedily would prevent so great a calamity as his being delivered over to Satan, besides the procuring his eternal pardon, it is clear that to repent speedily was great charity, and great necessity; which is that which was to be proved. Satan should have power over him to afflict him for his sin if he did not speedily repent: but if he did repent speedily he should wholly escape; therefore to repent speedily is a duty which God expects of us, and will punish if it be omitted.

—— Hodie, mihi credes, vivere[g] serum est;
Ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri.

Think it not a hasty commandment that we are called upon to repent to-day; it was too much that yesterday passed by you: it is late enough if you do it to-day.

7. ϵ. Not to repent instantly, is a great loss of our time, and it may for ought we know become the loss of all our hopes.

Nunc vivit sibi neuter, heu, bonosque
Soles effugere atque abire sentit,
Qui nobis pereunt, et imputantur[h]:

And this, not only by the danger of sudden death, but for want of the just measures of repentance: because it is a secret which God hath kept to Himself only, and He only knows what degrees of repentance Himself will admit of; how much the sin provoked Him, and by what measures of sorrow and carefulness Himself will be appeased. For there is in this a very great difference. To Simon Magus[i] it was almost a desperate case, "If peradventure the thought of thy heart may be forgiven:" it was worse to Esau[j], "There was no place left for his repentance." It was so with Judas, he was not admitted to pardon, neither can any one tell whether it was not resolved he should never be pardoned. However it be for the particulars, yet it is certain there is a great difference in the admitting penitents. "On some have compassion, others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire[k]." Now since for all our sins we are bound to ask pardon every day, if we do so, who dares say it is too much, that it is more than needs? But if to repent every day be not too much, who can be sure that if he puts it off one day it shall be sufficient? To some men, and at some times, God is implacably angry; some men, and at some times, God hath in His fury and sudden anger seized upon with the apprehensions of death and saddest judgments, and broken them

[g] ['Hodie jam vivere, Postume,' &c. Martial., lib. v. epigr. 59.]
[h] Martial., [lib. v. epigr. 21.]
[i] [Acts viii. 22.]
[j] [Heb. xii. 17.]
[k] [Jude 22, 3.]

all in pieces: and as there is a reign and kingdom of mercy, so there are sudden irruptions of a fierce justice, of which God hath therefore given us examples, that we may not defer repentance one day. But this mischief goes further: for,

8. ζ. So long as we lie in the guilt of one sin unrepented of, though we do not add heaps upon heaps, and multiply instances of the same or equal crimes, yet we are in so unthriving a condition and so evil a state, that all that while we lose all the benefit of any good thing that we can do upon the interest of any principle whatsoever. For so long as we are out of God's favour, under the seizure and arrest of eternal guilt, so long we are in a state of enmity with God, and all our actions are like the performances of heathens, nothing to eternal life, but misspendings of our powers, and prodigalities of reason and wise discourses; they are not perfective of our being, neither do they set us forward to heaven, until our state be changing. Either then we are not by a certain law and commandment bound every day to serve God and please Him, or else we are positively and strictly bound instantly to repent of all our sins: because so long as a known sin is unrepented of, we cannot serve God, we cannot do any thing that shall be acceptable to Him in Jesus Christ.

9. η. Every delaying of repentance is one step of progression towards final impenitence; which is not only then esteemed a sin against the Holy Ghost[1] when a man resolves never to repent, but if by carelessness he neglects, or out of tediousness and an irreligious spirit quite puts off, or for ever pass by, it is unpardonable; "it shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come[m]." Now since final impenitence is the consummation and perfection of all sin, we are to remember that it is nothing but a perseverance of neglecting, or refusing to repent. A man is always dying, and that which we call death is but the finishing of death, the last act of it: so is final impenitence, nothing but the same sin told over so many days; it is a persevering carelessness, or resolution, and therefore it cannot be the sin of one day, unless it be by accident: it is a state of sin, begun as soon as ever the sin is acted, and grows in every day of thy negligence or forgetfulness. But if it should happen that a sinner that sinned yesterday should die to-day, his deferring his repentance that one day would be esteemed so, and indeed really be a final impenitence. It follows therefore, that to put off our repentance one day, differs only accidentally and by chance from the worst of evils, from final impenitence; it is the beginning of it, it differs from it, as an infant from a man; it is materially the same sin, and may also have the same formality.

10. θ. The putting off our repentance from day to day, must needs be a sin distinct from the guilt of the action whereof we are to re-

[1] [See Bingham, antiq., book xvi. chap. 7. § 3.]

[m] [Matt. xii. 31.]

pent, because the principle of it cannot be innocent, it must needs be distinctly criminal. It is a rebellion against God, or hardness of heart, or the spirit of apostasy, presumption or despair, or at least such a carelessness as being in the question of our souls, and in relation to God, is infinitely far from being excusable or innocent.

11. These considerations seem to me of very great moment, and to conclude the main proposition; and at least they ought to effect this persuasion upon us, that whoever hath committed a sin cannot honestly, nor prudently, nor safely defer his repentance one hour. He that repents instantly, breaks his habit when it is *in ovo*, 'in the shell,' and prevents God's anger, and his own debauchment and disimprovement:

——— Qui parvis obvius ibit,
Is nunquam præceps scelera in graviora feretur[n].

And let us consider, that if we defer our repentance one hour, we do to our souls worse than to our bodies.

Quæ lædunt oculos, festinas demere; si quid
Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum[o]?

If dirt fall into our eyes, we do not say to the chirurgeon, Stay sir, and let the grit or little stone abide there till next week, but get it out presently. This similitude if it proves nothing, yet will serve to upbraid our folly, to instruct and exhort us in the duty of this question. Remember this, that as in God's account ἀφιέναι and κρατεῖν, to 'remit' and to 'retain' a sin[p] are opposite, so it ought to be in ours. Our retaining and keeping of a sin though but for a day, is contrary to the designs of mercy and holiness, it is against God, and against the interest of our souls.

§ 3. β. A sinful habit hath in it proper evils, and a proper guiltiness of its own, besides all that which came directly by the single actions.

1. 'A SINFUL habit hath in it proper evils, and a proper guiltiness of its own, besides all that which came directly by the single actions.'—By a sinful habit, I mean the facility and easiness, the delight and custom of sinning contracted by the repetition of the acts of the same sin; as a habit of drunkenness, a habit of swearing, and the like; that is, a quality inherent in the soul, whereby we work with pleasure: for that Aristotle[q] calls the infallible and proper indication of habits, τὴν ἐπιγινομένην ἡδονὴν ἢ λύπην τοῖς ἔργοις. And so long as any man sins willingly, readily, frequently, and upon every temptation, or most commonly; so long he is an habitual sinner: when he does his actions of religion with pain, and of his sin with pleasure, he is in the state of death, and enmity against God. And as by frequent playing upon an instrument a man gets a habit of playing; so he does in re-

[n] Nazianz. [Præc. ad virg., lin. 273.]
[o] Hor., lib. i. epist. [2. 39.]
[p] [John xx. 23.]
[q] Eth. nicom., lib. ii. [c. 2.]

newing the actions of the same sin, there is an evil quality produced, which affects and corrupts his soul.—But concerning the nature of a vicious habit, this also is to be added;—

2. That a vicious habit is not only contracted by the repetition of acts in the same kind, but by frequency of sinning in any variety of instances whatsoever. For there are many vicious persons who have an ambulatory impiety, and sin in all or most of their opportunities; but their occasions are not uniform, and therefore their irregularities are irregular and by chance for the instance, but regular and certain in the prevarication. Vetuleius Pavo would be sure to be drunk at the feasts of Saturn, and take a surfeit in the calends of January; he would be wanton at the *Floralia*, and bloody in the theatres: he would be prodigal upon his birth-day, and on the day of his marriage sacrifice hecatombs to his *Pertunda Dea*, and he would be sure to observe all the solemnities and festivals of vice in their own particulars and instances, and thought himself a good man enough because he could not be called a drunkard or a glutton for one act, and by sinning singly escaped the appellatives of scorn which are usually fixed upon vain persons that are married to one sin. Naturally to contract the habit of any one sin is like the entertaining of a concubine, and dwelling upon the folly of one miserable woman. But a wandering habit is like a *libido vaga*, the vile adulteries of looser persons that drink at every cistern that runs over, and stands open for them. For such persons have a supreme habit, a habit of disobedience, and may for want of opportunity or abilities, for want of pleasure, or by the influence of an impertinent humour, be kept from acting always in one scene. But so long as they choose all that pleases them, and exterminate no vice, but entertain the instances of many, their malice is habitual, their state is a perfect aversation from God. For this is that which the apostle[r] calls 'the body of sin,' a compagination of many parts and members; just as among the lawyers, a flock, a people, a legion, are called bodies: and *corpus civitatis* we find in Livy[s], *corpus collegiorum* in Caius[t], *corpus regni* in Virgil[u]; and so here, this union of several sins is 'the body of sin,' and that is, 'the body of death[x].' And not only he that feeds perpetually upon raw fruit puts himself into an ill habit of body; but he also does the same thing, who to-day drinks too much, and to-morrow fills himself with cold fruits, and the next day with condited mushrooms, and by evil orders and carelessness of diet and accidental miscarriages heaps up a multitude of causes, and unites them in the production and causality of his death. This general disorder is indeed longer doing, but it kills as fatally and infallibly as a violent surfeit. And if a man dwells in the kingdom of sin, it is all one whether he be sick in one, or in twenty places; they are all but several rooms of

[r] Rom. vii. [leg. vi. 6.]
[s] [vid. Nizol. diction. lat. ling., 'Corpus civitatis.']
[t] [Digest., lib. iii. tit. 4. cap. 1.]
[u] [Æn. xi. 313.]
[x] [Rom. vii. 24.]

the same Infirmatory, and ingredients of the same deadly poison. He that repeats his sin, whether it be in one, or in several instances, strikes himself often to the heart, with the same or with several daggers.

3. Having thus premised what was necessary for the explication of the nature of vicious habits, we must consider that of vicious habits there is a threefold capacity; first, a natural; secondly, a moral; thirdly, a relative, as it denominates a man in relation to God.

1) Of the natural capacity of sinful habits.

4. The natural capacity of sinful habits is a facility or readiness of the faculty to do the like actions; and this is naturally consequent to the frequent repetition of sinful acts, not voluntary but in its cause, and therefore not criminal by a distinct obliquity. Οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ αἱ πράξεις ἑκούσιοί εἰσι καὶ αἱ ἕξεις· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πράξεων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ τέλους κύριοί ἐσμεν, εἰδότες τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα, τῶν ἕξεων δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς· . . . ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν οὕτως ἢ μὴ οὕτω χρήσασθαι, διὰ τοῦτο ἑκούσιοι, said Aristotle[t]; 'actions are otherwise voluntary than habits: we are masters of our actions all the way, but of habits only in the beginning; but because it was in our choice to do so or otherwise, therefore the habit which is consequent is called voluntary:' not then chosen, because it cannot then be hindered; and therefore it is of itself indifferent; an evil indeed, as sickness, or crookedness, thirst or famine, and as death itself to them that have repented them of that sin for which they die; but no sin, if we consider it in its mere natural capacity. Nay, so it may become the exercise of virtue, the scene of trouble indeed or danger, of temptation and sorrow, but a field of victory.—For there are here two things very considerable;—

5. *a.* That God for the glorification of His mercy can and does turn all evil into some good, so to defeat the devil's power, and to produce honour and magnification to His own goodness.

——— Ταῦτα μέν τοι τοὺς θεοὺς
ἄττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐξαμάρτητ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν [u].

For so God uses to do; if we sin we shall smart for it, but He turns it into good. And S. Austin [v] applies that promise, that 'all things shall work together for good to them that fear God [x],' even to this particular; *etiam ipsa peccata, nimirum non ex natura sua, sed ex Dei virtute et sapientia;* if all things, then 'sins also, not by their proper efficacy, but by the overruling power and wisdom of God;' like that of Phocylides [y],

Πόλλ' ἀπατηθῆναι διζήμενον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλόν,

[t] Ethic., lib. iii. [c. 8.]
[u] Aristoph. νεφέλαι. [lin. 588.]
[v] [vide similia in lib. de corrept. et grat., cap. ix.—tom. x. col. 763 B, et in Pseudo-August. solil., cap. xxviii.—tom. vi. append. col. 97 G.]
[x] [vid. Rom. viii. 28.]
[y] [Ap. Plut. de audit., tom. vi. p. 174.]

'he that will be a good man, must be often deceived, that is, buy his wit at a dear rate.' And thus some have been cured of pride by the shames of lust, and of lukewarmness by a fall into sin, being awakened by their own noddings, and mending their pace by their fall. And so also the sense of our sad infirmities introduced by our vicious living and daily prevarications may become an accidental fortification to our spirits, a new spur by the sense of an infinite necessity and an infinite danger.

Ἀνθις ἐστ' ἀρχαῖον [a] ὑμῖν εἴ τι κἀξημάρτετε
ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ πόλει ξυνοίσεται [a].

For whoever repents after such sad intervals of sorrow and sin, either must do more than other men, or they do nothing to purpose. For besides that an ordinary care cannot secure them, who have brought tempters home to themselves; a common industry cannot root out vicious customs; a trifling mortification cannot crucify and kill what hath so long been growing with us: besides this (for this will not directly go into the account; for this difficulty the sinner must thank himself) he must do more actions of piety to obtain his pardon, and to secure it. But because they need much pardon, and an infinite care, and an assiduous watchfulness, or they perish infallibly, therefore all holy penitents are to arise to greater excellencies than if they had never sinned.

Major deceptæ fama est et gloria dextræ;
Si non errasset, fecerat ille minus [b].

Scævola's hand grew famous for being deceived, and it had been less reputation to have struck his enemy to the heart, than to do such honourable infliction upon it for missing. And thus "there is in heaven more joy over one repenting sinner, than over ninety-nine just persons that need it not [c];" there is a greater deliverance, and a mightier miracle, a bigger grace, and a prodigy of chance; it being (as S. Austin affirms) a greater thing that a sinner should be converted, than that being converted he should afterwards be saved; and this he learned from those words of S. Paul [d], "But God commended His love to us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then being now justified by His blood, we shall be saved from wrath through Him." But now the sinner is more busy in his recovery, more fearful of relapse than before his fall; *Sicut feræ decipulam erumpentes cautiores facti*, saith Lactantius [e], 'like wild beasts breaking from their toils, they walk more cautiously for ever after.' Thus it is impossible that sin should be exalted above grace, or that the devil's malice can be superior to the rare arts of the divine mercy,

[a] [al. ἐς τἀρχαῖον.]
[b] [Mart., lib. i. epigr. 22.]
[c] Vide S. Chrysost. epist. ad Theodor. [per totam epist.—tom. i. p. 1 sqq.]
[d] [Rom. v. 8, 9.]
[e] [vid. Div. inst., lib. vi. cap. 24.—tom. i. p. 504.]

for by his conduct, poison itself shall become medicinal, and sin like the Persian apple,

> ——— Pomis quæ barbara Persis
> Miserat, ut fama est, patriis armata venenis,
> At nunc expositi parvo discrimine lethi
> Ambrosios præbent succos oblita nocendi[f],

transplanted from its native soil to the Athenian gardens, oses its natural venom, and becomes pleasant as the rinds of citrons, and aromatic as the eastern spices.

6. *β.* Although sins in the state of penitence can by God's grace procure an accidental advantage, yet that difficulty of overcoming and fierceness of contention, which is necessary to them who had contracted evil habits, is not by that difficulty an augmentation of the reward. As he that willingly breaks his legs is not more commended for creeping with pain, than if he went with pleasure and ease; and the taking away our own possibility, being a destroying the grace of God, a contradiction to the arts of the divine mercy; whatsoever proper effect that infers, as it is impious in its cause and miserable in the event, so it does nothing of advantage to the virtue, but causes great diminution of it. For it is a high mistake crudely to affirm that every repugnancy to an act of virtue, and every temptation to a sin, if it be overcome, increases the reward. Indeed if the temptation be wholly from without, unsought for, prayed against, inferred infallibly, superinduced by God, then the reward is greater, by how much it was the more difficult to obey. Thus for Jephthah to pay his daughter which he had vowed, and for Abraham to slay his son, were greater acts of obedience, because they were in despite of great temptations to the contrary, and there was nothing evil from within that did lessen the choice, or retard the virtue. But when our nature is spoiled, and our strengths diminished, when the grace of God by which we stood is despised and cancelled, when we have made it natural for us to sin, then this remaining inclination to sin, and unwillingness to obey, is so far from increasing the reward, that it is not only a state of danger, but it is an unwillingness to do good, an abatement of the choice, a state which is still to be mortified, and the strengths to be restored, and the affections made obedient, and the will determined by other objects.

7. But if the unwillingness to obey, even after the beginnings of repentance, were, as it is pretended by the Roman doctors, an increase of the merit or reward, then first, it were not fit that we should go about to lessen these inclinations to sin, or to exterminate the remains of the old man, because if they go off, the difficulty being removed, the reward must be no more than ordinary.—Secondly, it would also follow from hence, that the less men did delight in God's service, the more pleasing they should be to Him; for if the reluctancy increases,

[f] [Columella de cultu hortorum, lin. 405.]

then the perfect choice would lessen the reward.—And then thirdly, a habit of virtue were not so good as single actions with the remains of a habit of vice, upon the same account; and a state of imperfection were better than a state of perfection, and to grow in grace were great imprudence.—Fourthly, it were not good to pray against entering into temptation; nay it were good we did tempt ourselves, so we did not yield; to provoke our enemy, so he did not conquer us; to enter into danger, so we did not sink under it; because these increase the difficulty, and this increases the reward. All which being such strange and horrid consequences, it follows undeniably, that the remanent portion of a vicious habit after the man's conversion is not the occasion of a greater reward, is not good formally, is not good materially, but is a *fomes*, a nest of concupiscence, a bed of vipers, and the spawn of toads.

8. Now although this is not a sin, if it be considered in its natural capacity, as it is the physical unavoidable consequent of actions (for an inherent quality may be considered without its appendent evil); that is, though a philosopher may think and discourse of it as of a natural production, and so without sin; yet it does not follow from hence that such a habit or inherent quality is without its proper sin, or that its nature is innocent. But this is nothing else but to say that a natural philosopher does not consider things in their moral capacity. But just thus every sin is innocent, and an act of adultery, or the begetting a child in fornication, is good; a natural philosopher looks on it as a natural action, applying proper actives to their proportioned passives, and operating regularly, and by the way of nature. Thus we say God concurs to every sin, that is, to the action in its natural capacity, but that is therefore innocent so far; that is, if you consider it without any relation to manners and laws, it is not unlawful. But then if you consider the whole action in its entire constitution, it is a sin. And so is a sinful habit, it is vicious and criminal in its whole nature; and when the question is whether any thing be in its own capacity distinctly good or bad, the answer must not be made by separating the thing from all considerations of good and bad. However it will suffice, that a habit of vice in its natural capacity is no otherwise innocent than an act of adultery or drunkenness.

2) Of the moral capacity of sinful habits.

But then if we consider sinful habits in their moral capacity, we shall find them to be a *Lerna malorum*[g], and we shall open Pandora's box, a swarm of evils will issue thence. In the enumerating of which, I shall make a great progress to the demonstration of the main question.

g ['Η Λέρνη λίμνη τῆς 'Αργείας ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Μυκηναίας, ἐν ᾗ τὴν "Υδραν ἱστοροῦσι· διὰ δὲ τοὺς γενομένους καθαρμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ παροιμία τις ἐξέπεσε, Λέρνη κακῶν.—Strab. geogr., lib. viii. p. 538.]

a. They add many degrees of aversation from God.

9. *a.* A vicious habit adds many degrees of aversation from God, by inclining us to that which God hates. It makes us to love and to delight in sin, and easily to choose it; now by how much the more we approach to sin, by so much we are the further removed from God. And therefore this habitual iniquity the prophet[h] describing, calls it *magnitudinem iniquitatis,* and the punishment designed for it, is called 'thy lot,' 'the portion of thy measures,' that is, *plenitudo pœnæ ad plenitudinem peccatorum,* a great judgment to an habitual sin, a final judgment, an exterminating angel, when the sin is confirmed, and of a perfect habit.

10. For till habits supervene, we are of a middle constitution, like the city that Sophocles[i] speaks of;

> Πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει
> ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων,

it is full of joy and sorrow, it sings and weeps together, it triumphs in mourning, and with tears wets the festival chariot. We are divided between good and evil; and all our good or bad is but a disposition towards either: but then the sin is arrived to its state and manhood, when the joints are grown stiff and firm by the consolidation of a habit. So Plutarch[k] defines a habit, ἡ δὲ ἕξις ἰσχὺς καὶ κατασκευὴ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄλογον δυνάμεως ἐξ ἔθους ἐγγιγνομένη, 'a habit is a strength and confirmation to the brute and unreasonable part of man gotten by custom.' Οὐκ εὐθὺς γὰρ τὰ ἄλογα πάθη μετρεῖται, καὶ ῥυθμίζεται, καὶ ὑποτάττεται τῷ λόγῳ, 'the brutish passions in a man are not quickly mastered and reduced to reason.' Τὰ δὲ ἔθη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα πλάσσει καὶ κηροχυτεῖ τὰν ψυχὰν, φυσίωσιν ἐμποιεῦντα διὰ τῆς συνέχεος ἐνεργίης[l], 'custom and studies efform the soul like wax, and by assuefaction introduce a nature.' To this purpose Aristotle[m] quotes the verses of Evenus,

> Φημὶ πολυχρόνιον μελέτην ἔμεναι φίλε, καὶ δὴ
> Ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι·

For as experience is to notices[n], and tutors to children, so is custom to the manners of men; a fixing good or evil upon the spirit: that as it was said[o] of Alexander, when he was a man he could not easily want the vices of his tutor Leonidas, which he sucked into his manners and was accustomed to in his youth; so we cannot without trouble do against our habit and common usages; *Usus magister,* 'use is the greatest teacher:' and the words in Jeremy xiii. 23. "Ye which are accustomed to do evil," are commonly read, "Ye which are taught[p] to do evil;" and what we are so taught to do, we believe

[h] [Jer. xiii. 22, 5.]
[i] [Œd. tyr. lin. 4.]
[k] [De virt. moral., tom. vii. p. 744.]
[l] [ἐνεργείας, Gaisf.—Hippodamus Pythagoreus, in libro De republica,] Stobæus de rep., serm. xli. [al. xliii.—Floril., tom. ii. p. 124.]
[m] [Eth. nicom. vii. 10.]
[n] [sic edd.]
[o] [By Diogenes of Babylon; Quintilian, inst. or., lib. i. cap. 1. tom. i. p. 15.]
[p] [לִמּוּדֵי, μεμαθηκότες, LXX. 'didiceritis,' ed. vulg.]

infinitely, and find it very hard to entertain principles of persuasion against those of our breeding and education. For what the mind of man is accustomed to, and throughly acquainted with, it is highly reconciled to it; the strangeness is removed, the objections are considered or neglected, and the compliance and entertainment is set very forward towards pleasures and union [p]. This habit therefore when it is instanced in a vice, is the perfecting and improving of our enmity against God, for it strengthens the lust, as a good habit confirms reason and the grace of God.

β. They imply not only a facility, but a necessity of sinning.

11. β. This mischief ought to be further expressed, for it is bigger than is yet signified. Not only an aptness, but a necessity is introduced by custom: because by a habit sin seizes upon the will and all the affections; and the very principles of motion towards virtue are almost broken in pieces. It is therefore called by the apostle 'the law of sin.' *Lex enim peccati est violentia consuetudinis, qua trahitur et tenetur animus etiam invitus,* 'the violence of custom is the law of sin, by which such a man is overruled against his will.'

> Nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
> Consuetudo mali,—
> ——— et ægro in corde senescit [q].

You cannot leave it if you would. S. Austin [r] represents himself as a sad instance of this particular. "I was afraid lest God should hear me when I prayed against my lust; as I feared death, so dreadful it was to me to change my custom." *Velle meum tenebat inimicus, et inde mihi catenam fecerat, et constrinxerat me: quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido; et dum servitur libidini facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas.* The devil had made a chain for him, and bound his will in fetters of darkness. His perverse will made his lust grow high, and while he served his lust, he superinduced a custom upon himself, and that in time brought upon him a necessity. For as an old disease hath not only afflicted the part of its proper residence, and by its abode made continual diminution of his strength, but made a path also and a channel for the humours to run thither, which by continual defluxion have digged an open passage, and prevailed beyond all the natural powers of resistance: so is an habitual vice; it hath debauched the understanding, and made it to believe foolish things, it hath abused the will and made it like a diseased appetite in love with filthy things; it is like

[p] Δεινὴ πέφυκεν ἡ συνήθεια κόρον ἀπογεννῆσαι, καὶ φύσιν ἐκ παραλλήλου μεταποιῆσαι.—Theoctist. apud Stobæum. [floril., tom. iii. p. 508.]

Quantum consuetudo poterit intelliges, si videris feras quoque convictu nostro mansuescere: nullique etiam immani bestiæ vim suam permanere, si hominis contubernium diu passa est.—Senec. de ira, lib. iii. c. 8. [tom. i. p. 106.]

[q] [Juv. sat. vii. 50.]

[r] Lib. viii. confess., c. 7. et c. 5. [tom. i.—vid. coll. 151 et 148.]

an evil stomach that makes a man eat unwholesome meat against his reason:

Αἰ, αἰ, τόδ' ἤδη θεῖον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν
ὅταν τις εἰδῇ τἀγαθὸν, χρῇται δὲ μή [s].

That's a sad calamity, when a man sees what is good and yet cannot follow it; nay, that he should desire it, and yet cannot lay hold upon it, for his faculties are bound in fetters; the habit hath taken away all those strengths of reason and religion by which it was hindered, and all the objections by which it was disturbed, and all that tenderness by which it was uneasy, and now the sin is chosen, and believed and loved; it is pleasant and easy, usual and necessary, and by these steps of progression enters within the iron gates of death, sealed up by fate and a sad decree.

12. And therefore Simplicius [t] upon Epictetus speaking of Medea seeing and approving good things by her understanding, but yet without power to do them, says, Χρὴ οὖν μὴ δοξάζειν μόνον ὀρθῶς καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ ἐκκλίνειν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἔργα σύμφωνα ταῖς ὀρθαῖς δόξαις ἀποδιδόναι. It is to no purpose for us to think and to desire well, unless we add also deeds consonant to those right opinions and fair inclinations. But that's the misery of an evil habit; in such as have them, all may be well till you come to action: their principles good, their discoursings right, their resolutions holy, their purposes strong, their great interest understood, their danger weighed, and the sin hated and declaimed against: for they are ἀρχόμενοι παιδεύεσθαι, they have begun well and are instructed, but because of the ἀκρασία καὶ μαλακία, their intemperance and softness of spirit produced by vile customs, there is (as Plutarch [u] observes) θηριῶδες καὶ ἄλογόν τι, a fatal bestiality in the men, they sin and can neither will nor choose. They are driven to death, and they see themselves crowned with garlands for the sacrifice, and yet go to their ruin merry as the minstrels, and the temptations that entertain and attend those horrid rites.

Sciebam ut esse me deceret, facere non quibam miser,

said he in the comedy [x], 'I knew it well enough how I should comport myself, but I was so wretched that I could not do it.'

13. Now all this being the effect of a vicious habit, and not of sinful actions, it being the product and sad consequent of a quality introduced first by actions, so much evil cannot be caused and produced immediately by that which is innocent: as the fruit is, such is the tree. But let us try further.

[s] [Poet. anon. apud Stob. floril., tit. v. 6, et apud Plut. de aud. poet., tom. vi. p. 120, et de virt. moral., tom. vii. p. 752. —Sed Euripidis esse in Chrysippo docet Valcken. diatr., p. 22.]

[t] [Comment. in Epict. enchirid., cap. xi.—tom. iv. p. 122. ed. Schweigh. 8vo. Lips. 1799 sq.]

[u] Θηριῶδες μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ οἰκτρὸν εἰδότα τὸ βέλτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ὑπ' ἀκρασίας καὶ μαλακίας ἄγεσθαι.—Plutarch. [de aud. poet., tom. vi. p. 120.]

[x] [Plaut.] Trinummus. [act. iii. sc. 2. lin. 31.]

γ. They make our repentance more difficult;

14. γ. A vicious habit makes our recovery infinitely difficult, our virtues troublesome, our restitution uncertain. In the beginnings of his return it is most visible. For even after we are entering into pardon and the favour of God, we are forced to fight for life, we cannot delight in God's service, or feel Christ's yoke so easy as of itself it is. For a vicious habit is a new concupiscence, and superinduces such contradictions to the supernatural contentions and designs of grace, it calls back nature from its remedy and purifications of baptism, and makes such new aptnesses, that the punishment remains even after the beginning of the sin's pardon: and that which is a natural punishment of the sinful actions, is or may be morally a sin, as the lust which is produced by gluttony. And when a man hath entertained a holy sorrow for his sins, and made holy vows of obedience and a new life, he must be forced to contend for every act of duty, and he is daily tempted, and the temptation is strong, and his progression is slow; he marches upon sharp-pointed stones, where he was not used to go, and where he hath no pleasure. He is forced to do his duty, as he takes physic, where reason and the grace of God make him consent against his inclination, and to be willing against his will. He is brought to that state of sorrow, that either he shall perish for ever, or he must do more for heaven than is needful to be done by a good man, whose body is chaste, and his spirit serene, whose will is obedient, and his understanding well informed, whose temptations are ineffective, and his strengths great, who loves God and is reconciled to duty, who delights in religion, and is at rest when he is doing God service. But an habitual sinner even when he begins to return, and in some measure loves God, hath yet too great fondnesses for his enemy, his repentances are imperfect, his hatred and his love mixed, nothing is pure, nothing is whole, nothing is easy. So that the bands of holiness are like a yoke shaken upon the neck, they fret the labouring ox, and make his work turn to a disease; and (as Isaac) he marches up the hill with the wood upon his shoulders, and yet for ought he knows himself may become the sacrifice. S. Austin [y] complains that it was his own case. He was so accustomed to the apertures and free emissions of his lust, so pleased with the entertainments, so frequent in the employment, so satisfied in his mind, so hardened in his spirit, so ready in his choice, so peremptory in his foul determinations, that when he began to consider that death stood at the end of that life, he was amazed to see himself as he thought without remedy; and was not to be recovered but by a long time, and a mighty grace, the perpetual, the daily, the nightly prayers and violent importunities of his mother, the admirable precepts and wise deportments of S. Ambrose, the efficacy of truth, the horrible fears of damnation hourly beating upon his spirit with the wings of horror and affrightment; and after

[y] [See note r, above.]

all, with a mighty uneasiness and a discomposed spirit he was by the good hand of God dragged from his fatal ruin.

> Ἀπάτα δ' ἀπάταις
> ἑτέραις ἑτέρα παραβαλλομένα,
> πόνον οὐ χάριν ἀντιδίδωσιν ἔχειν [z].

Thus one folly added to another hath great labour and vexation, unquietness and difficulty for its reward. But as when our blessed Saviour dispossessed the little demoniac in the gospel, when the devil went forth he roared and foamed, he rent him with horrid spasms and convulsions, and left him half dead: so is every man that recovers from a vicious habit, he suffers violence like a bird shut up in a cage, or a sick person not to be restored but by caustics and scarifications, and all the torments of art, from the dangers of his nature.

δ. They make us swallow a great sin as easily as a smaller.

15. δ. A vicious habit makes a great sin to be swallowed up as easily as a little one.

> An dubitat solitus totum conflare Tonantem,
> Radet inaurati femur Herculis, et faciem ipsam
> Neptuni, qui bracteolam de Castore ducet [a]?

He that is used to it, makes nothing of sacrilege, who before started at the defrauding his neighbour of an uncertain right: but when he hath digested the first ἰῶτα, by step and step he ventures so far till he dares to steal the thunderbolts from Jupiter; when sin is grown up to its height and station by all its firmest measures, a great sin is not felt; and let the sin be what it will, many of the instances pass so easily that they are not observed: as the hands and feet sometimes obey the fancy without the notice of the superior faculties; and as we say some parts of our prayers which we are used to, though we attend not; and as musicians strike many single strokes upon which they do not at all consider; which indeed is the perfection of a habit. So we see many men swear when they know not that they do so, they lie and know they lie, and yet believe themselves: they are drunk often, and at last believe it innocent, and themselves the wiser, and the action necessary, and the excess not intemperance. *Peccata quamvis magna et horrenda cum in consuetudinem venerint, aut parva aut nulla esse creduntur, usque adeo ut non solum non occultanda, verum etiam jam prædicanda ac diffumanda videantur,* said S. Austin[b]. At first we are ashamed of sin; but custom makes us bold and confident, apt to proclaim, not to conceal our shame. For though at first it seemed great, yet every day of use makes it less, and at last all is well, it is a very nothing.

[z] Soph. [Œd. Col. 230.]

[a] [Hæc ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus, qui
Radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni; qui bracteolam de Castore ducat.
An dubitet, solitus totum conflare Tonantem?
Juv. sat. xiii. 150.]

[b] Enchirid., c. 8. [leg. 80.—tom. vi. col. 227.]

16. This is a sad state of sin, but directly the case of a vicious habit, and of use in the illustration of this question. For if we look upon the actions, and little or great instances of folly, and consider that they consider not, every such oath will pass for an indeliberate folly, and an issue of infirmity. But then if we remember that it is voluntary in its principle, that this easiness of sinning comes from an intolerable cause, from a custom of profaneness and impiety, that it was nourished by a base and a careless spirit, it grew up with a cursed[c] inadvertency and a caitiff disposition, that it could not be at all but that the man is infinitely distant from God, it is to be reckoned like the pangs of death, which although they are not always felt, yet they are violent and extreme, they are fatal in themselves, and full of horror to the standers by.

17. But from hence, besides that it serves perfectly to reprove the folly of habitual swearing, it also proves the main question, viz., that in a vicious habit there is a venom and a malice beyond the guilt; and besides the sinfulness of the single actions that produce and nourish it, the quality itself is criminal. For unless it can be supposed that to swear frequently can at last bring its excuse with it, and that such a custom is only to be estimated according to the present notice and deliberation by which it is attended to; and that to swear often can be but a little thing, but to swear seldom shall be horrid and inexcusable; it must be certain that the very habit itself is a state of sin and enmity against God, besides the guilt of the many single actions: because this customary swearing cannot be accounted so bad as it is by the value and baseness of the single actions, which are scarce considered, very often not known, not noted at all, not attended to; but therefore they have their load by being effects of a cursed[c] habit and custom. Here the habit is worse than the action, and hath an evil of its own.

ϵ. They keep us always out of God's favour.

18. ϵ. A vicious habit hath in it this evil appendage, that in every instant of its abode it keeps us out of God's favour; we are in perpetual danger, and under the eternal arrest of death, even without the actions of sin, without pleasure, or possessing any of its baser interests. It was a horrible foolery which Appianus[d] tells of Lentulus Spinther, and Dolabella, that when Cæsar was killed in the senate they drew their swords and ran about the streets, as if they had done the fact, supposing it to be great and glorious: *quibus gloria quidem frui non contigit, sed pœnas dederunt easdem cum sontibus;* they lost their hopes of fame, but yet they were punished for the fact. So useless, and yet so pernicious a thing is a vicious habit; a man may pay the price of his lust when he thinks not of it, and perish for all that he was willing to enjoy, though he did not what he would. This is that by which divines use to reconcile the justice of God with the inflic-

[c] [See p. 69, note a, above.]

[d] [De bell. civ., lib. ii. cap. 119.]

tion of eternal pains upon temporal and transitory actions. There is in unrepenting or habitual sinners an eternal spring or principle of evil, and they were ready for ever to have sinned; and for this preparation of mind to have sinned for ever, it is by them affirmed to be just to punish them for ever. Now this is not true in the single actions and interruptions of grace by sin, but in the habitual sinner it is more reasonable. Such are they of whom the apostle speaks, they were 'past feeling,' and yet were 'given up unto uncleanness;' τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ, which properly signifies the beginnings or little images of lust; which as they are first in the introduction of lust, so in such persons they are the only remains of the old man. He cannot sin as he used to do, not by his action, but he sins by his habit.

19. The sum is this. If to love God, to delight in Him, to frequent holy offices, to love His service, to dwell in God, to have our conversation in heaven, to lay up our treasure, and our hopes, and our heart there, to have no thoughts, no designs, no employment but for God and for religion, be more acceptable to God than to do single actions of a prosperous piety upon so many sudden resolutions, and the stock of an alternate and returning duty: then by the same reason is it infinitely more displeasing to God to be a servant under God's enemy and our own, to be in slavery to sin, subordinate to passion, ruled by chance and company, to be weary of well-doing, to delight in sin according to the inner man; this I say, must be an infinite aberration and aversion from God, a contradiction to all our hopes, and that in theology signifies the same effect, as a vicious habit does in nature. For they are the same thing, and have only different conceptions and formal notices: as the patience of Job differs from the patience of S. Laurence, as natural virtue from the same grace in a Christian; so does a natural habit of vice in its moral capacity differ from our aversion from God; I mean in the active sense, which if it be not a distinct state of sinfulness, distinct from the guilt of sinful actions, yet it is at least a further degree of the same guiltiness and being criminal; and either of them both do sufficiently evince the main question. As the charity and devotion of Cornelius was increased by passing into a habit of these graces; and as the piety of him a Jewish proselyte, the habitual piety, was mended by his being a Christian: so the single actions of vice pass a great guilt; but there is more contracted by the habitual vileness, and that habit is made worse by being an opposition to, and an alienation from God. But of this I am now to give more special accounts.

3. Of the relative capacity of sinful habits, in reference to God.

20. *a.* This is it that contains the strictness of the main question. For a sinful habit is a state of ungraciousness with God, and sin is possessed of our love and choice. Therefore in vain it is to think a habit *innocent*, because it is a natural product of many single actions. Every proper action of the will is a natural production of the will;

but it is nevertheless voluntary. When the understanding hath practically determined the will, it is natural for the will to choose; but yet such a choice is imputable to the will, and if it be not good, is reckoned as a sin. So it is in vicious habits: they are natural effects of many single actions; but then it is also to be remembered that their seat is the will, and whatsoever is naturally there, is voluntary still. A habit of sinning cannot remain at all but by consent and by delight, by love and adhesion. The habit is radicated no where but in the will, except it be by subordination, and in the way of ministries. It follows therefore that every vicious habit is the prolongation of a sin, a continuing to love that, which to love but once is death. For every one that hath a vicious habit, chooses his sin cheerfully, acts it frequently, is ready to do it in every opportunity, and at the call of every temptation; and according as these things are in every one, so is the degree of his habit. Now since every one of these which are the constituent parts of a habit, implies a readiness and apt choice of the will to sin, it follows evidently that the capacity of a vicious habit by which it relates to God, consisting of so much evil, and all of it voluntary upon the stock of its own nature and constitution, is highly and chiefly, and distinctly sinful. Although the natural facility is naturally and unavoidably consequent to frequent sinful actions, yet it is also voluntary: for the habit is not contracted, nor can it remain, but by our being willing to sin, and delighting in the ways of error.

21. *β.* Now if we look into the fountains of scripture, which is admirable in the description of virtue and vice, we shall find that habitual sin is all that evil which is to be avoided by all men that have in them the hopes of life. It is the prevailing of sin, it is that by which sins come to their height, it is the debauching of the will and understanding; it is all that which can be signified by those great expressions, by which holy scripture describes those great evils which God hates. It is *ῥίζα πικρίας*[e], 'a root of bitterness,' such as was in Esau when he undid himself and repented too late; 'an evil heart in turning from the living Lord[f];' 'a seared conscience;' 'a walking according to the prince of this world;' 'enemies of the cross of Christ;' *ἀκαταπαύστους τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, 'such as cannot cease from sin;' enemies that 'will not have' Christ, but the devil 'to reign over them;' for this is the true state and constitution of vicious habits. This is more than an *ἐμπόδιον* or 'hindrance' of doing our duty; it is a direct *ἀκαταστασία καὶ ἀταξία*, 'a disorder and corruption' inherent in all our faculties.

22. This is signally described by S. Paul[g], who calls it 'a concupiscence wrought by sin:' 'for sin' (saith he) 'wrought in me all manner of concupiscence:' it is called by him, 'a law in the members fighting against the law in my mind:' and the man he calls 'carnal,

[e] [Heb. xii. 15.] [f] [Ephes. ii. 2.] [g] [Rom. vii. 8, 11, 14.]

sold under sin, dead, killed;' and the sin itself, *inhabitans peccatum*, 'sin dwelling in me,' and 'flesh in which dwelleth no good;' φρόνημα σαρκὸς, 'the carnal mind.' These things (as is evident) cannot be spoken of the single actions of sin, but of the law, the power, the dominion, the reign, the habit of sin. It is that which was wrought by sin, viz., by the single actions of sin; and therefore he does not mean single actions, neither can he mean the remanent guilt of the past action; but he speaks of a direct state of sinfulness, which is prolifical and productive of sin. For sin wrought this concupiscence and carnal-mindedness; and this carnal-mindedness is such a propensity and desire to sin, and hath in it such easiness to act, that it bringeth forth many sins, and they 'bring forth death;' and therefore the apostle says expressly, φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος καὶ ἔχθρα εἰς Θεὸν, 'this carnal-mindedness is death and enmity against God;' this is that state, in which whosoever abides 'cannot please God.' To the same purpose are those other expressions of scripture[g] calling this state, *Vias Balaam*, 'the ways of Balaam the son of Bosor,' 'a walking perversely with God,' 'a being sold under sin,' and καρδίας γεγυμνασμένας πλεονεξίαις, 'hearts exercised or employed and used to covetousness:' and it follows, κατάρας τέκνα, 'sons of cursing.' The fault or charge is more than that of single actions, and the curse is greater than ordinary; as the sin is, so is the curse; the one is apportioned to the other, and appropriate.

23. γ. But I consider further. A single act of sin does not in all cases denominate a man vicious. A man is not called a drunkard for having been once drunk, but for being often, for repeating the act, or continuing the affection. Every single act provokes God to anger, but that anger can be as soon rescinded as the act is past if it remains not by something that is habitual. Indeed he is called a thief or an adulterer that does one action of those crimes; because his consent in such things is great enough to equal a habit in lesser things. The effect is notorious, the prohibition severe, the dangers infinite, the reasons of them evident; they are *peccata vastantia conscientiam, et quæ uno actu perimunt*, as S. Austin says, they 'kill with one blow,' and therefore God exacts them highly, and men call the criminal by the name of the vice: but the action gives denomination but in some cases, but the habit in all. No man lives without sin; and in the state of regeneration, our infirmities still press upon us, and make our hands shake, and our foot to stumble; and sometimes the enemy makes an inroad, and is presently beaten out again, and though the good man resolves against all, and contends against all,

> Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis[h],

there will be something for him to be humbled at, something to contest against, to keep him watchful and upon his guard. But if

[g] [Num. xv. 30 (?); Jude 11; 2 Pet. ii. 14.]

[h] [Virg. eclog iv. 31.]

he be *ebriosus* or *petulans*, if he be a drunkard, or wanton, an extortioner, or covetous; that is, if he have a habit of any sin whatsoever, then he is not the son of God, but an heir of death and hell. That therefore which in all cases denominates a man such, both before God and before men, when the actions do not, that must needs have in it a proper malignity of its own, and that's the habit.

24. δ. This we may also see evidently in the matter of smaller sins, and the trifles of our life; which though they be often repeated, yet if they be kept asunder by the intercision of the actions of repentance, do not discompose our state of grace, but if they be habitual they do, though it may be the single instances by some accident being hindered do not so often return: and this is confessed on all hands. But then the consequent of this is, that the very being habitual is a special irregularity.

25. ε. This also appears by the nature and malignity of the greater sins. A vicious habit is a principle of evil naturally and directly. And therefore as the capital sins are worse than others, because they are an impure root, and apt to produce accursed [h] fruits; as covetousness is the root of all evil; and pride, and envy, and idolatry: so is every habit the mother of evil, not accidentally, and by chance, but by its proper efficacy and natural germination, and therefore is worse than single actions.

26. ζ. If natural concupiscence hath in it the nature of sin, and needs a laver of regeneration, and the blood of Christ to wash it off, much more shall our habitual and acquired concupiscence. For this is much worse, procured by our own act, introduced by our consent, brought upon us by the wrath of God which we have deserved; springing from the baseness of our own manners, the consequent of our voluntary disobedience. So that if it were unreasonable that our natural concupiscence should be charged upon us as criminal, as being involuntary; yet for the same reason, it is most reasonable that our habitual sins, our superinduced concupiscence should be imputed to us as criminal, because it is voluntary in its cause which is in us, and is voluntary in the effect, that is, it is delighted in, and seated in the will. But however, this argument ought to prevail upon all that admit the article of original sin, as it is usually taught in schools and churches. For upon the denial of it, Pelagius also introduced this opinion, against which I am now disputing. And lest concupiscence might be reckoned a sin, he affirmed that no habitude, no disposition, nothing but an act could be a sin. But on the other side, lest concupiscence should be accounted no sin, S. Austin[i] disputes earnestly, largely affirming and proving, that a sinful habit is a special sinfulness distinct from that of evil actions: *malus thesaurus cordis*, 'the evil treasure of the heart,' out of which proceeds all mischief, and a continual defluxion of impurities.

[h] [Note c, supra.] [i] Lib. de peccat. orig., cap. 6 et 13. [tom. x. coll. 255, 8.]

27. η. And therefore as God severely forbids every single action of sin, so with greater caution He provides that we be not guilty of a sinful habit. "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies[k];" we must not be servants of sin, not sold under sin, that sin have no dominion over us. That is, not only that we do not repeat the actions of sin, but that we be not enslaved to it, under the power of it, of such a lost liberty that we cannot resist the temptation. For he that is so, is guilty before God, although no temptation comes. Such are they whom S. Peter[l] notes, "that cannot cease from sin." And indeed we cannot but confess the reasonableness of this. For all men hate such persons whose minds are habitually averse from them; who watch for opportunities to do them evil offices, who lose none that are offered, who seek for more, who delight in our displeasure, who oftentimes effect what they maliciously will. Saul was David's enemy even when he was asleep. For the evil will, and the contradicting mind, and the spiteful heart, are worse than the crooked or injurious hand. And as grace is a principle of good, so is this of evil: and therefore as the one denominates the subject gracious, so the other, sinful; both of them inherent, that given by God, this introduced by our own unworthiness. He that sins in a single act, does an injury to God, but he that does it habitually, he that cannot do otherwise, is His essential enemy. The first is like an offending servant who deserves to be thrown away; but in a vicious habit there is an antipathy; the man is God's enemy, as a wolf to the lamb, as the hyæna to the dog. He that commits a single sin, hath stained his skin, and thrown dirt upon it; but an habitual sinner is an Ethiop[m], and must be flayed alive before his blackness will disappear.

28. θ. A man is called just or unjust by reason of his disposition to, and preparation for an act: and therefore much more for the habit. *Paratum est cor meum Deus*, 'O God, my heart is ready, my heart is ready:' and S. John had the reward of martyrdom, because he was ready to die for his Lord, though he was not permitted; and S. Austin[n] affirms that the continency of Abraham was as certainly crowned as the continence of John, it being as acceptable to God to have a chaste spirit as a virgin body, that is, habitual continence being as pleasing as actual. Thus a man may be a persecutor, or a murderer, if he have a heart ready to do it: and if a lustful soul be an adulteress, because the desire is a sin, it follows that the habit is a particular state of sin distinct from the act, because it is a state of vicious desires. And as a body may be said to be lustful though it be asleep, or eating, without the sense of actual urtications and violence, by reason of its constitution: so may the soul by the reason of its habit, that is, its vicious principle and base effect of sin, be hated by God, and condemned upon that account.

[k] [Rom. vi. 13, 20.] [l] [2 Pet. ii. 14.] [m] [Jer. xiii. 23.]
[n] De bono conjugali, c. 21. [tom. vi. col. 335.]

29. So that a habit is not only distinct from its acts in the manner of being, as rhetoric from logic in Zeno[o], as a fist from a palm, as a bird from the egg, and the flower from the gem: but a habit differs from its acts as an effect from the cause, as a distinct principle from another, as a pregnant daughter from a teeming mother, as a conclusion from its premises, as a state of aversation from God from a single act of provocation.

30. 1. If the habit had not an irregularity in it distinct from the sin, then it were not necessary to persevere in holiness by a constant regular course, but we were to be judged by the number of single actions; and he only who did more bad than good actions should perish, which was affirmed by the pharisees of old: and then we were to live or die by chance and opportunity, by actions and not by the will, by the outward and not by the inward man; then there could be no such thing necessary as the kingdom of grace, Christ's empire and dominion in the soul; then we can belong to God without belonging to His kingdom; and we might be in God, though the kingdom of God were not in us. For without this we might do many single actions of virtue, and it might happen that these might be more than the single actions of sin, even though the habit and affection and state of sin remain. Now if the case may be so (as in the particular instance) that the man's final condition shall not be determined by single actions, it must be by habits, and states, and principles of actions: and therefore these must have in them a proper good and bad respectively by which the man shall be judged, distinct from the actions by which he shall not (in the present case) be judged. All which considerations being put together, do unanswerably put us upon this conclusion: that a habit of sin is that state of evil by which we are enemies to God and slaves of Satan, by which we are strangers from the covenant of grace, and consigned to the portion of devils: and therefore as a corollary of all, we are bound under pain of a new sin to rise up instantly after every fall, to repent speedily for every sin, not to let the sun go down upon our wrath, nor rise upon our lust, nor run his course upon our covetousness or ambition. For not only every period of impenitence is a period of danger, and eternal death may enter; but it is an aggravation of our folly, a continuing to provoke God, a further aberration from the rule, a departure from life, it is a growing in sin, a progression towards final impenitence, to obduration and apostasy, it is a tempting God and a despising of His grace, it is all the way presumption, and a dwelling in sin by delight and obedience; that is, it is a conjugation of new evils, and new degrees of evil. As pertinacy makes error to be heresy, and impenitence makes little sins unite and become deadly, and perseverance causes good to be crowned, and evil to be unpardonable: so is the habit of viciousness, the confirmation of our danger, and

[o] [Cicero de finibus, lib. ii. cap. 17.]

solennities of death, the investiture and security of our horrible inheritance.

31. The sum is this. Every single sin is a high calamity, it is a shame and it is a danger, in one instant it makes us liable to God's severe anger; but a vicious habit is a conjugation of many actions, every one of which is highly damnable, and besides that union which is formally an aggravation of the evils, there is superinduced upon the will and all its ministering faculties, a viciousness and pravity which makes evil to be beloved and chosen, and God to be hated and despised. A vicious habit hath in it all the physical, metaphysical, and moral degrees of which it can be capable. For there is not only a not repenting, a not rescinding of the past act by a contrary nolition; but there is a continuance in it, and a repetition of the same cause of death, as if a man should marry death, the same death so many times over: it is an approving of our shame, a taking it upon us, an owning and a securing our destruction, and before a man can arrive thither, he must have broken all the instruments of his restitution in pieces, and for his recovery nothing is left, unless a *palladium* fall from heaven; the man cannot live again, unless God shall do more for him than He did for Lazarus when He raised him from the dead.

§ 4. γ. Sinful habits do require a distinct manner of repentance, and have no promise to be pardoned but by the introduction of the contrary.

32. γ. 'SINFUL habits do require a distinct manner of repentance, and have no promise to be pardoned but by the introduction of the contrary.'—This is the most material and practical difficulty of the question: for upon this depends the most mysterious article of repentance, and the interest of dying penitents. For if a habit is not to be pardoned without the extirpation of that which is vicious, and the superinducing its contrary; this being a work of time, requires a particular grace of God, and much industry, caution, watchfulness, frequent prayers, many advices and consultations, constancy, severe application: and is of so great difficulty and such slow progression, that all men who have had experience of this employment, and have heartily gone about to cure a vicious habit, know it is not a thing to be done upon our death-bed. That therefore which I intend to prove, I express in this proposition;—

Against the repentance of clinics.

'A vicious habit is not to be pardoned without the introduction of the contrary, either in kind, or in perfect affection, and in all those instances in which the man hath opportunities to work.'

33. The church of Rome, whose chairs and pulpits are dangerous guides in the article of repentance, affirms that any sin, or any habit of sin, may be pardoned by any single act of contrition; the continued sin of forty years may be washed off in less than forty minutes, nay, by an act of attrition with the priestly absolution: which propo-

sition, if it be false, does destroy the interest of souls; and it cannot be true, because it destroys the interest of piety, and the necessities of a good life. The reproof of this depends upon many propositions, of which I shall give as plain accounts as the thing will bear.

34. *α.* Every habit of vice may be expelled by a habit of virtue naturally, as injustice by justice, gluttony by temperance, lust by chastity: but by these it is not meritoriously remitted and forgiven; because nothing in nature can remit sins, or be the immediate natural disposition to pardon. All this is the gift of God, a grace obtained by our holy Redeemer, the price of His blood; but in this, the case is all one as it is in the greatest innocence of the best of men, which if it be not allowed by incorporation into Christ, and sanctified by faith, wants its proper title to heaven: and so it is with repentance. For nature cannot teach us this lesson, much less make it acceptable. For it depending wholly upon God's graciousness and free forgiveness, can be taught only by Him, by whom it is effectual; and this is conveyed to us by our blessed Lord, according to that saying, "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ[p]."

35. *β.* Although a habit cannot be the meritorious cause of pardoning the contrary habit, yet to him that hath contracted a vicious habit, it is necessary in order to his pardon that he root out that habit and obtain the contrary in some degrees of prevalency, so that the scales be turned on that side where is the interest of virtue: and this depends upon the evidence of the former proposition. If to be an habitual sinner be more than to be guilty of those actual sins by which the habit was contracted: then as it is necessary to rescind the act of sin by an act of contrition and repentance; so also it is as necessary that the habit be retracted by a habit, that every wound may have its balsam, and every broken bone be bound up and redintegrate.

36. *γ.* But in the case of habitual sins the argument is more pressing. For if the act which is past and remains not, yet must be reversed by its contrary, much rather must that be taken off which does remain, which actually tempts us, by which we are in a state exactly contrary to the state of grace. For some seldom acts of sin and in trifling instances may stand with the state of holiness, and be incident to a good man: but no vicious habit can, neither in a small matter, nor in a great; this is an *ἀπολλύων*, 'a destroyer,' and therefore as it hath a particular obliquity, so it must have a special repentance, a repentance proper to it; that is, as an act rescinds an act, so must a habit be opposed to a habit, a single act of contrition to a single sin, and therefore it must be more, no less than a lasting and an habitual contrition to obtain pardon for the habit. And although a habit can meritoriously remit a habit no more than an act can do an act, they being both equal as to that particular, yet they are also

[p] [John i. 17.]

dispositions equally (at least on this hand) necessary for the obtaining pardon of their respective contraries.

37. δ. It is confessed on all sides that every single sin which we remember must be repented of by an act of repentance that must particularly touch that sin; if we distinctly remember it, it must distinctly be revoked by a nolition, a sorrow, and moral revocation of it. Since therefore every habit is contracted by many single actions, every one of which if they were sinful must some way or other be rescinded by its contrary, the rescission of those will also introduce a contrary habit, and so the question will be evinced upon that account. For if we shall think one act of sorrow can abolish many foul acts of sin, we but deceive ourselves; we must have many for one (as I have already made to appear) a multitude of sighs and prayers against every foul action that we remember: and then the consequent is plain, that upon this reckoning when a habit is contracted, the actions which were its principle cannot be rescinded but by such repentances which will extinguish not only the formality, but the material and natural effect of that cursed [p] production, at least in very many degrees.

38. ϵ. A habit opposed to a habit hath greater effect than an act opposed to an act, and therefore is not only equally requisite, but the more proper remedy and instance of repentance. For an act of itself cannot naturally extinguish the guilt, nor meritoriously obtain its pardon: but neither can it destroy its natural being, which was not permanent, and therefore not to be wrought upon by an after act. But to oppose a habit to a habit, can equally in the merits of Christ be the disposition to a pardon, as an act can for an act; and is certainly much better than any one act can be, because it includes many single acts of the same nature, and it is all of them, and their permanent effect and change wrought by them besides. So that it is certainly the better and the surer way. But now the question is, not whether it be the better way, but whether it be necessary, and will not the lesser way suffice? To this therefore I answer, that since no man can be acceptable to God as long as sin reigns in his mortal body, and since either sin must reign, or the Spirit of Christ must reign; for a man cannot be a neuter in this war; it is necessary that sin's kingdom be destroyed and broken, and that Christ rule in our hearts; that is, it is necessary that the first and the old habits be taken off and new ones introduced. For although the moral revocation of a single act may be a sufficient disposition to its pardon, because the act was transient, and unless there be a habit or something of it, nothing remains: yet the moral revocation of a sinful habit cannot be sufficient, because there is impressed upon the soul a viciousness and contrariety to God, which must be taken off, or there can be no reconciliation. For let it be but considered, that a vicious habit is a remanent aversation from God, an evil heart, the evil treasure of the heart, a carnal-mindedness, an union and prin-

[p] [See p. 69, note a, above.]

ciple of sins; and then let it be answered, whether a man who is in this state can be a friend of God, or reconciled to Him in His Son, who lives in a state so contrary to His holy Spirit of grace. The guilt cannot be taken off without destroying its nature, since the nature itself is a viciousness and corruption.

39. ζ. Either it is necessary to extirpate and break the habit, or else a man may be pardoned while he is in love with sin. For every vicious habit being radicated in the will, and being a strong love, inclination and adhesion to sin, unless the natural being of this habit be taken off, the enmity against God remains. For it being a quality permanent and inherent, and its nature being an aptness and easiness, a desire to sin and longing after it, to retract this by a moral retractation, and not by a natural also, is but hypocrisy; for no man can say truly, I hate the sin I have committed, so long as the love to sin is inherent in his will; and then if God should pardon such a person, it would be to justify a sinner remaining such, which God equally hates as to condemn the innocent; 'He will by no means acquit the guilty[q];' it was part of His name which He caused to be proclaimed in the camp of Israel. And if this could be otherwise, a man might be in the state of sin and the state of grace at the same time; which hitherto all theology hath believed to be impossible.

40. η. This whole question is cleared by a large discourse of S. Paul[r]. For having under the person of an unregenerate man complained of the habitual state of prevailing sin, of one who is a slave to sin, sold under sin, captive under a law of sin, that is, under vile inclinations, and high pronenesses and necessities of sinning, so that when he is convinced that he ought not to do it, yet he cannot help it; though he fain would have it helped, yet he cannot obey his own will, but his accursed[s] superinduced necessities; and his sin within him was the ruler; that, and not his own better choice was the principle of his actions, which is the perfect character of an habitual sinner; he enquires after a remedy for all this, which remedy he calls a being delivered ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου, 'from the body of this death.' The remedy is χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, 'the grace of God' through Jesus Christ, for by Christ alone we can be delivered. But what is to be done? The extermination of this dominion and empire of concupiscence, the breaking of the kingdom of sin. That being the evil he complains of, and of which he seeks remedy, that is to be removed. But that we may well understand to what sense and in what degree this is to be done; in the next periods he describes the contrary state of deliverance, by the parts and characters of a habit or state of holiness; which he calls 'a walking after the spirit[t],' opposed to a walking after the flesh. It was 'a law in his members,' 'a law of sin' and death. Now he is to be 'made free

[q] [Exod. xxxiv. 7; Num. xiv. 18.]
[r] [Rom. vii. 14 sq.]
[s] [See note to preceding page.]
[t] [Rom. viii. 1 &c.]

by' a contrary law, 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus:' that is, as sin before gave him law, so now must the spirit of God; whereas before he minded the things of the flesh, now he minds the things of the spirit; that is, the 'carnal-mindedness' is gone, and a 'spiritual-mindedness' is the principle and ruler of his actions. This is the deliverance from habitual sins, even no other than by habitual graces wrought in us by the Spirit of life, by the grace of our Lord Jesus. And this whole affair is rarely well summed up by the same apostle[t], "As ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness and to iniquity, unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness." If ye were servants before, so ye must be now; it is but justice and reason that at least as much be done for God as for the devil; it is not enough morally to revoke what is past by a wishing it had not been done, but you must oppose a state to a state, a habit to a habit. And the author of the book of Baruch[u] presses it further yet, "As it was your mind to go astray from God, so being returned seek Him ten times more." It ought not to be less; it must be as S. Chrysostom[x] expresses it, "A custom against a custom, a habit opposed to a habit, that the evil may be driven out by the good, as one nail is by another." Οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἥμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐς ἀεὶ φέρονται, said Procopius[y]. In those things where you have sinned, to profit, and to increase, and improve to their contraries, that is the more comely way to pardon.

41. θ. Either a habit of virtue is a necessary disposition to the pardon of a habit of vice, or else the doctrine of mortification of the lusts of the flesh, of all the lusts, of all the members of the old man, is nothing but a counsel and a caution of prudence, but it contains no essential and indispensable duty. For mortification is a long contention and a course of difficulty: it is to be done by many arts, and much caution, and a long patience and a diligent observation, by watchfulness and labour, the work of every day, and the employment of all the prudence and all the advices of good men, and the whole grace of God. It is like the curing of a hectic fever, which one potion will not do. Origen[z] does excellently describe it, Ὁ λόγος ὅτε ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἰσχυροποιηθεὶς καὶ τραφεὶς τῇ μελετῇ καὶ βεβαιωθεὶς τοῖς δόγμασι πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ἢ ἐγγύς γε τοῦ βεβαιωθῆναι γεγενημένος, ἀνακρούει τοὺς ἐρεθισμοὺς καὶ ὑπεκλύει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, 'when a word is strengthened and nourished by care and assiduity, and confirmed by opinions and wise sentences, or near to confirmation, it masters all oppositions, and breaks in pieces the concupiscence.' This is the manner of mortification, there must be resolutions and discourses, assiduity and diligence, auxiliaries from reason, and wise sentences, and advices of the prudent; and all these must operate

[t] [Rom. vi. 19.]
[u] [Baruch iv. 28.]
[x] In Act. iv. hom. 10. [vid. § 5.—tom. ix. p. 88 D.]
[y] Vandalic. [lib. ii. cap. 16 fin.]
[z] [Not found.]

πρὸς τὴν βεβαίωσιν, unto a confirmation, or near it, and by these the concupiscence can be mastered. But this must be a work of time;

——Ἔργον ἐστὶ, Παυία,
μακρὰν συνήθειαν βραχεῖ λῦσαι χρόνῳ,

said Menander[a], 'to dissolve a long custom in a short time is a work indeed, but very hard, if not impossible, to be done by any man.' A man did not suddenly come to the state of evil, from whence he is to arise;

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus[b]:

but as a man coming into a pestilential air[c], does not suck in death at every motion of his lungs, but by little and little the spirits are poisoned, and at last enter into their portion of death; so it is in a vicious custom. Πρόδηλον ὡς αἰεὶ τὰ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐθῶν ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ μικρῶν, ἀμελούμενα δὲ ἰσχὺν μείζω λαμβάνει[d]. The evil is not felt instantly, it begins from little things, and is the production of time and frequent actions. And therefore much less can it be supposed, that we can overcome our filthy habits, and master our fortified corruptions by a sudden dash of piety and the *ex tempore* gleams of repentance. Concerning this, S. Basil[e] discourses excellently, *Sicut enim morbi corporis inveterati, &c.*, 'for as the old diseases of the body are not healed without a long and painful attendance; so must old sins be cured by a long patience, a daily prayer, and the sharpest contention of the spirit; that which is dyed with many dippings, is in grain, and can very hardly be washed out; *sic anima sanie peccatorum suppurata et in habitu constituta malitiæ, vix ac multo negotio elui potest*, 'so is the soul when it is corrupted with the poison of sin, and hath contracted a malicious habit, it can scarce, but not without much labour be made clean.

42. Now since we say our nature is inclined to sin, and we feel it to be so in many instances, and yet that it needs time and progression to get a habit of that whither we too naturally tend; we have reason to apprehend that we need time and fierce contentions, and the long-suffering of violences to 'take the kingdom of heaven by force,' by a state of contradiction and hostility against the tempting enemy. It is much harder to get a habit against our nature, and a prepossessing habit, than to confirm nature, and to actuate our inclinations.

43. And this does not only relate to habits in their natural capacity, but in their moral, and consequently their relative capacity, as appertaining to God, in the matter of His valuation of them. Because in habits as it is in acts, although metaphysically we can distinguish the action from the irregularity, yet because they are sub-

[a] [Stob. floril. tit. xliii. de republ. 31. —Paulo aliter apud Anton. Meliss., lib. ii. 80. p. 146.]

[b] [Juv. sat. ii. 83.]

[c] S. Basil. homil. ix. [§ 9.—tom. ii. p. 80 E.]

[d] [Polyænus, apud] Stob. [floril. tit. xliii. de republ. 53.]

[e] In regul. fusius disput. q. vi. et lv. [tom. ii. pp. 344, 98.]

jected in the same person, and the irregularity is inherent in the action, in the whole composition the action is sinful; so it is in habits. For the sin adheres to the natural facility, and follows it in all its capacities. And as the natural facility of doing viciously is cured by time, and a successive continued diligence; so is the sinfulness, because that facility is vicious and sinful. And as heat is distinguished from fire, but you cannot lessen the heat but by decreasing the natural being of fire: so does the sin of a vicious habit pass away as the habit naturally lessens; that is, the moral capacity changes as does the natural, this being the subject of that, and it could not have been this habit, if it had not in it this sinfulness.

44. Now if the parts of this argument be put together, their intention is this. A habit of sin is not gotten but by time and progression; and yet it cannot be lost so soon as it was gotten; but it is a long time before its natural being is overcome by its contrary. But the sinfulness of it does pass away with the natural being; and no otherwise; therefore the sinfulness of it cannot be removed suddenly. And therefore if mortification be a duty, and we be commanded to do it, we are commanded to do a long work and a difficult, a thing that is more than the moral retractation of it by a single act of sorrow or contrition, a duty that contains in it so much work as is proportioned to the necessity, even to the breaking the habit of sin, and setting up the habit of virtue over it. Now then, all the question will be, whether mortification be a precept, or a counsel. Concerning which, I only appeal to the words of S. Paul[f], *νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, 'mortify therefore your earthly members;' and[g], "if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Mortification is the condition of life, it is expressly commanded by the apostle that we 'make the deeds of the body to be dead;' that is, the evil habits and concupiscence of the body; for that which S. Paul here calls *πράξεις* or 'deeds,' in the same precept written to the Galatians[h], he calls *παθήματα καὶ ἐπιθυμίας*, 'lusts and concupiscences.' And of what great necessity and effect this mortification and crucifying of our sinful customs is, we may understand best by those other words of the same apostle[i], 'he that is dead is justified from sins,' not till then, not till his habit was dead; not as soon as he morally retracts it by an act of displeasure and contrition, but when the sin is dead, when the habit is crucified, when the concupiscence does not reign, but is overcome in all its former prevalencies, then he is pardoned, and not before.

45. *ι.* Unless it be necessary to oppose a habit against a habit, a state of virtue against a state of vice; that is, if a vicious habit may be pardoned upon one act of contrition, then it may so happen that a man shall not be obliged to do good, but only to abstain from evil,

[f] [Coloss. iii. 5.] [g] [Rom. viii. 13.] [h] [Gal. v. 24.] [i] [Rom. vi. 7.]

to cease from sin, but not to proceed and grow in grace: which is against the perpetual design and analogy of the gospel, and the nature of evangelical righteousness, which differs from the righteousness of the law, as doing good from not doing evil. The law forbad murder, but the gospel superadds charity. The law forbad uncleanness, but the gospel superadds purity and mortification. The law forbad us to do wrong, but the gospel commands us to do offices of kindness. Injustice was prohibited by the law, but revenge also of real injuries is forbidden by the gospel, and we are commanded to do good to them that injure us. And therefore the writers of the New testament [k] do frequently join these, 'to be dead unto sin,' and to live unto righteousness.' This is that which was opposed to the 'righteousness of the law [l],' and is called 'the righteousness of God:' and a mistake in this affair was the ruin of the Jews. For 'being ignorant of the righteousness of God, they thought to be justified by their own righteousness which is of the law.' That is, they thought it enough to leave off to sin, without doing the contrary good, and so hoped for the promises. This was the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, to be 'no adulterers,' no defrauders of the rights of the temple, 'no publicans' or exacters of tribute. But our blessed Saviour assured us that there is no hopes of heaven for us, 'unless our righteousness exceed this of theirs.'

46. Now then, to apply this to the present argument. Suppose a vicious person who hath lived an impious life, placed upon his deathbed, exhorted to repentance, made sensible of his danger, invited by the sermons of his priest to dress his soul with duty and sorrow; if he obeys, and is sorry for his sin; supposing that this sorrow does really begin that part of his duty which consists in not sinning, nay, suppose he will never sin again (which is the righteousness of the law) yet how can he in that case do that good which is required by the gospel? 'Seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof.' The gospel hath a peculiar righteousness of its own, proper to itself, without which there is no entrance into heaven. But 'the righteousness of the law' is called 'our own righteousness,' that is, such a righteousness which men by nature know; for we all by the innate law of nature know that we ought to abstain from doing injury to man, from impiety to God: but we only know by revelation the righteousness of the kingdom, which consists in holiness and purity, chastity and patience, humility and self-denial. He that rests in the first, and thinks he may be saved by it, (as S. Paul's expression is) he 'establisheth his own righteousness,' that is, 'the righteousness of the law,' and this he does, whosoever thinks that his evil habits are pardoned without doing that good and acquiring those graces which

[k] [Rom. vi. 18; Eph. iv. 22; Col. i. 13, and iii. 5, 10, 2; Titus ii. 12—14; Heb. x. 22, 4; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 2, and iii. 11; 2 Pet. i. 4—8.]

[l] [Rom. iii. 21, and ix. 30, 1; Gal. ii. 16, and iii. 8; Phil. iii. 6, 7.]

constitute the righteousness of the gospel, that is, faith and holiness, which are the significations, and the vital parts, of the new creature.

47. κ. But because this doctrine is highly necessary, and the very soul of christianity, I consider further, that without the superinducing a contrary state of good to the former state of evil, we cannot return, or go off from that evil condition that God hates, I mean the middle state, or the state of lukewarmness. For though all the old philosophy consented that virtue and vice had no *medium* between them, but whatsoever was not evil, was good, and he that did not do evil was a good man, said the old Jews, yet this they therefore did unreprovably teach, because they knew not this secret of the righteousness of God. For in the evangelical justice, between the natural or legal good or evil there is a *medium* or a third, which of itself, and by the accounts of the law was not evil, but in the accounts of the evangelical righteousness is a very great one; that is, lukewarmness, or a cold, tame, indifferent, unactive religion. Not that lukewarmness is by name forbidden by any of the laws of the gospel, but that it is against the analogy and design of it. A lukewarm person does not do evil, but he is hated by God, because he does not vigorously proceed in godliness. No law condemns him, but the gospel approves him not, because he does not from the heart obey this form of doctrine, which commands a course, a habit, a state and life of holiness. It is not enough that we abstain from evil, we shall not be crowned unless we be partakers of a divine nature. For to this S. Peter[m] enjoins us carefully. Now then we partake of a divine nature, when the Spirit dwells in us, and rules all our faculties, when we are united unto God, when we imitate the Lord Jesus, when we are perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect. Now whether this can be done by an act of contrition, needs no further enquiry, but to observe the nature of evangelical righteousness, the hatred God bears to lukewarmness, the perfection He requires of a Christian, the design and great example of our blessed Lord, the glories of that inheritance whither we are designed, and of the obtaining of which, obedience to God in the faith of Jesus Christ is made the only indispensable, necessary condition.

48. For let it be considered. Suppose a man that is righteous according to the letter of the law, of the ten commandments, all of which (two excepted) were negative; this man hath lived innocently and harmlessly all his days, but yet uselessly, unprofitably, in rest and unactive circumstances; is not this person an unprofitable servant? the servant in the parable was just such: he spent not his master's talent with riotous living, like the prodigal, but laid it up in a napkin, he did neither good nor harm; but because he did no good, he received none, but was thrown into outer darkness.

[m] [2 Pet. i. 4.]

Nec furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus, Habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.
Non hominem occidi; Non pasces in cruce corvos[n].

An innocent servant amongst the Romans might escape the *furca*, or the mill, or the wheel; but unless he was useful, he was not much made of. So it is in christianity. For that which according to Moses was called righteousness, according to Christ is 'poverty and nakedness, misery, and blindness,' as appears in the reproof which the Spirit of God sent to the bishop and church of Laodicea[o]. He thought himself rich when he was nothing; that is, he was harmless, but not profitable, innocent according to the measures of the law, but not rich in good works. So the pharisees also thought themselves just by the justice of the law, that is, by their abstinence from condemned evils, and therefore they refused to 'buy of Christ the Lord gold purified in the fire, whereby they might become rich;' that is, they would not accept of the righteousness of God, the justice evangelical, and therefore they were rejected. And thus to this very day do we. Even many that have the fairest reputation for good persons and honest men, reckon their hopes upon their innocence and legal freedoms, and outward compliances: that they are no liars nor swearers, no drunkards nor gluttons, no extortioners or injurious, no thieves nor murderers; but in the mean time they are unprofitable servants, not 'instructed,' not 'throughly prepared to every good work;' not 'abounding in the work of the Lord,' but 'blind, and poor, and naked;' just, but as the pharisees; innocent, but as heathens: in the mean time they are only in that state to which Christ never made the promises of eternal life and joys hereafter.

49. Now if this be true in one period, it is true in all the periods of our life. If he that hath always lived thus innocently and no more, that is, a heathen and a pharisee, could not by their innocence and proper righteousness obtain heaven, much less shall he who lived viciously and contracted filthy habits, be accepted by all that amends he can make by such single acts of contrition, by which nothing can be effected but that he hates sin and leaves it. For if the most innocent by the legal righteousness is still but unprofitable, much more is he such who hath prevaricated that and lived vilely, and now in his amendment begins to enter that state, which if it goes no further is still unprofitable. They were severe words which our blessed Saviour[p] said, 'When ye have done all things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants;' that is, when ye have done all things which are commanded 'in the law,' He says not 'all things which I shall command you,' for then we are not unprofitable servants in the evangelical sense. For he that obeys this form of doctrine is a good servant: he is the friend of God. "If ye do whatsoever I command you, ye are My friends[q];" and that is more

[n] Hor. [epist. i. 16. 46.]
[o] [Rev. iii. 15.]
[p] [Luke xvii. 10.]
[q] [John xv. 14, 5.]

than profitable servants: for 'I will not call you servants, but friends,' saith our blessed Lord; and for you 'a crown of righteousness is laid up against the day of recompenses.' These therefore cannot be called unprofitable servants, but friends, sons and heirs; for he that is 'an unprofitable servant shall be cast into outer darkness.' To live therefore in innocence only, and according to the righteousness of the law, is to be a servant, but yet unprofitable, and that in effect is to be no heir of the promises; for to these, piety, or evangelical righteousness is the only title. "Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of this life, and of that which is to come[r]." For upon this account, the 'works of the law cannot justify us[s]:' for the works of the law at the best were but innocence and ceremonial performances: but we are justified by the works of the gospel, that is, faith and obedience. For these are the righteousness of God, they are His works, revealed by His spirit, effected by His grace, promoted by His gifts, encouraged by special promises, sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and accepted through Jesus Christ to all the great purposes of glory and immortality.

50. Since therefore a constant innocence could not justify us unless we have the righteousness of God, that is, unless we superadd holiness and purity in the faith of Jesus Christ: much less can it be imagined that he who hath transgressed the righteousness of the law, and broken the negative precepts, and the natural human rectitude, and hath superinduced vices contrary to the righteousness of God, can ever hope to be justified by those little arrests of his sin, and his beginnings to leave it upon his death bed, and his sorrow for it, then when he cannot obtain the righteousness of God, or the holiness of the gospel. It was good counsel that was given by a wise heathen[t],

> Dimidium facti qui cœpit habet: sapere aude;
> Incipe; vivendi recte qui prorogat horam,
> Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
> Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

It is good for a man to begin. The clown that stands by a river side expecting till all the water be run away, may stay long enough before he gets to the other side. He that will not begin to live well till he hath answered all objections, and hath no lusts to serve, no more appetites to please, shall never arrive at happiness in the other world. Be wise, and begin betimes.

§ 5. Consideration of seven objections against the former doctrine.

51. Obj. 1.—But why may not all this be done in an instant by the grace of God? Cannot He infuse into us the habits of all the graces evangelical? Faith cannot be obtained by natural means, and if it be procured by supernatural, the Spirit of God is not re-

[r] [1 Tim. iv. 8.] [s] [Gal. ii. 16.] [t] Hor. epist. i. 2. [lin. 40.]

tarded by the measures of an enemy, and the dull methods of natural opposition. *Nescit tarda molimina Spiritus sancti gratia.* Without the divine grace we cannot work any thing of the righteousness of God; but if He gives us His grace, does not He make us chaste and patient, humble and devout, and all in an instant? For thus the main question seems to be confessed and granted, that a habit is not remitted but by the introduction of the contrary: but when you consider what you handle, it is a cloud and nothing else; for this admission of the necessity of a habit, enjoins no more labour nor care, it requires no more time, it introduces no active fears, and infers no particular caution, and implies the doing of no more than to the remission of a single act of one sin.—To this I answer,

52. *α.* That the grace of God is a supernatural principle, and gives new aptnesses and inclinations, powers and possibilities, it invites and teaches, it supplies us with arguments, and answers objections, it brings us into artificial necessities, and inclines us sweetly: and this is the *semen Dei* spoken of by S. John[u], 'the seed of God' thrown into the furrows of our hearts, springing up (unless we choke it) to life eternal. By these assistances we being helped can do our duty, and we can expel the habits of vice, and get the habits of virtue: but as we cannot do God's work without God's grace; so God's grace does not do our work without us. For grace being but the beginnings of a new nature in us, gives nothing but powers and inclinations. "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities," so S. Paul[x] explicates this mystery. And therefore when he had said, "By the grace of God I am what I am," that is, all is owing to His grace; he also adds, "I have laboured more than they all, yet not I," that is, not I alone, *sed gratia Dei mecum,* 'the grace of God that is with me.' For the grace of God 'stands at the door and knocks[y];' but we must attend to His voice, and 'open the door, and then He will enter and sup with us, and we shall be with Him.' The grace of God is like a graff put into a stock of another nature; it makes use of the faculties and juice of the stock and natural root, but converts all into its own nature. But,

53. *β.* We may as well say there can be a habit born with us, as infused[z] into us. For as a natural habit supposes a frequency of action by him who hath natural abilities; so[a] an infused habit (if there were any such) is[a] a result and consequent of a frequent doing the works of the Spirit. So that to say that God in an instant infuses into us a habit (of chastity, &c.) is to say that He hath in an instant infused into us to have done the acts of that grace frequently. For it is certain by experience that the frequent doing the actions of any grace, increases the grace, and yet the grace or aids of God's spirit are as necessary for the growth as for the beginnings of grace. We

[u] [1 John iii. 9.]
[x] [Rom. viii. 26.]
[y] [Rev. iii. 20.]
[z] [Concerning this whole doctrine, see Aquinas, 1 2æ, qq. xlix.—liv.]
[a] ['so does' &c., 'it is' &c. B.]

cannot either will or do without His help; He worketh both in us, that is, we by His help alone are enabled to do things above our nature. But then we are the persons enabled; and therefore we do these works as we do others, not by the same powers, but in the same manner.

54. When God raises a cripple from his couch, and gives him strength to move, though the aid be supernatural, yet the motion is after the manner of nature. And it is evident in the matter of faith, which though it be the gift of God, yet it is seated in the understanding, which operates by way of discourse and not by intuition: the believer understands as a man, not as an angel: and when Christ by miracle restored a blind eye, still that eye did see by reception or else by emission of species, just so as eyes that did see naturally. So it is in habits. For it is a contradiction to say that a perfect habit is infused in an instant: for if a habit were infused, it must be infused as a habit is acquired; for else it is not a habit[a]. As if a motion should be infused, it must still be successive as well as if it were natural.

55. But this device of 'infused habits' is a fancy without ground, and without sense, without authority, or any just grounds of confidence, and it hath in it very bad effects. For it destroys all necessity of our care and labour in the ways of godliness, all cautions of a holy life; it is apt to minister pretences and excuses for a perpetually wicked life till the last of our days, making men to trust to a late repentance: it puts men upon vain confidences, and makes them rely for salvation upon dreams and empty notions; it destroys all the duty of man, and cuts off all entercourse of obedience and reward. But it is sufficient, that there is no ground for it in scripture, nor in antiquity, nor in right reason: but it is infinitely destructive of all that wise conduct of souls, by which God would glorify Himself by the means of a free obedience; and it is infinitely confuted by all those scriptures which require our co-operation with the assistance of God's holy Spirit. For all the helps that the Spirit of grace ministers to us, is so far from doing our work for us, that it only enables us to do it for ourselves, and makes it reasonable that God should therefore exact it of us, because we have no excuse, and cannot plead disability. To which purpose that discourse of S. Paul[b] is highly convincing and demonstrative, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure;" ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας, 'according to our desire,' so it is better read; that is, Fear not at all, but κατεργάζεσθε, 'throughly do your duty[c];' for according as you desire and pray, God will be present to you with His grace, to bear you through all

[a] Habitus infusi infunduntur per modum acquisitorum. — Regul. scholast. [vid. not. z, supra.]

[b] [Phil. ii. 12, 3.]

[c] 'Magis operamini,' Syrus.—'Augescite in opere.' Arabs.—[From Grotius, ad loc.—The original words are مَلْصُوا . . . هكذ سه and [اولي . . . اكثر اصنعوا

your labours and temptations. And therefore our conversion, and 'the working our salvation,' is sometimes ascribed to God, sometimes to men[d]; to God as the prime and indeficient cause, to man ὡς συνέργῳ, 'as to the fellow-worker with God;' it is the expression of S. Paul. The scripture mentions no other effect of God's grace, but such as I have now described. But that grace should do all our work alone, and in an instant, that which costs the saints so much labour and fierce contentions, so much sorrow and trouble, so many prayers and tears, so much watchfulness and caution, so much fear and trembling, so much patience and long-suffering, so much toleration and contradiction, and all this under the conduct of the Spirit, in the midst of all the greatest helps of grace, and the inhabitation of the holy Spirit of God; that all this labour and danger should be spared to a vile person, who hath grieved and extinguished God's holy Spirit, and a way contrived for him that he should enjoy the pleasures of this world, and the glories of the next, is such a device, as if it had any ground or colourable pretence for it, would, without the miracles of another grace, destroy all piety from the face of the earth. And in earnest, it seems to me a strange thing, that the doctors of the church of Rome should be so loose and remiss in this article, when they are so fierce in another that takes from such persons all manner of excuse: it is (I say) very strange that it should be so possible, and yet withal so unnecessary to keep the commandments.

56. Obj. 2.—But if a single act of contrition cannot procure pardon of sins that are habitual, then a wicked man that returns not till it be too late to root out vicious habits, must despair of salvation. I answer, α) That such a man should do well to ask his physician whether it be possible for him to escape that sickness? If his physician say it is, then the man need not despair; for if he return to life and health, it will not be too late for him by the grace of God to recover in his soul. But if his physician say he cannot recover; first let the physician be reproved for making his patient to despair: I am sure he hath less reason to say he cannot live, than there is to say, such a person hath no promise that he shall be saved without performing the condition. But the physician if he be a wise man will say, So far as he understands by the rule of his art, this man cannot recover; but some secret causes of things there are, or may be, by which the event may be better than the most reasonable predictions of his art. The same answer I desire may be taken in the question of his soul; concerning which the curate is to preach the rules and measures of God, but not to give a resolution concerning the secret and final sentence. β) The case of the five foolish virgins, if we may construe it as it is expressed, gives a sad account to such persons: and unless that part of the parable be insignificant which

[d] [1 Cor. v. 7, 8; 2 Tim. ii. 21; James iv. 8; Eph. iv. 22—24; Col. iii. 9, 10.]

expresses their sorrow, their diligence, their desire, their begging of oil, their going out to buy oil before the bridegroom came, but after it was noised that he was coming, and the insufficiency of all this, we may too certainly conclude, that much more than a single act of contrition, and a moral revocation, that is, a sorrow and a nolition of the past sins, may be done upon our death-bed without effect, without a being accepted to pardon and salvation. γ) When things are come to that sad state, let the man hope as much as he can; God forbid that I should be author to him to despair; the purpose of this discourse is, that men in health should not put things to that desperate condition, or make their hopes so little and afflicted, that it may be disputed whether they be alive or no. δ) But this objection is nothing but a temptation and a snare; a device to make me confess that the former arguments (for fear men should despair) ought to be answered, and are not perfectly convincing. I intended them only for institution and instruction, not to confute any person or any thing, but to condemn sin, and to rescue men from danger. But truly, I do think they are rightly concluding (as moral propositions are capable;) and if the consequent of them be that dying persons after a vicious life cannot hope (ordinarily) for pardon, I am truly sorrowful that any man should fall into that sad state of things, as I am really afflicted and sorrowful that any man should live vilely, or perish miserably; but then it ought not to be imputed to this doctrine that it makes men despair, for the purpose and proper consequent of it is, that men are warned to live so that they may be secured in their hopes, that is, that men 'give diligence to make their calling and election sure[e],' that they may take no desperate courses, and fall into no desperate condition. And certainly, if any man preach the necessity of a good life, and of actual obedience, he may as well be charged to drive men to despair: for the sum of the foregoing doctrine is nothing else, but that it is necessary we should walk before God "in all holy conversation and godliness[f]." But of this I shall give a large account in the fifth section.

Obj. 3.—But if things be thus, it is not good or safe to be a criminal judge; and all the discipline of war will be unlawful and highly displeasing to God. For if any one be taken in an act of a great sin, and as it happens in war, be put to death suddenly, without leisure and space of repentance, by the measures of this doctrine the man shall perish, and consequently the power by which he falls is uncharitable[g].—I answer,

a. That in an act of sin the case is otherwise than in a habit, as I have already demonstrated in its proper place. It must be a habit that must extirpate a habit; but an act is rescinded by a less violence

[e] [2 Pet. i. 10.]
[f] [2 Pet. iii. 11.]
[g] [With the following page, compare Shakespeare, King Henry V. act 4. sc. 1; the conversation between the king and Williams.]

and abode of duty: and it is possible for an act of duty to be so heroical, or the repentance of an hour to be so pungent and dolorous, and the fruits of that repentance putting forth by the sudden warmth and fervour of the spirit, be so goodly and fair, as through the mercies of God in Jesus Christ, to obtain pardon of that single sin, if that be all.

β. But if it is to be considered whether the man be otherwise a vicious person, or was he a good man, but by misfortune and carelessness overtaken in a fault? If he was a good man, his spirit is so accustomed to good, that he is soon brought to an excellent sorrow, and to his former state, especially being awakened by the sad arrest of a hasty death: and if he accepts that death willingly, making that which is necessarily enforced upon him to become voluntary by his acceptation of it, changing the judgment into penance, I make no question but he shall find mercy. But if the man thus taken in a fault was otherwise a vicious person, it is another consideration. It is not safe for him to go to war; but the officers may as charitably and justly put such a person to death for a fault, as send him upon a hard service. The doing of his duty may as well ruin him, as the doing of a fault; and if he be reprieved a week, he will find difficulty in the doing what he should, and danger enough besides.

γ. The discipline of war, if it be only administered where it is necessary, not only in the general rule, but also in the particular instance, cannot be reproved upon this account. Because by the laws of war sufficiently published, every man is sufficiently warned of his danger; which if he either accept, or be bound to accept, he perishes by his own fault if he perishes at all. For as by the hazard of his employment he is sufficiently called upon to repent worthily of all his evil life past, so is he by the same hazardous employment, and the known laws of war, cautioned to beware of committing any great sin: and if his own danger will not become his security, then his confidence may be his ruin, and then nothing is to be blamed but himself.

δ. But yet it were highly to be wished, that when such cases do happen, and that it can be permitted in the particular without the dissolution of discipline, such persons should be pitied in order to their eternal interest. But when it cannot, the minister of justice is the minister of God, and dispenses his power by the rules of his justice, at which we cannot quarrel, though he cuts off sinners in their acts of sin, of which he hath given them sufficient warning, and hath a long time expected their amendment: to whom that of Seneca may be applied, *Unum bonum tibi superest, repræsentabimus mortem.* Nothing but death will make some men cease to sin: and therefore *quo uno modo possunt, desinant mali esse.* God puts a period to the increase of their ruin and calamity, by making that wickedness shorter, which if it could would have been eternal. When men are incorrigible, they may be cut off in charity as well as justice;

and therefore as it is always just, so it is sometimes pity, though a sad one, to take a sinner away with his sins upon his head. Ἐπειδὰν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄλλως, καὶ τούτῳ γε οὖν τῷ τρόπῳ ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ ἐνταῦθα δεσμοῦ τῆς κακίας πορίσωνται φυγήν. When it is impossible to have it otherwise, this is the only good that he is capable of[h], to be sent speedily to a lesser punishment than he should inherit if he should live longer. But when it can be otherwise, it were very well it were so very often. And therefore the customs of Spain are in this highly to be commended, who to condemned criminals gives so much respite till the confessor gives them a *Bene discessit,* and supposes them competently prepared. But if the law-givers were truly convinced of this doctrine here taught, it is to be hoped they would more readily practise this charity.

57. Obj. 4.—But hath not God promised pardon to him that is contrite? "A contrite and broken heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise[i]." And, "I said, I will confess my sins unto the Lord: and so Thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin[k]." And the prodigal was pardoned immediately upon his confession, and return. *Cœperat dicere, et mox illum pater complectitur,* said S. Basil[l]; 'his father embraces him when he began to speak.' And S. Chrysostom[m], "In that moment," says he, "he wipes away all the sins of his life." And S. Austin[n] upon that of David before quoted, "My confession came not so far as my mouth, . . and God heard the voice of my heart."

58. To this I answer, first concerning the words of David; then concerning the examples.

a. Concerning Contrition, that it is a good beginning of repentance, is certain, and in its measure acceptable to God, and effective of all its proper purposes. But contrition can have but the reward of contrition, but not of other graces which are not parts but effects of it. God will not 'despise the broken and contrite heart;' no, for He will receive it graciously, and bind up the wounds of it, and 'lead it on in the paths of righteousness, and by the waters of comfort.'

59. *β.* But a man is not of a contrite heart as soon as he hath exercised one act of contrition. He that goes to break a rock, does something towards it by every blow, but every blow does not break it. A man's heart is not so easily broken; I mean broken from the love of sin, and its adherence to it. Every act of temperance does not make a man temperate; and so I fear will it be judged concerning contrition.

60. *γ.* But suppose the heart be broken, and that the man is contrite, there is more to be done than so. God indeed 'does not de-

[h] Ingeniis talibus vitæ exitus remedium est: optimumque est obire ei qui ad se nunquam rediturus est.—Senec. de benef. vii. 10. [leg. 20.—tom. i. p. 857.]

[i] [Psalm li. 17.]

[k] [Psalm xxxii. 6.]

[l] Homil. de pœnit. [§ 3. tom. ii. p. 605 E.]

[m] [Hom. (spur.) in fil. prodig.—tom. viii. append., p. 35 C.]

[n] [In ps. xxxi. enarr. ii. § 15.—tom. iv. col. 179 G.]

spise' this, but He requires more. God did not despise Ahab's repentance, but it did not do all his work for him. He does not despise patience, nor meekness, nor resignation, nor hope, nor confession, nor any thing that Himself commands. But He that commands all, will not be content with one alone; every grace shall have its reward, but it shall not be crowned alone. Faith alone shall not justify, and repentance alone, taken in its specifical, distinctive sense, shall not suffice; but faith, and repentance, and charity, and patience, and the whole circle and rosary of graces and duties must adorn our heads.

61. δ. Those graces and duties which are commanded us, and to which God hath promised glorious rewards, must not be single or transient acts, but continual and permanent graces. "He that drinks of the water which I shall give him, shall never thirst again[o]." "He that eats of this bread shall live for ever." "He that believes in Me, rivers of living waters shall flow from his belly." "He that confesseth his sins and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." "Repent and believe, and wash away your sins." Now these words of πίνων, τρώγων, πιστεύων, μετανοῶν, are of extended and produced signification (as divines observe) and signify a state of duty, such as includes patience and perseverance. Such also are these[p]. "He that doth the will of My Father abideth for ever." "If we confess our sins, He is just and faithful to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity;" and, "They that do such things shall possess the kingdom of heaven." And, "I will deliver him because he hath put his trust in Me." And, "If we love Him, He also will love us." And, "Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven." These and many more, do not intend that any one grace alone is sufficient, much less any one act of one grace, proceeding from the Spirit of God, can be sufficient to wipe off our leprosies. But these signify states of duty, and integrity; not transient actions, or separate graces. And besides the infinite reasonableness of the thing, this truth is consigned to us plainly in scripture[q]: God "will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life." And if men had pleased, they might as well have fallen upon this proposition, that an act of humility would have procured our pardon, as well as that an act of contrition will do it, because of the words of David[r], "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart, and will save such as be of an humble spirit." Salvation is as much promised to humility alone, as to contrition alone; that is, to neither separately, but in the conjunction with other parts of duty.

62. ε. Contrition is either taken in its proper specific signification,

[o] [John iv. 14; vi. 58; vii. 38.]
[p] [1 John ii. 17; 1 John i. 9; Gal. v. 21.]
[q] [Rom. ii. 6, 7.]
[r] [Psalm xxxiv. 17.]

and so it is but a part of repentance; and then who can say that it shall be sufficient to a full and final pardon? Repentance alone is not sufficient; there must be faith, and hope, and charity; therefore much less shall a part be sufficient, when the whole is not. But if contrition be taken in a sense comprehending more than itself, then I demand how much shall it involve? That it does include in it an act of the divine love, and a purpose to confess, and a resolution to amend, is affirmed: so far is well; but why thus far and no farther? why shall not 'contrition' when it is taken for a sufficient disposition to pardon and salvation, signify as much as 'repentance' does; and repentance signify the whole duty of a converted sinner? Unless it does, repentance itself, that is, as it is one single grace, cannot suffice, as I proved but now: and therefore how shall contrition alone, much less an act of contrition alone do it? For my part, I should be very glad it were so, if God so pleased; for I have as much need of mercy as any man, and have as little reason to be confident of the perfection of my repentance, as any returning sinner in the world. But I would not willingly deceive myself nor others, and therefore I must take the surest course, and follow His measures who hath described the lines and limits of His own mercy. But it is remarkable that the manner of the scripture is to include the consequents in the antecedents. "He that is of God, heareth God's word[s];" that is, not only hears but keeps it; for "not the hearer, but the doer is blessed." So S. John in the Revelation[t], "Blessed are they that are called to the marriage of the Lamb:" they which are called are blessed; that is, they which being called, come, and come worthily, having on the wedding garment. For without this the meaning of the Spirit is not full; for "many are called, but few are chosen." And thus also it is in the present instance: 'God will not despise the contrite heart;' that is, the heart which being bruised with sorrow returns to duty, and lives in holiness; for in order to holiness, contrition was accepted.

But one thing I shall remark before I leave this. In the definition of contrition all the schools of theology in the world that I know of put the love of God. Contrition is not only sorrow, but a love of God too. Now this doctrine, if they themselves would give men leave rightly to understand it, is not only an excellent doctrine, but will also do the whole business of this great question. Without contrition our sins cannot be pardoned. It is not contrition, unless the love of God be in it. Add then but these; our love to God does not consist in an act of intuition or contemplation, nor yet directly and merely of passion; but it consists of obedience; "If ye love Me, keep My commandments:" that's our love of God. So that contrition is a detestation of our past sin, and a consequent obedience to the divine commandments: only as the aversion hath been, so must

[s] [John viii. 47.] [t] [Apoc. xix. 9.]

be the conversion; it was not one act of disobedience only which the habitual sinner is to be contrite for, but many; and therefore so must his contrition be, a lasting hatred against sin, and an habitual love, that is, an habitual obedience to the divine commandment.

63. ζ. But now to the instances of David and the prodigal, and the sudden pronunciation of their pardon, there is something particular to be said. 1) The parable of the prodigal can prove nothing but God's readiness to receive every returning sinner; but neither the measures nor the times of pardon are there described. As for David, his pardon was pronounced suddenly, but it was but a piece of pardon; the sentence of death which by Moses' law he incurred, that only was remitted: but after this pardon, David repented bitterly in sackcloth and ashes, he fasted and prayed, he lived holily and wisely, he made amends as he could; and yet the child died that was born to him, his son and subjects rebelled, his concubines were dishonoured in the face of the sun, and the sword never departed from his house. 2) But to both these and all other instances that are or can be of the like nature, I answer, that there is no doubt but God's pardon is as early and speedy as the beginnings of our repentance; but then it is such a pardon as is proportionable to the repentance, a beginning pardon to a beginning repentance. It is one degree of pardon to be admitted to repentance; to have more grace given, to have hopes of final absolution, to be continued in the work of the Lord, to be helped in the mortification of our sins, to be invited forwards, and comforted, and defended, and blessed, still are further progressions of it, and answer to the several parts and perseverance of repentance. And in this sense those sayings of the old doctors are true, but in no other that I know of. To this purpose they are excellent words which were spoken by S. Austin [u], *Nunquam Deus spernit pœnitentiam, si ei sincere et simpliciter offeratur; suscipit, libenter accipit, amplectitur omnia* [x], *quatenus eum ad priorem statum revocet,* 'God never does despise repentance that is sincerely offered to Him; He takes all, He embraces all, that He may bring the man to his former state.'

64. Obj. 5.—But against this doctrine are pretended some sentences of the fathers, expressly affirming that a sinner returning to God in any instant may be pardoned, even in the last moment of his life, when it is certain nothing can be done, but single acts of contrition or something like it. Thus the author of the book *De cœna Domini,* attributed to S. Cyprian [y], *Sed et in eodem articulo temporis cum jam anima festinet ad exitum, et egrediens ad labia expirantis emerserit, pœnitentiam clementissimi Dei benignitas non aspernatur: nec serum est quod verum, nec irremissibile quod voluntarium, et quæcunque*

[u] Serm. clxxxi. de tempore, [al. serm. de symbolo,] c. 16. [tom. vi. append. col. 284 B.]

[x] [. . 'amplectitur, facit omnia,' edd.]

[y] [Ad calc. opp. S. Cypriani, p. 43.]

necessitas cogat ad pœnitudinem, nec quantitas criminis, nec brevitas temporis, nec horæ extremitas, nec vitæ enormitas, si vera contritio, si pura fuerit voluptatum mutatio, excludit a venia, sed in amplitudine sinus sui mater caritas prodigos suscipit revertentes, et velit nolit Novatus hæreticus, omni tempore Dei gratia recipit pœnitentes. Truly this is expressly against the severity of the former doctrine; and if S. Cyprian had been the author of this book, I should have confessed him to be an adversary in this question. For this author affirms, that then 'when the soul is expiring, God rejects not the contrition of him who but then returns: though the man be compelled to repentance, though the time be short, and the iniquity was long and great, yet in the last hour, if he be truly contrite, God will not refuse him.' To this I say, that he that said these words was one that lived not very long since[z]; then, when discipline was broken, and piety was lost, and charity was waxen cold; and since the man's authority is nothing, I need say no more, but that I have been reproving this opinion all this while. But there are words in S. Cyprian's book to Demetrianus[a], which are confessedly his, and yet seem to promise pardon to dying penitents. *Nec quisquam aut peccatis retardetur aut annis, quo minus veniat ad consequendam salutem: in isto adhuc mundo manenti pœnitentia nulla sera est; patet ad indulgentiam Dei aditus, et quærentibus atque intelligentibus veritatem facilis accessus est. Tu sub ipso licet exitu et vitæ temporalis occasu pro delictis roges: et Deum qui unus et verus est, confessione et fide agnitionis ejus implores. Venia confitenti datur, et credenti indulgentia salutaris de divina pietate conceditur, et ad immortalitatem sub ipsa morte transitur.* These words are indeed very expressly affirmative of the efficacy of a very late, even of a death-bed repentance, if it should so happen. But the consideration of the person wholly alters the case, and makes it unapplicable to the case of dying Christians. For Demetrianus was then a pagan, and a cruel persecutor of Christians. *Nec saltem contentus es dolorum nostrorum compendio, et simplici ac veloci brevitate pœnarum; admoves laniandis corporibus longa tormenta*[b]*; .. innoxios, justos, Deo caros domo privas, patrimonio spolias, catenis premis, carcere includis, bestiis, gladio, ignibus punis*[c]. This man S. Cyprian, according to the christian charity which teaches to pray for our persecutors, and to love our enemies, exhorts passionately to believe in Christ, to become a Christian; and though he was very old, yet to repent even then would not be too late. *Hujus sacramento et signo censeamur; hunc, si fieri potest, sequamur omnes*[a], 'let us all follow Christ, let us all be consigned with His sign and His sacrament.' Now there is no peradventure but new converted persons, heathens newly giving up their names to Christ and being baptized, if they die in an hour, and were baptized half an hour after they

[a] Arnoldus Abbas. [sic ed. Fell.]
[b] [p. 190.]
[c] [ibid. paulo ante.]
[z] [Ad fin., p. 196.]

believe in Christ, are heirs of salvation. And it was impossible to be otherwise; for when the heathen world was to be converted, and the gospel preached to all persons, old men, and dying men, it must either be effective to them also of all the promises, or by nothing could they be called to the religion. They who were not Christians, were not to be judged by the laws of Christ. But yet Christians are; and that's a full account of this particular, since the laws of our religion require of us a holy life; but the religion could demand of strangers nothing but to believe, and at first to promise to obey, and then to do it accordingly if they shall live. Now to do this was never too late; and this is all which is affirmed by S. Cyprian.

65. S. Hierome[e] affirmed, *Nunquam sera est conversio, latro de cruce transiit ad paradisum.* And S. Austin[f], *De nullo desperandum est, quamdiu patientia Dei ad pœnitentiam adducit:* and again, *De quocunque pessimo in hac vita constituto utique non est desperandum; nec pro illo imprudenter oratur, de quo non desperatur.* Concerning the words of S. Hierome, the same answer will serve which I gave to the words of S. Cyprian; because his instance is of the thief upon the cross, who then came first to Christ: and his case was as if a heathen were new converted to christianity. *Baptizatus ad horam securus hinc exit*[g], was the rule of the church[h]. But God requires more holiness of Christians than He did of strangers; and therefore He also expects a longer and more laborious repentance. But of this I have given account in the case of Demetrianus. S. Austin's words press not at all: all that he says is this, "We must despair of no man, so long as the mercy of God leadeth him to repentance." It is true, we must not absolutely despair; but neither must we presume without a warrant; nay, hope as long as God calls effectually; but when the severity of God cuts him off from repentance, by allowing him no time, or not time enough to finish what is required, the case is wholly differing.

But S. Chrysostom speaks words which are not easy to be reconciled to the former doctrine. The words of S. Chrysostom[i] are these, "Take heed of saying that there is a place of pardon only for them that have sinned but little. For if you please, suppose any one abounding with all maliciousness, and that hath done all things which shut men from the kingdom; let this man be (not a heathen, but) a Christian and accepted of God, but afterwards an whoremonger, an adulterer, an effeminate person, unnaturally lustful, a thief, a drunkard, a slanderer, and one that hath diligently committed such crimes, truly I will not be to him an author of despairing, although

[e] Epist. ad Lætam, et ad Paulum [? Paulinum] et Sabinianum. [tom. iv. part. 2. coll. 591 et 563 et 756.]

[f] Serm. xi. de verb. Dom. [al. serm. lxxi. cap. 13.—tom. v. col. 394 D.] et serm. lviii. de temp. [?]

[g] [S. Aug. serm. cccxciii.—tom. v. col. 1507 E.]

[h] Vide Hist. of the life of the holy Jesus, part ii. disc. 9. [vol. ii. p. 355.]

[i] Ad Theodorum lapsum. [lib. i. § 4. —tom. i. p. 5 A.]

he had persevered in these wickednesses to an extreme old age."' Truly neither would I. But neither could he nor any man else be forward to warrant his particular. But if the remaining portion of his old age be well employed, according as the time is, and the spending of that time, and the earnestness of the repentance, and the greatness of the grief, and the heartiness of the return, and the fulness of the restitution, and the zeal of amends, and the abundance of charity, and the largeness of the devotion, so we approach to very many degrees of hope. But there is difference between the case of an extreme old age, and a death-bed. That may have more time, and better faculties, and fitted opportunities, and a clearer choice, and a more perfect resistance between temptation and grace. But for the state of death-bed, although there is in that also some variety, yet the best is very bad, and the worst is stark naught; but concerning the event of both, God only is the judge. Only it is of great use that Chrysostom says in the same letters to Theodorus[k], *Quodque est majoris facilitatis argumentum, etiamsi non omnem præ se fert pœnitentiam, brevem illam et exiguo tempore factam non abnuit, sed magna mercede compensat.* Even a dying person ought not to despair, and leave off to do those little things of which only there is then left to him a possibility; because even 'that imperfect repentance, done in that little time, God rejects not, but will give to it a great reward.' So He did to Ahab. And whatsoever is good, shall have a good; some way or other it shall find a recompence: but every recompence is not eternal glory, and every good thing shall not be recompensed with heaven. To the same purpose is that of Celestinus[l], reproving them that denied repentance to persons *qui obitus sui tempore hoc animæ suæ cupiunt remedio subveniri,* who at the time of their death desired to be admitted to it. *Horremus, fateor, tantæ impietatis aliquem reperiri, ut de Dei pietate desperet; quasi non posset ad se quovis tempore concurrenti succurrere, et periclitantem sub onere peccatorum hominem pondere quo se expediri desiderat liberare,* 'I confess,' saith he, 'we abhor that any one should be found to be of so great impiety as to despair of God's mercy; as if He could not at any time relieve him that comes to Him, and ease him that runs to be eased of the burden of his sins. *Quid hoc rogo aliud est, &c.,* 'What else is this but to add death to the dying man, and to kill his soul with cruelty, by denying that he can be absolved, since God[m] is most ready to help, and inviting to repentance, thus promises, saying, In what day soever the sinner shall be converted, his sins shall not be imputed to him; and again, I would not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live? He therefore takes salvation from a man, who denies him his hoped for repentance in the time of his death; and he despairs of the clemency of God, who does

[k] [lib. i. § 6.—tom. i. p. 8 A.]
[l] Epist. i. [al. ii. § 2. p. 482.]
[m] ['Quid hoc rogo aliud est, quam morienti mortem addere, ejusque animam sua crudelitate, ne absoluta esse possit, occidere? Cum Deus' &c.]

not believe it sufficient[n] to help the dying man in a moment of time. The thief on the cross hanging on Christ's right hand had lost his reward, if the repentance of one hour had not helped him; when he was in pain, he repented, and obtained paradise by one discourse: therefore the true conversion to God of dying persons is to be accounted of by the mind rather than by time.' Thus far S. Celestine. The sum of which is this; that dying persons must not be thrust into despair; because God's mercy is infinite, and His power is infinite. He can do what He please, and He may do more than we know of, even more than He hath promised; and therefore they that are spiritual must not refuse to do all that they can to such miserable persons. And in all this there is nothing to be reproved, but that the good man by incompetent arguments goes about to prove what he had a mind to. If the hindering such persons to despair be all that he intends, it is well; if more be intended, his arguments will not do it.

66. Afterwards in the descending ages of the church things grew worse, and it began to be good doctrine even in the days of S. Isidore[o], *Nullus desperare debet veniam, etiamsi circa finem vitæ ad pœnitentiam convertatur; unumquemque enim Deus de suo fine, non de vita præterita judicat,* 'God judges a man by his end, not by his past life; and therefore no man must despair of pardon, though he be not converted till about the end of his life.' But in these words there is a lenitive, *circa finem vitæ,* if he be converted 'about' the end of his life; that is, in his last or declining years: which may contain a fair portion of time, like those who were called in the eleventh hour, that is *circa finem vitæ,* but not *in fine;* 'about,' not 'in the end' of their life. But S. Austin, or Gennadius, or whoever is author of the book *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*[p], speaks home to the question, but against the former doctrine. *Pœnitentia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, etiamsi in ultimo vitæ spiritu admissorum pœniteat, et publica lamentatione peccata prodantur; quia propositum Dei quo decrevit salvare quod perierat, stat immobile; et ideo quia voluntas ejus non mutatur, sive emendatione vitæ si tempus conceditur, sive supplici confessione si continuo vita excedítur, venia peccatorum fideliter præsumatur ab illo qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur a perditione pœnitendo, et salvatus miseratione Domini vivat: si quis aliter de justissima Dei pietate sentit, non christianus sed Novatianus est;* 'that sins are taken off by repentance, though it be but in the last breath of our life, we believe without doubting; he that thinks otherwise is not a Christian but a Novatian: if we have time, our sins are taken away by amendment of life; but if we die presently, they are taken off by humble confession.' This is his doctrine: and if he were infallible, there were nothing to

[n] ['eum . . sufficere.']

[o] Lib. ii. cap. 14. [§ 6.] de summo bono. [al. 'Sententiarum.'—tom. vi. p. 212.]

[p] Cap. lxxx. [al. xlvii.—tom. viii. append., col. 80.]

be said against it. But to balance this, we have a more sober discourse of S. Austin[q] in these words, "If any man placed in the last extremity of sickness, would be admitted to repentance, . . and is presently reconciled, and so departs, I confess to you, we do not deny to him what he asks, but we do not presume that he goes hence well. I do not presume; I deceive you not, I do not presume. A faithful man living well, goes hence securely: he that is baptized but an hour before, goes hence securely: he that repents and afterwards lives well, goes hence securely: he that repents at last and is reconciled, whether he goes hence securely I am not secure: where I am secure, I tell you[r], and give security; where I am not secure, I can admit to repentance, but I cannot give security." And a little after, "Attend to what I say. I ought to explain clearly what I say, lest any one should misunderstand me. Do I say he shall be damned? I do not say it. Do I say he shall be pardoned? I do not say it. And what say you to me? I know not. I presume not, I promise not, I know not. Will you free yourself from doubt? will you avoid that which is uncertain? Repent while thou art in health. For if you do penance while you are well, and sickness find you so doing[s], run to be reconciled; and if you do so, you are secure. Why are you secure? Because you repented at that time when you could have sinned. But if you repent then when you cannot sin, thy sins have left thee, thou hast not left them. But how know you that God will not forgive me? You say true. How, I know not. I know that, I know not this. For therefore I give repentance to you, because I know not: for if I knew it would profit you nothing, I would not give it you; and if I did know that it would profit you, I would not affright you. There are but these two things: either thou shalt be pardoned, or thou shalt not; which of these shall be in thy portion I know not; therefore keep that which is certain, and let go that which is uncertain." Some suppose these to have been the words of S. Ambrose, not of S. Austin: but S. Austin hath in his sermons *De tempore*[t] something more decretory than the former discourse. "He that is polluted with the filth of sins, let him be cleansed *exomologesis satisfactione*, with the satisfactions of repentance. Neither let him put it off, that he do not require it till his death-bed[u], where he cannot perform it: for that persuasion is unprofitable. It is nothing[x] for a sinner to repent, unless he finish his repentance. For the voice of the penitent alone is not sufficient for the amendment of his faults: for in the satisfaction for great crimes, not words but works are looked after. Truly repentance is given in the last, because it cannot be denied;

[q] Lib. 1. hom. xli. [al. serm. cccxciii. de pœnitentibus.—tom. v. col. 1507.]

[r] [Sic Gratian. in decret., de pœnit. dist. vii. cap. 4.—'Unde securus sum, securus sum,' ed. Ben.]

[s] ['et invenerit te novissimus dies.']

[t] Serm. lvii. [al. cclv. in append., tom. v. col. 418 F.]

[u] ['Nec ad illud se servet, ut in extremo vitæ suæ tempore tunc pœnitentiam petat,' &c.]

[x] ['parum est' &c.]

but we cannot affirm that they who so ask, ought to be absolved. For how can the lapsed man do penance? How shall the dying man do it? How can he repent, who cannot do works of satisfaction" or amendment of life? "And therefore that repentance which is required by sick men, is itself weak; that which is required by dying men, I fear lest that also die. And therefore whosoever will find mercy of God, let him do his repentance in this world, that he may be saved in the world to come[y]." Higher yet are the words of Paulinus bishop of Nola to Faustus of Rhegium[z], enquiring what is to be done to death-bed penitents? *Inimica persuasione mentitur, qui maculas longa ætate contractas subitis et inutilibus abolendas gemitibus arbitratur: quo tempore confessio esse potest, satisfactio esse non potest,* 'he lies with the persuasion of an enemy, who thinks that those stains which have been long contracting, can be suddenly washed off with a few unprofitable sighings, at that time when he can confess, but never make amends.' And a little after; *Circa exequendam interioris hominis sanitatem, non solum accipiendi voluntas, sed agendi expectatur utilitas:* and again, *Hujusmodi medicina sicut ore poscenda, ita opere consummanda est.* Then a man repents truly, when what he affirms with his mouth, he can finish with his hand; that is, not only declaim against sin, but also mortify it. To which I add the words of Asterius bishop of Amasea[a], *At cum debitum tempus adveniet, et indeprecabile decretum corporis et animæ nexum dissolvet, reputatio subibit eorum quæ in vita patrata sunt, et pœnitentia sera et nihil profutura: tunc enim demum pœnitentia prodest, cum pœnitens emendandi facultatem habet; sublata vero copia recte faciendi, inutilis est dolor et irrita pœnitentia,* 'when the set time shall come, when the irrevocable decree shall dissolve the union of soul and body, then shall the memory of those things return which were done in our lifetime, and a late repentance that shall profit nothing: for then repentance is profitable, when the penitent can amend his fault; but when the power of doing well is taken away, grief is unprofitable, and the repentance vain.' Now to the words of Gennadius before quoted, I answer, that they are a fierce reproof of the Novatian doctrine, and too great an earnestness of going so far from them, that he left also the severity which wise and good men did at that time teach, and ought always to press. He went to cure one error by another, never thinking any contradictory sufficient, unless it were against every thing that the Novatians did say, though also it was said and believed by the orthodox.—But I shall resume this discourse in the following chapters, where upon another occasion I shall give account of the severity of the primitive

[y] ['sanus agat pœnitentiam in hoc sæculo, ut sanus esse valeat in futuro.']

[z] Epist. i. [Fausti, respondentis Paulino.] Bibl. ss. pp. tom. iii. [col. 404.—fol. Paris. 1589.—'Inquirendum putasti, si incumbentibus extremæ necessitatis angustiis momentanea pœnitentia capitalis inimica persuasione mentitur,' &c.]

[a] Homil. de divit. et Lazaro. [p. 7.—fol. Antuerp. 1615.]

church in this article; which at first was at least as strict as the severest part of this discourse, till by degrees it lessened and shrunk into the licentiousness and dissolution of the present age.

67. Obj. 6.—But if it be necessary to extirpate the habits of sin, and to acquire (being helped by God's grace) the contrary habits of virtue; how can it fare with old and decayed men, or with men that have a lingering, tedious, protracted sickness (for I suppose their case is very near the same) who were intemperate or unchaste all their lifetime, and until they could be so no longer; but how can they obtain the habit of chastity, who cannot do any acts of chastity; or of temperance, who have lost their stomach, and have not any inclination or temptation to the contrary? and every virtue must be *cum potentia ad oppositum;* if it be not chosen, it is not virtue, nor rewardable. And the case is almost the same to all persons young or old, who have not opportunity of acting those graces in the matter of which they have formerly prevaricated.

68. To this I answer many things, and they are of use in the explication of this material question.

a. Old men may exercise many acts of chastity both internal and external. For if they may be unchaste, they may also be chaste: but S. Paul speaks of the ἀπηλγηκότες, men that being 'past feeling,' yet were given to lasciviousness; ἀνδρόπαιδες ἄνδρες, 'half men, half boys,' *prurientes in sepulchro.* For it is not the body but the soul that is wanton; and an evil man may sin with ineffective lusts; as he that lusts after a woman whom he cannot have, sins with his soul. Now wherever these unlawful desires can be, there also they can be mortified; and an old man can love to talk of his past vanities, or not rescind them by repentance, or desire that he were young and active in wickedness; and therefore if he chooses not to do so, and therefore avoids these and the like, out of hatred of his old impurities, he does the proper works of that grace, which he also may do the easier, because then his temptations to the contrary are not so strong: but this advantage is not worth staying for so long. They that do so, venture damnation a long time together, and may also have an evil proper to that state, greater than this little advantage I instance.

β. If there were no other act of chastity to be exercised by old persons, by reason of their disability; yet the very accepting from the hands of God that disability, and the delighting in that circumstance of things in which it is impossible to sin as formerly, must needs be pleasing to God, because it is a nolition of the former sins, and a desire of pleasing Him.

γ. Every act of sorrow for unchastity is an act of chastity; and if this sorrow be great and lasting, permanent and habitual, it will be productive of much good. And if to these the penitent adds penal actions and detestations of his crimes, revenge and apt expressions of

his holy anger against his sin, these do produce a quality in the soul contrary to that which made him formerly consent to lust.

δ. When a vicious habit is to be extirpated, and the contrary introduced, it is not necessary that the contrary be acted by the body, but be radicated in the soul; it is necessary that the body do not sin in that instance, but it is not always required that contrary acts be done by the body. Suppose Origen had been a lustful person before his castration, yet he might have been habitually chaste afterwards, by doing spiritual acts of a corporal chastity. And there are many sins whose scene lies in the body, to which the body afterwards cannot oppose a bodily act in the same instance; as he that by intemperate drinking once or oftener, falls into a loathing of wine; he that dismembers himself and many others; for which a repentance is possible and necessary, but yet a contrary specific act cannot be opposed. In these cases it is sufficient that the habit be placed in the soul, and a perfect contrary quality superinduced, which is to be done by a frequent repetition of the acts of repentance proper to the sin.

ϵ. There are some sins for which amends is to be made in the way of commutation, when it cannot be in the proper instance. *Redime peccata tua eleemosynis,* said Daniel [b] to Nebuchadnezzar, 'Redeem thy sins with alms, and thy iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.' Our English bibles read this, 'Break off thy sins by alms;' as if alms were directly contrary to pride, or lust, or gluttony, or tyranny; and the shewing mercy to the poor a direct intercision and interruption of the sin. He that gives alms that he may keep his lust, loses his soul and his money too. But he that leaves his lust, or is driven from it, and gives alms to obtain God's favour for his pardon by doing something that is gracious in His eyes, this man is a good penitent, if his alms be great and proportionable, given freely and without constraint, when he can keep them, and receive and retain the temporal advantage; and be assisted by all those other acts and habits of which his present state is capable. It cannot be said that to give alms can in all such cases be sufficient, as it will be hard to say that so many acts of the contrary grace will suffice to get a habit, or obtain a pardon; but it is true that to give alms is a proper action of repentance in such cases, and is in order to pardon. For,

ζ. As there is a supreme habit of vice, a transcendent vileness, that is, a custom and readiness to do every sin as it is presented in its proper temptation, and this is worse than the habit of any one sin: so there is a transcendent habit of grace, by which a man is so holy and just and good, that he is ready to obey God in every instance. That is malice, and this is charity. When a man hath this grace habitually, although it may be so that he cannot produce the proper specific habit opposite to his sin for which he specially repents,

[b] [Dan. iv. 27.]

yet his supreme habit does contain in it the specific habit virtually and transcendently. An act of this charity will not do this, but the habit will. For he that does a single act of charity, may also do a single act of malice; and he that denies this, knows not what he says, nor ever had experience of himself or any man else. For if he that does an act of charity, that is, he who by a good motion from God's spirit does any thing because God hath commanded, to say that this man will do every thing which is so commanded, is to say that a good man can never fall into a great sin, which is evidently untrue. But if he that does one act in obedience to God, or in love to Him (for obedience is love) will also do more, then every man that does one act to please his senses may as well be supposed that he will do more; and then no man's life should have in it any variety, but be all of a piece, entirely good, or entirely evil. I see no difference in the instances, neither can there be, so long as a man in both states hath a power to choose. But then it will follow, that a single act of contrition or of charity cannot put a man into the state of the divine favour, it must be the grace or habit of charity: and that is a magazine of habits by equivalency, and is formally the state of grace. And upon these accounts, if old men will repent, and do what they can do, and are enabled in that state, they have no cause to be afflicted with too great fears concerning the instances of their habits, or the sins of their youth.—Concerning persons that are seized upon by a lingering sickness, I have nothing peculiar to say, save this only; that their case is in something better than that of old men, in some things worse. It is better, because they have in many periods of their sickness more hopes of returning to health and long life, than old men have of returning to strength and youth, and a protracted age: and therefore their repentance if it be hearty, hath in it also more degrees of being voluntary, and relative to a good life. But in this their case is worse: an old man that is healthful is better seated in the station of penitents, and because he can choose contraries, is the more acceptable if he chooses well. But the sick man though living long in that disadvantage, cannot be indifferent in so many instances as the other may: and in this case, it is remarkable what S. Austin[c] said, *Si autem vis agere pœnitentiam quando jam peccare non potes, peccata te dimiserunt, non tu illa,* 'to abstain from sin when a man cannot sin, is to be forsaken by sin, not to forsake it.' At the best it is bad enough: but I doubt not but if they do what they can do, there is mercy for them, which they shall find in the day of recompenses.

69. Obj. 7.—But how shall any man know whether he have performed his repentance as he ought? For if it be necessary that he get the habits of virtue, and extirpate the habits of vice; that is, if by habits God do, and we are to make judgments of our repentance, who can be certain that his sins are pardoned, and him-

[c] [Serm. cccxciii. de pœnitentibus, tom. v. col. 1508 B.]

self reconciled to God, and that he shall be saved? The reasons of his doubts and fears are these; 1) Because it is a long time before a habit can be lost, and the contrary obtained; 2) Because while one habit lessens, another may undiscernibly increase, and it may be a degree of covetousness may expel a degree of prodigality; 3) Because a habit may be lurking secretly, and for want of opportunity of acting in that instance, not betray itself, or be discovered, or attempted to be cured. For he that was not tempted in that kind where he sinned formerly, may, for ought he knows, say that he hath not sinned only because he was not tempted; but if that be all, the habit may be resident, and kill him secretly. These things must be accounted for.

70. *a.* But to him that enquires whether it be light or darkness, in what regions his inheritance is designed, and whether his repentance is sufficient, I must give rather a reproof than an answer; or at least such an answer as will tell there is no need of an answer. For indeed it is not good enquiring into measures and little portions of grace. "Love God with all thy heart and all thy strength," do it heartily, and do it always. If the thing be brought to pass clearly and discernibly, the pardon is certain, and notorious: but if it be in a middle state, between ebb and flood, so is our pardon too; and if in that undiscerned state it be in the thing certain that thou art on the winning and prevailing side, if really thou dost belong unto God, He will take care both of thy intermedial comfort, and final interest. But when people are too inquisitive after comfort, it is a sign their duty is imperfect. In the same proportion also it is not well when we enquire after a sign for our state of grace and holiness. If the habit be complete and entire, it is as discernible as light, and we may as well enquire for a sign to know when we are hungry and thirsty, when you can walk, or play on the lute. The thing itself is its best indication.

71. *β.* But if men will quarrel at any truth, because it supposes some men to be in such a case that they do not know certainly what will become of them in the event of things, I know not how it can be helped; I am sure they that complain here, that is, the Roman doctors, are very fierce preachers of the uncertainty[d] of salvation, or of our knowledge of it. But be they who they will, since all this uncertainty proceeds not from the doctrine, but from the evil state of things into which habitual sinners have put themselves, there will be the less care taken for an answer. But certainly it seems strange that men who have lived basely and viciously all their days, who are respited from an eternal hell by the miracles of mercy, concerning whom it is a wonderful thing that they had not really perished long before, that these men returning at the last should complain of hard usage, because it cannot be told to them as confidently as to new baptized innocents, that they are certain of their salvation as S. Peter and

[d] ['certainty,' B.]

S. Paul. But however, both they and better men than they must be content with those glorious measures of the divine mercy which are described, and upon any terms be glad to be pardoned, and to hope and fear, to mourn and to be afflicted, to be humbled and to tremble, and then to 'work out their salvation with fear and trembling.'

72. γ. But then (to advance one step further) there may be a certainty where is no evidence; that is, the thing may be certain in itself, though not known to the man; and there are degrees of hope concerning the final event of our souls. For suppose it cannot be told to the habitual sinner that his habits of sin are overcome, and that the Spirit rules in all the regions of his soul; yet is he sure that his vicious habits do prevail? is he sure that sin does reign in his mortal body? If he be, then let him not be angry with this doctrine, for it is as bad with him as any doctrine can affirm. But if he be not sure that sin reigns, then can he not hope that the Spirit does rule? and if so, then also he may hope that his sins are pardoned, and that he shall be saved. And if he look for greater certainty than that of a holy and a humble hope, he must stay till he have a revelation, it cannot be had from the certainty of any proposition in scripture applicable to his case and person.

73. δ. If a habit be long before it be mastered, if a part of it may consist with its contrary, if a habit may lurk secretly and undiscernibly, all these things are aggravations of the danger of an habitual sinner, and are very true, and great engagements of his watchfulness and fear, his caution and observance. But then not these nor any thing else can evacuate the former truths; not yet ought to make the returning sinner to despair. Only this; if he fears that there may be a secret habit unmortified, let him go about his remedy; secondly, if he still fears, let him put himself to the trial; thirdly, if either that does not satisfy him, or he wants opportunity, let him endeavour to increase his supreme habit, the habit of charity, or that universal grace of the love of God, which will secure his spirit against all secret undiscernible vicious affections.

74. ε. This only is certain: no man needs to despair that is alive, and hath begun to leave his sins, and to whom God hath given time, and power, and holy desires. If all these be spent, and nothing remain besides the desires, that is another consideration, and must receive its sentence by the measures of the former doctrine. But for the present, a man ought not to conclude against his hopes because he finds propensities and inclinations to the former courses remaining in him, even after his conversion. For so it will be always, more or less, and this is not only the remains of a vicious habit, but even of natural inclination in some instances.

75. ζ. Then the habit hath lost its killing quality, and the man is freed from his state of ungraciousness, when the habit of virtue prevails, when he obeys frequently, willingly, cheerfully. But if he sins

frequently, and obeys his temptations readily; if he delights in sin, and chooses that; that is, if his sins be more than sins of infirmity (as they are described under their proper title) then the habit remains, and the man is in the state of death. But when sentence is given for God, when virtue is the greater ingredient, when all sin is hated, and laboured and prayed against, the remaining evils and strugglings of the serpent are signs of the Spirit's victory, but also engagements of a persevering care and watchfulness, lest they return, and prevail anew. He that is converted, and is in his contentions for heaven, is in a good state of being; let him go forward. 'He that is justified, let him be justified still;' but whether just now if he dies he shall be saved or not, we cannot answer, or give accounts of every period of his new life. In what minute or degree of repentance his sins are perfectly pardoned, no man can tell; and it is unreasonable to reprove a doctrine that infers a man to be uncertain where God hath given no certain notices or measures. If a man will be certain, he must die as soon as he is worthily baptized, or live according to his promises then made. If he breaks them, he is certain of nothing but that he may be saved if he returns speedily, and effectively does his duty. But concerning the particulars, there can no rules be given sufficient to answer every man's case beforehand. If he be uncertain how God's judgment will be of him, let him be the more afraid, and the more humble, and the more cautious, and the more penitent. For in this case, all our security is not to be derived from signs, but from duty. Duty is the best signification, and God's infinite boundless mercy is the best ground of our confidence.

§ . The former doctrine reduced to practice.

It now remains that we account concerning the effect of this doctrine: and first, concerning them that are well and vigorous; secondly, them that are old; thirdly, them that are dying; all which are to have several usages and receptions, proper entertainments and exercises of repentance.

THE MANNER OF REPENTANCE AND USAGE OF HABITUAL SINNERS, WHO CONVERT IN THEIR TIMELY AND VIGOROUS YEARS.

1. *a.* Let every man that thinks of his return, be infinitely careful to avoid every new sin; for it is like a blow to a broken leg, or a burden to a crushed arm. Every little thing disorders the new health, and unfinished recovery. So that every new sin to such a person is a double damage, it pulls him back from all his hopes, and makes his labours vain, and he is as far to seek and as much to begin again as ever, and more. For so may you see one climbing of a rock, with a great contention and labour and danger,

if when he hath got from the foot to the shoulder, he then lets his hold go, he falls lower than where he first set his foot, and sinks deeper by the weight of his own fall: so is the new converted man who is labouring to overcome the rocks and mountains of his habitual sins; every sin throws him down further, and bruises his very bones in the fall. To this purpose therefore is the wise advice of the son of Sirach [c], "Hast thou sinned? do so no more, but ask pardon for thy former fault; . . Add not sin to sin, for in one a man shall not be unpunished."

> Ergo ne pietas sit victa cupidine ventris,
> Parcite, vaticinor, cognatas cæde nefanda
> Exturbare animas, ne sanguine sanguis alatur [d].

Let not blood touch blood, nor sin touch sin; for we destroy our souls with impious hands, when a crime follows a habit like funeral processions in the pomps and solennities of death.

2. β. At the beginning of his recovery, let the penitent be armed by special cautions against the labours and difficulties of the restitution: and consider, that if sin be so pleasant, it is the habit that hath made it so; it is become easy and natural by the custom: and therefore so may virtue. And complain not that nature helps and corroborates the habits of sin: for besides that nature doth this mischief but in some instances, not in all; the grace of God will as much assist the customs and labours of virtue, as nature doth the habits of vice. And choose whether you will. Take any institution or course of life, let it at first be never so violent, use will make it pleasant. And therefore we may make virtue as certain as vice is, as pleasing to the spirit, as hard to be removed, as perfective of our nature as the other is destructive; and make it by assuefaction as impossible to be vicious, as we now think it difficult and impossible to overcome flesh and blood. But let him remember this also, that it will be a strange shame that he can be in a state of sin and death from which it will be very hard to remove, and to confess our natures so caitiff and base, that we cannot as easily be united unto virtue; that he can become a devil, and cannot be like an angel; that he can decline to the brutishness of beasts, and yet never arise up to a participation of the excellent beauties of the intellectual world.

3. γ. He that undertakes the repentance of his vicious habits, when he hath strength and time enough for the work, must do it in kind; that is, he must oppose a habit to a habit, every contrary to its contrary: as chastity to his wantonness, temperance to his gluttony or drunkenness. The reason is, because if he had contracted the habit of a sin, especially of youthful sins, unless the habit of virtue be opposed to the instance of his sin, he cannot be safe, nor penitent. For while the temptation and fierce inclinations remain, it

[c] [Ecclus. xxi. 1, and vii. 8.]

[d] [Ovid.] metamorph. xv. [lin. 173.]

cannot be a cure to this to do acts of charity; he must do acts of chastity, or else he will fall or continue in his uncleanness; which in old persons will not be. Here the sin still tempts by natural inclination, and commands by the habit; and therefore as there can be no repentance while the affections remain, so neither can there be safety as long as the habit hath a natural being. The first begins with a moral revocation of the sin; and the same hath also its progression, perfection, and security, by the extinction of the inherent quality.

4. δ. Let the penitent seek to obstruct or divert the proper principles of evil habits; for by the same by which they begin, commonly by the same they are nursed up to their ugly bulk. There are many of them that attend upon the prince of darkness, and minister to the filthy production. Evil examples, natural inclinations, false propositions, evil prejudices, indulgence to our own infirmities, and many more: but especially, a cohabitation with the temptation by which we fell and did enter into death, and by which we use to fall. There are some men more in love with the temptation than with the sin; and because this rushes against the conscience rudely, and they see death stand at the end of the progression, therefore they only love to stand upon mount Ebal and view it. They resolve they will not commit the sin, they will not be overcome, but they would fain be tempted. If these men will but observe the contingencies of their own state, they shall find that when they have set the house on fire, they cannot prescribe its measures of burning. But there is a secret iniquity in it. For he that loves to stand and stare upon the fire that burnt him formerly, is pleased with the warmth and splendour, and the temptation itself hath some little correspondencies to the appetite. The man dares not fornicate, but loves to look upon the beauties of a woman, or sit with her at the wine, till his heart is ready to drop asleep. He will not enter into the house, because it is infected with the plague, but he loves to stand at the door, and fain would enter if he durst. It is impossible that any man should love to abide by a temptation for a good end. There is some little sensuality in being tempted: and the very consideration concerning it, sometimes strikes the fancy too unluckily, and pleases some faculty or other as much as the man dares admit. I do not say that to be tempted is always criminal, or in the neighbourhood of it; but it is the best indication of our love to God, for His sake to deny its importunity, and to overcome it: but that is only when it is unavoidable and from without, against our wills, or at least besides our purposes. For in the declination of sin and overcoming temptation, there can be but these two things by which we can signify our love to God; first, to stand in a temptation when we could not avoid it; and secondly, to run from it, when we can. This hath in it more of prudence, and the other of force and spiritual strength: and we can best signify the sense of our weakness, and our carefulness, by avoiding the occasions; but then we declare the excellency of our pur-

poses, and pertinacious love to God, when we serve Him in hard battles, when we are tempted as before, but fall not now as we did then. Indeed this is the greatest trial; and when God suffers us so to be tried, we are accepted if we stand in that day, and in such circumstances. But he that will choose that state, and dwell near his danger, loves not to be safe; and either he is a vain person in the confidences of his own strength, or else he loves that which is like a sin, and comes as near it as he dare; and very often the event of it is, that at last he dies like a fly about a candle. But he that hath fallen by such a neighbourhood, and still continues the cause, may as well hope to cure his fever by full draughts of the new vintage, as return to life upon that account. A vicious habit is maintained at an easy rate, but not cured without a mighty labour and expense: any thing can feed it, but nothing can destroy it if there be any thing near it whereby it can be kept alive. If therefore you will cure a vicious habit, dwell far from danger, and tempt not death with which you have been so long in love.

5. *ϵ.* A vicious habit never could have come to that state and period but by impunity. If God had smitten the sinner graciously in the beginning of his evil journey, it is likely that as Balaam did, he also would have offered to go back. Now when God does not punish a sinner early, though it hath in it more of danger and less of safety, yet we may in some measure supply the want of divine mercy smiting and hindering a sinner, by considering that impunity is no mark of innocence, but very often it is an indication of God's extremest and final anger. Therefore be sure ever to suspect a prosperous sin.—For of itself prosperity is a temptation, and it is granted but to few persons to be prosperous and pious. The poor and the despised, the humble and necessitous, he that daily needs God with a sharpness of apprehension, that feeds upon necessity, and lives in hardships, that is never flattered and is never cheated out of virtue for bread, those persons are likely to be wise and wary: and if they be not, nothing can make them so; for he that is impatient in want is impotent in plenty; for impatience is pride, and he that is proud when he is poor, if he were rich he would be intolerable; and therefore it is easier to bear poverty temperately than riches.

> Securo nihil est te Nævole pejus; eodem
> Sollicito nihil est Nævole te melius [e]:

and Passienus said of Caligula, *Nemo fuit servus melior, nemo dominus deterior*[f], 'he was the best servant, and the worst master that ever was.' Poverty is like a girdle about our loins, it binds hard, but it is modest and useful; but a heap of riches is a heap of temptations, and few men will escape, if it be always in their hand what can be offered to their heart. And therefore to be prosperous hath in itself

[e] [Mart.] epigr. lib. iv. [ep. 84.]

[f] [Tac. ann. vi. 20.]

enough of danger.—But when a sin is prosperous and unpunished, there are left but few possibilities and arguments of resistance, and therefore it will become or remain habitual, respectively. S. Paul[g] taught us this secret, that sins are properly made habitual upon the stock of impunity. "Sin taking occasion by the law wrought in me all concupiscence," ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα, 'apprehending impunity,' διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς, 'by occasion of the commandment,' viz., so expressed and established as it was; because in the commandment forbidding to lust or covet, there was no penalty annexed or threatened in the sanction or in the explication. Murder was death, and so was adultery and rebellion: theft was punished severely too; and so other things in their proportion; but the desires God left under a bare restraint, and affixed no penalty in the law. Now sin, that is, men that had a mind to sin, taking occasion hence, that is, taking this impunity for a sufficient warrant, prevailed by frequent actions up to an evil custom and a habit, and so ruled them who were not renewed and overruled by the holy Spirit of grace. Ἀφορμὴ signifies a caution in law, or a security; so Suidas[h] and Phavorinus[i]. It is used also for 'impunity' in Demosthenes[k], though the grammarians note it not. But as to the thing: whenever you see a sin thrive, start back suddenly and with a trembling fear; for it does nurse the sin from a single action to a filthy habit, and that always dwells in the suburbs of the horrible regions. No man is so much to be pitied as he that thrives and is let alone in his sin; there is evil towards that man: but then God is kind to a sinner when He makes his sin to be uneasy and troublesome.

6. ζ. But in prosecution of the former observation, it is of very great use that the vigorous and healthful penitent do use corporal mortifications and austerities, by way of penance and affliction for every single act of that sin he commits, whose habit he intends to mortify. If he makes himself smart, and never spare his sin but still punish it, besides that it is a good act of indignation and revenge which S. Paul commends in all holy penitents, it is also a way to take off the pleasure of the sin by which it would fain make abode and seizure upon the will. A man will not so soon delight or love to abide with that which brings him affliction in present, and makes his life miserable. This advice I learn from Maimonides[l], *Ab inolita peccandi consuetudine non posse hominem avelli nisi gravibus pœnis.* Nothing so good to cure an evil custom of sinning, as the inflicting great smart upon the offender. He that is going to cure his habitual drunkenness, if ever he be overtaken again, let him for the first offence fast two days with bread and water; and the next time double his smart; and

g [Rom. vii. 7.]

h ["Οταν τις ἀργύριον δώσει ἐνθήκην.—col. 681.]

i ["Οταν τις ἀργύριον δῷ ἐν δίκῃ.—col. 834.]

k [Ἀφορμὴν διδόναι, 'facultatem dare, licentiam dare,' Demosth., says Budæus, ἀφορμὴ.]

l Moreh Nevochim, iii. 41. [p. 461, interpr. Buxtorf. —4to. Basil. 1629.]

let the man load himself till he groans under it, and he will be glad to take heed.

7. ἡ. He that hath sinned often, and is now returning, let him watch if ever his sin be offered to him by a temptation, and that temptation dressed as formerly; that he be sure not to neglect that opportunity of beginning to break his evil habit. He that hath committed fornication, and repents, if ever he be tempted again (not to seek for it, but) to act it, and may enter upon the sin with ease and readiness, then let him refuse his sin so dressed, so ready, so fitted for action; and the event will be this, that besides it is a great indication and sign of an excellent repentance, it discountenances the habit, and breaks the combination of its parts, and disturbs its dwelling. But besides, it is so signal an action of repentance, and so pleasing to the Spirit of God and of a good man, that it is apt to make him do so again, and proceed to crucify that habit upon which he hath had so lucky a day, and so great a victory and success. It is like giving to a person, and obliging him by some very great favour. He that does so, is for ever after ready and apt to do that obliged person still more kindness, lest the first should perish. When a man hath gotten an estate together, he is apt (saith Plutarch[m]) to save little things, and be provident even of the smallest sum, because that now, if it be saved, will come to something, it will be seen and preserved in his heap. But he that is poor cannot become rich with those little arts of providence; and therefore he lets them go for his pleasure, since he cannot keep them with hopes to improve his bank: so is such an earnest and entry into piety; it is such a stock of holiness that it is worth preserving; and to have resisted once so bravely, does add confidence to the spirit that it can overcome, and makes it probable that he may get a crown. However it falls out, it is an excellent act and signification of a hearty repentance and conversion.

Ἀνὴρ δίκαιός ἐστιν, οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἀδικῶν
ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀδικεῖν δυνάμενος μὴ βούλεται[n].

'he is a just man, not whosoever does no wrong, but he that can and will not.' Maimonides[o] saith excellently to the same purpose. For to the question, *Quænam tandem est pœnitentia perfecta?* He answers, This is true and perfect repentance, *Cum quis ad manum habet quo prius peccavit, et jam penes ipsum est idem perpetrare, recedens tamen illud non committit pœnitentiæ causa, neque timore cohibitus neque defectu virium,* 'when the power and opportunity is present, and the temptation (it may be) ready and urging, when it is in a man's hand to do the same thing, yet retiring he commits it not,

[m] [De cupiditate divitiarum, tom. viii. p. 76 sqq.]

[n] Philemon. [apud Stob., floril. tit. ix. 22.—tom. i. p. 235.]

[o] Canon. pœnit., cap. ii. 1. [p. 47.—4to. Oxon. 1705.]

only for piety or repentance sake, not being restrained by fear or want of powers.'

8. θ. If such opportunities of his sin be not presented, it is never the worse: the penitent need not be fond of them, for they are dangers, which prove death if they be not triumphed over; and if they be, yet the man hath escaped a danger, and may both prove and act his repentance without it. But therefore he that is not so tried and put to it, must do all that which he is put to, and execute his fierce anger against the sin, and by proper instances of mortification endeavour the destruction of it; and although every man hath not so glorious a trial and indication of his repentance as in the former instance, yet he that denies himself in any instance of his sin, and so in all that he can or is tempted in, does the same thing; all the same duty, and with less danger, and with less gloriousness. But if it happen that his sin urge him not at all as formerly, or the occasion is gone, and the matter is subtracted, he is to follow the measures of old men, described in the next section.

9. ι. Let the penitent be infinitely careful that he does not mortify one vicious habit by a contrary vice, but by a contrary virtue. For to what purpose is it that you are cured of prodigality, and then die by covetousness?

Quid te exempta juvat spinis de millibus[p] una?

It is not this or that alone that is contrary to God. Every vicious habit is equally His enemy; and he that exterminates one vice and entertains another, hath destroyed the vice, but not the viciousness; he hath quitted the instance, but not the irregularity; he hath served the interest of his fortune or his pleasure, his fame or his quiet, his passion or his humour, but not his virtue and relations to God. By changing his vice for another he is convinced of his first danger, but enters not into safety; he is only weary of his fever, and changes it into the ease of a dead palsy; and it is in them as in all sharp sicknesses, that is always worst that is actually upon him; and the man dies by his imaginary cure, but real sickness.

10. κ. When the mortification of a vicious habit is attempted, and is found difficult and pertinacious, not flexible or malleable by the strokes of contrition and its proper remedies, it is a safe way if the penitent will take some course to disable the sin and make it impossible to return in the former instance, provided it be done by a lawful instrument. Origen took an ill course to do it, but resolved he would mortify his lust, and made himself an eunuch. But a solemn vow were an excellent instrument to restrain the violences of a frequent temptation, if the person were to be trusted with it; that is, if he were a constant person, not giddy nor easy to revolt, but of a pertinacious nature, or of so tender conscience that he durst not for

[p] [leg. 'pluribus.'—Hor. epist. ii. 2. 212.]

the world break his vow. But this remedy is dangerous where the temptations return strongly. But there are some others which are safer. Cut off the occasion wholly; defy the concubine publicly, and disgrace her, make it impossible for her to consent to thee if thou shouldest ask her. If thy lord or master tempts thee to drunkenness, quit his service, or openly deny him. Make thy face unpleasant, and tear off the charms from thy beauty, that thou mayest not be courted any more. This is a fierceness and zeal of repentance, but very fit to be used when milder courses will not cure thee.

——— Scelerum si bene pœnitet,
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa, et teneræ nimis
Mentes asperioribus
Formandæ studiis [9]. ———

If thou repentest truly, pluck up sin by the roots, take away its principle, strangle its nurse, and destroy every thing that can foment it.

11. λ. It was not well with thee when thou didst first enter into the suburbs of hell by single actions of sin; but they were transient and passed off sooner than the habit: but when this did supervene, a man's acts of malice were enlarged and made continual to each other; that is, joined by a common term of affection and delight in sin, and perfect subjection to its accursed empire. But now in thy return, consider proportionably concerning thy actions of repentance and piety, whether they be transient or permanent. Good men often say their prayers, and choose good forms and offices, the best they can, and they use them with an earnest and an actual devotion; but he that hath prayed long and well, yet when he rises, it may be he cannot tell all the particulars which he begged of God. I doubt not but those prayers which contain matter in them agreeable to his usual and constant desires, and are actually attended to in the time of their use, are recorded in heaven, and there will abide to procure the blessing, and towards the accounts of eternity. But then it is to be observed, that those transient acts of devotion, or other volatile and fugitive instances of repentance, are not the proper and proportioned remedy to the evil of vicious habits. There must be something more permanent. Therefore let the penitent make no sudden resolutions, but first consider them well, and imprint them upon his spirit, and renew them often, and call them to mind constantly and at certain periods; let him use much meditation upon the matter of his repentance and remedy; and let his prayers be the same, passionate, material, alike expressed, and made the business of much of our time. For our spirit by use must be made holy, and by assiduity of reading, of praying, of meditating, and acts of self-denial, be accustomed to the yoke of Jesus: for let the habit be firm as a rock, united and hard as a stone, it will be broken and made soft by a continual dropping.

[9] Horat. [od. iii. 24. 50.]

THE PROPER REPENTANCE AND USAGE OF SINNERS WHO RETURN NOT TILL THEIR OLD AGE.

12. *a.* Let all such penitents be reminded, that their sins will not so easily be pardoned as the sins of younger persons, whose passions are greater, and their reason less, and their observations loose, and their experience trifling. But now God hath long expected the effects of wise and sober counsels. The old man in the comedy did so to his son.

> Dum tempus ad eam rem tulit, sivi animum ut expleret suum.
> Nunc hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat.
> Dehinc postulo, sive æquum est, te oro Dave, ut redeat jam in viam [r].

And God does so to us. And therefore follies of old age are upbraidings of a man, and confusions to his spirit.

> ——— Lateranus [s] ad illos
> Thermarum calices, inscriptaque lintea vadit,
> Maturus bello Armeniæ; ———

To have a grave wise man wrangle for nutshells, and a judge scramble for apples, is an undecency bigger than the sin, and dishonours him by the disproportion.

> Quædam cum prima resecentur crimina barba [s].

Lateranus should have gone to the Armenian wars, or been charging a Parthian horseman, when he went to the baths, and hired an unfortunate woman standing under the titles: and every old man should have been gray with sorrow and carefulness, and have passed many stages of his repentance long before he now begins; and therefore he is not only straitened for want of time, but hath a greater work to do, by how much the longer he hath stayed, and yet is the more unable to do it. The greatness of his need hath diminished his power; and the more need he hath of grace, the less he shall have. But however, with such helps as they have, they must instantly set upon their work.

> ——— Breve sit quod turpiter audes [s].

But they have abode in their sin too long; let them now therefore use such abbreviatures and hastenings of return as can be in their power.

13. *β.* Let every old man that repents of the sins of his evil life, be very diligent in the search of the particulars; that by drawing them into a heap, and spreading them before his eyes, he may be mightily ashamed at their number and burden. For even a good man will have cause to be ashamed of himself, if the single sins respersed over his whole life were drawn into a body of articles, and

[r] [Ter.] Andria, act i. sc. 2. [lin. 17.]
[s] [Leg. 'Damasippus'.—Juv. viii. 165—9.]

united in the accusation; but then for a man who is grown old in iniquity, to see in one entire view the scheme of his impiety, the horrible heaps of damnation amassed together, will probably have this event, it will make him extremely ashamed, it will make himself most ready to judge and condemn himself, it will humble him to the earth, and make him cry mightily for pardon, and these are good dispositions towards it.

14. γ. Let the penitent make some vigorous opposition to every kind of sin of which he hath been particularly guilty by frequent actions; as to adultery, or any kind of uncleanness, let him oppose all the actions of purity which he can in that state, which may best be done, by detestation of his former follies, by praying for pardon, by punishing himself, by sorrow and all its instruments and apt expressions. But in those instances where the material part remains, and the powers of sinning in the same kind, let him be sure to repent in kind. As if he were habitually intemperate, let him now correct and rule his appetite; for God will not take any thing in exchange for that duty which may be paid in kind.

15. δ. Although this is to be done to the kinds of sin, yet it cannot be so particularly done to the numbers of the actions; not only because it will be impossible for such persons to know their numbers, but because there is not time left to make little minute proportions: if he had fewer, all his time and all his powers would be little enough for the repentance; and therefore having many, it is well if upon any terms, if upon the expense of all his faculties and labour he can obtain pardon. Only this: the greater the numbers are, the more firm the habit is supposed; and therefore there ought in general to be made the more vigorous opposition; and let the acts of repentance be more frequently exercised in the proper matter of that virtue which is repugnant to that proper state of evil. And let the very number be an argument to thee of a particular humiliation; let it be inserted into thy confessions, and become an aggravation of thy own misery, and of God's loving-kindness if He shall please to pardon thee.

16. ε. Every old man that but then begins to repent, is tied to do more in the remaining proportions of time, than the more early penitents in so much time, because they have a greater account to make, more evil to mourn for, more pertinacious habits to rescind, fewer temptations upon the accounts of nature, but more upon their own superinduced account; that is, they have less excuse and a greater necessity to make haste.

> Cogimur a suetis animum suspendere rebus,
> Atque ut vivamus vivere desinimus [t].

He must unlearn what he had learned before, and break all his evil customs, doing violence to his own and to his superinduced nature.

[t] Cornel. Gall. [See vol. iv. p. 397.]

But therefore this man must not go moderately in his return, but earnestly, vigorously, zealously; and can have no other measures but to do all that he can do. For in his case every slow progression is a sign of the apprehension of his danger and necessity, but it is also a sign that he hath no affection to the business, that he leaves his sins as a merchant does his goods in a storm, or a wounded man endures his arm to be cut off; when there is no help for it, the thing must be done, but he is not pleased with the employment.

17. ζ. Let every old man entering into the state of repentance, use all the earnestness he can to heighten his affections, to fix his will and desires upon the things of God; to have no gust, no relish for the things of the world, but that all his earnestness, his whole inner man be entirely taken up with his new employment. For since it is certain there will be a great poverty of external acts of many virtues which are necessary in his case, unless they be supplied with internal actions, and the earnestness of the Spirit, the man will go poor and blind and naked to his grave. It is the heart which in all things makes the outward act to be acceptable; and if the heart be right, it makes amends for the unavoidable omission of the outward expression. But therefore by how much the more old men are disabled from doing the outward and material actions to extirpate the natural quality and inherent mischief of vicious habits; by so much the more must they be supplied, and the grace acted and signified, by the actions of the Spirit.

18. η. Let old men in their state of repentance be much in alms and prayers, according to their ability, that by doing good to others, and glory to God, they may obtain the favour of God, who delights in the communications of goodness and in such sacrifices. This the apostle[u] expresses thus, "To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ Θεὸς, God is well pleased;" it is like a propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore proper for this man's necessities. The proper arguments to endear this, are reckoned in their own place; but the reason why this is most apposite to the state of an old man's repentance, is because they are excellent suppletories to their other defects, and by way of impetration obtain of God to pardon those habits of vice which in the natural way they have now no external instrument to extinguish.

19. θ. But because every state hath some temptations proper to itself, let old men be infinitely careful to suppress their own lusts, and present inclinations to evil. If an old man out of hatred of sin does mortify his covetous desires, ἔχει καλὸν βαθμὸν[v], 'he hath purchased a good degree' in the station of penitents, and hath given an excellent indication of a true repentance and conversion from sin to God. Let old men, if there be need, be apt to learn, and so mortify that pride and morosity that usually do attend their age; who think

[u] [Heb. xiii. 16.]

[v] [vid. 1 Tim. iii. 13.]

their gray hairs title enough to wisdom, and sufficient notices of things. Let them be gentle to others, patient of the evil accidents of their state, bountiful and liberal, as full of good example as they can; and it is more than probable, that if they yield not to that by which they can then be tempted, they have quit all their affections to sin, and it is enough that they are found faithful in that in which they are now tried.

20. ι. Let old men be very careful that they never tell the story of their sins with any pleasure or delight; but as they must *recolligere annos in amaritudine* [x], call to mind their past years in the bitterness of their soul, so when they speak of any thing of it, they must not tell it as a merry story, lest they be found to laugh at their own damnation.

> Mutatus ——
> Dices, Heu! (quotics te in speculo videris alterum)
> Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
> Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ [y]?

Trouble and sorrow will better become the spirit of an old sinner, because he was a fool when he was young, and weak when he is wise; that his strengths must be spent in sin, and that for God and wise courses nothing remains but weak hands, and dim eyes, and trembling knees.

21. κ. Let not an old sinner and young penitent ever think that there can be a period to his repentance, or that it can ever be said by himself that he hath done enough. No sorrow, no alms, no affliction, no patience, no sacraments can be said to have finished his work, so that he may say with S. Paul [z], "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course;" nothing can bring consummation to his work till the day of his death, because it is all the way an imperfect state, having in it nothing that is excellent or laudable, but only upon the account of a great necessity and misery on one side, and a great mercy on the other. It is like a man condemned to perpetual banishment; he is always in his passive obedience, but is a debtor to the law until he be dead. So is this penitent; he hath not finished his work, or done a repentance in any measure proportionable to his sins, but only because he can do no more; and yet he did something, even before it was too late.

22. λ. Let an old man in the mortification of his vicious habits, be curious to distinguish nature from grace, his own disability from the strengths of the spirit; and not think that he hath extirpated the vice of uncleanness, when himself is disabled to act it any longer; or that he is grown a sober person, because he is sick in his stomach, and cannot drink intemperately, or dares not for fear of being sick. His measures must be taken by the account of his actions and oppositions to his former sins, and so reckon his comfort.

[x] [vid. Esai. xxxviii. 15, ed. vulg.] [y] Hor. [od. iv. 10. 5.] [z] [2 Tim. iv. 7.]

23. μ. But upon whatever account it come, he is not so much to account concerning his hopes, or the performance of his duty, by abstaining from sin, as by doing of good. For besides that such a not committing of evil may be owing to weak or insufficient principles, this not committing evil in so little a time, cannot make amends for the doing it so long together, according to the usual accounts of repentance, unless that abstaining be upon the stock of virtue and labour, of mortification and resistance; and then every abstinence is also a doing good, for it is a crucifying of the old man with the affections and lusts. But all the good that by the grace of God he superadds, is matter of choice, and the proper actions of a new life.

24. ν. After all this done, vigorously, holily, with fear and caution, with zeal and prudence, with diligence and an uninterrupted observation, the old man that lived a vile life, but repents in time, though he stayed as long as he could, and much longer than he should, yet may live in hope, and die in peace and charity. To this purpose they are excellent words which S. Austin[a] said, "Peradventure some will think that he hath committed such grievous faults that he cannot now obtain the favour of God. Let this be far from the conceits of all sinners. O man, whosoever thou art, that attendest that multitude of thy sins, wherefore dost thou not attend to the omnipotency of the heavenly Physician? For since God will have mercy because He is good, and can because He is almighty, he shuts the gate of the divine goodness against himself, who thinks that God cannot or will not have mercy upon him, and therefore distrusts either His goodness or His almightiness."

THE PROPER REPENTANCE AND USAGE OF SINNERS WHO REPENT NOT UNTIL THEIR DEATH-BED.

The enquiry after this article consists in these particulars;—

1) What hopes are left to a vicious ill-lived man that repents on his death-bed and not before.
2) What advices are best, or can bring him most advantage?

25. That a good life is necessary; that it is required by God; that it was designed in the whole purpose of the gospel; that it is a most reasonable demand, and infinitely recompensed by the very smallest portions of eternity;—that it was called for all our life, and was exacted by the continual voice of scripture, of mercies, of judgment, of prophets;—that to this very purpose God offered the assistance of His holy spirit; and to this ministry we were supplied with preventing, with accompanying, and persevering grace, that is, powers and assistances to begin, and to continue in well doing;—that there is no distinct covenant made with dying men, differing from what God

[a] Serm. xxviii. [leg. lviii.] de temp. [al. cclviii. in append.—tom. v. § 2. col. 423 C.]

hath admitted between Himself and living healthful persons;—that it is not reasonable to think God will deal more gently with persons who live viciously all their lives, and that at an easier rate they may expect salvation at the hands of God whom they have so provoked, than they who have served Him faithfully according to the measures of a man; or that a long impiety should be sooner expiated than a short one;—that the easiness of such as promise heaven to dying penitents after a vicious life is dangerous to the very being and constitution of piety, and scandalous to the honour and reputation, and sanctity of the christian religion;—that the grace of God does leave those that use it not;—that therefore the necessity of dying men increases, and their aids are lessened and almost extinguished;—that they have more to do than they have either time or strength to finish;—that all their vows and holy purposes are useless and ineffective as to their natural production, and that in their case they cannot be the beginnings of a succeeding duty and piety, because for want of time it never can succeed;—that there are some conditions and states of life, which God hath determined never to pardon;—that there is 'a sin unto death,' for which because we have no encouragement to pray, it is certain there is no hope; for it is impossible but it must be very fit to pray for all them to whom the hope of pardon is not precluded;—that there is in scripture mention made of an ineffective repentance, and of a repentance to be repented of, and that the repentance of no state is so likely to be it as this;—that what is begun and produced wholly by affrightment is not esteemed matter of choice, nor a pleasing sacrifice to God;—that 'they who sow to the flesh, shall reap in the flesh,' and the final judgment shall be made of 'every man according to his works;'—that the full and perfect descriptions of repentance in scripture are heaps and conjugations of duties which have in them difficulty, and require time, and ask labour;—that those insinuations of duty in scripture, of the need of patience, and diligence, and watchfulness, and the express precepts of perseverance, do imply that the office and duty of a Christian is of a long time and business, and a 'race;'—that repentance being the renewing of a holy life, it should seem that on our death-bed the day for repentance is past, since no man can renew his life when his life is done, no man can live well when he cannot live at all; and therefore to place our hopes upon a death-bed repentance only, is such a religion as satisfies all our appetites, and contradicts none, and yet promises heaven at last;—these things, I say, are all either notorious and evident, or expressly affirmed in scripture; and therefore that in the ordinary way of things, in the common expectation of events, such persons are in a very sad condition.

What hopes are left to an ill-lived man that repents in his death-bed, and not before.

26. So that it remains that in this sad condition there must be some extraordinary way found out, or else this whole enquiry is at an end: concerning which, all that I can say is this;—

α. God hath an almighty power, and His mercy is as great as His power. He can do miracles of mercy, as well as miracles of mightiness. And this S. Austin[b] brings in open pretence against desperation. *O homo quicunque illam multitudinem peccatorum attendis, cur et omnipotentiam cœlestis medici non attendis?* Thy sins are great, but God's mercies are greater. But this does represent the man's condition at the best to be such, that God may if He will have mercy upon him; but whether He will or no, there is as yet no other certainty or probability, but that He can if He please: which proposition to an amazed timorous person that fears a hell the next hour, is so dry a story, so hopeless a proposition, that all that can be said of this, is, that it is very fit that no man should ever put it to the venture. For upon this argument, we may as well comfort ourselves upon him that died without repenting at all. But the enquiry must be further.

27. β. All mankind, all the doctors of the church for very many ages at least, some few of the most ancient and of the modern excepted, have been apt to give hopes to such persons, and no man bids them absolutely despair. Let such persons make use of this easiness of men, thereby to retain so much hope as to make them call upon God, and not to neglect what can then be done.

Spem retine, spes una hominem nec morte relinquit.

As long as there is life there is hope, and when a man dies, let him not despair; for there is a life after this, and a hope proper to that; and amidst all the evils that the ancients did fabulously report to be in Pandora's box, they wittily placed hope on the utmost lip of it and extremity.

Vivere spe vidi qui moriturus erat.

And S. Cyprian exhorts old Demetrianus[c] to turn Christian in his old age, and promises him salvation in the name of Christ: and though his case, and that of a Christian who entered into promises and covenants of obedience, be very different; yet *ad immortalitatem sub ipsa morte transitur*[c], a passing from such a repentance to immortality, although it cannot be hoped for upon the just accounts of express promise, yet it is not too great to hope from God's mercy: and until that which is infinite hath a limit, a repenting man's hopes in this world cannot be wholly at an end.

28. γ. We find that in the battles which were fought by the Maccabees[d], some persons who fought on the Lord's side, and were slain

[b] [Serm. cclviii. de pœnit. § 2.—tom. v. append., col. 423 C.]

[c] [S. Cypr. ad Demetr.—p. 196.]

[d] [2 Macc. xii. 40.]

in the fight, were found having on their breasts ἱερώματα, or pendants consecrate to the idols of the Jamnenses, and yet the good people of their party made oblation for them, hoping that they might be partakers of a blessed resurrection. They that repent heartily but one hour, are in a better condition than the other that died in their sin, though with the advantage of fighting in a good cause: and if good people will not leave hoping for such persons, it is not fit that themselves should.

29. δ. He that considers God's great love to mankind,—the infinite love that God hath to His holy Son Jesus, and yet that He sent Him to die for every man;—and that the holy Jesus does now, and hath for very many ages prayed for the pardon of our sins, that He knows how horrible those pains are which are provided for perishing souls, and therefore that He is exceedingly pitiful and desirous that we should escape them;—and that God did give one extraordinary example of saving a dying penitent, the thief upon the cross, and though that had something in it extraordinary and miraculous, yet that is it which is now expected, a favour extraordinary, a miraculous mercy;—and that Christ was pleased to speak a parable of comfort, and the master of the vineyard did pay salary to him that began to work at the eleventh hour; and though that was some portion of his life, the twelfth part of it, and the man was not called sooner, yet there may be something in it of comfort to the dying penitent, since it looks something like it, it certainly relates to old men, and can do them comfort, and possibly the merciful intention of it is yet larger;—and that since God is so well pleased with repentance, it may be He will abate the circumstance of time, *nec ad rem pertinet ubi inciperet, quod placuerat ut fieret*[f], and He will not consider when that begins, which He loves should be done;—and that He is our Father, and *paulum supplicii satis est patri*[g], a father will chastise, but will not kill his son;—and that it is therefore seasonable to hope, because it is a duty, and the very hope itself God delights to reward; for so said the apostle[h], "Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward;"—and the church of God, imitating the mercies of our gracious God and Father, hath denied to give the sacrament of peace and mercy to none that seek it, *Viaticum omnibus in morte positis non est negandum*[i];—and in the saddest consideration of things that can be, suppose it be with him as with Simon Magus[k], suppose that he is 'in the gall of bitterness,' in the state of damnation, in the guilt of a sin which we know not whether God will pardon or not, yet still it is wise and pious counsel, that he should 'pray, if peradventure he may be forgiven;'—he, I say, that considers these things, will have cause to be very earnest

[f] [So vol. iv. p. 397.]
[g] [So p. 106 above.]
[h] [Heb. x. 35.]
[i] Concil. Nicæn. can. xiii. [tom. i. col. 330.]—Concil. Agath., c. xi. [al. xv.—tom. ii. col. 1000.]
[k] [Acts viii 22 sq.]

and very busy to lose no time, to remit no labour, to quit no hope, but humbly, passionately, diligently set upon that duty of repentance, which should have long ago come to some perfection.

Now because I have, as I suppose, said enough to make men afraid to put off their repentance to their death-bed, yet in behalf of those who have been unfortunately lost in their lives, or less instructed, or violently tempted, or unhappily betrayed, and are upon their death-beds, because though nothing can be ascertained to them, yet it is not to be suffered that they should utterly despair, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the writings of the ancient doctors, such exhortations as may both instruct and comfort, promote duty, and give some little door of hope, but not add boldness in defiance of all the laws of holiness.

30. In an epistle of Celestine[l] bishop of Rome in S. Austin's time, we find these words. *Vera ad Deum conversio in ultimis positorum mente potius æstimanda est quam tempore; .. cum ergo Dominus sit cordis inspector, quovis tempore non est deneganda pœnitentia postulanti, quum ille se obliget Judici, cui occulta omnia noverit revelari,* 'true conversion is to be accounted of by the mind, rather than by time; therefore repentance is not to be denied to him who at any time asks it; and he despairs of the clemency of God who thinks it not sufficient, or that it cannot relieve the sinner in an instant.'—*Donec sumus in hac vita, quantacunque nobis acciderint peccata, possibile est omnia ablui per pœnitentiam,* said S. Austin[m], 'as long as we are alive, so long it is possible that the vilest sins that are may be washed off by repentance.' *Si vulneratus es, adhibe tibi curam dum vivis, dum spiras, etiam in ipso lecto positus, etiam (si dici potest) animam efflans ut jam de hoc mundo exeas; non impeditur temporis angustia misericordia Dei.—Quid enim est peccatum ad Dei misericordiam? Tela araneæ, quæ vento flante nusquam comparet;* so S. Chrysostom[n], 'If thou art wounded in thy soul, take care of it while thou livest, even so long as thou canst breathe; though thou beest now breathing thy last, yet take care still: the mercy of God cannot be hindered by time. For what is thy sin to God's mercy? Even as a spider's web, when the wind blows it is gone in an instant.' Many more there are to the same purpose, who, all speaking of the mightiness of the divine mercy, do insinuate their meaning to be concerning a miraculous or extraordinary mercy. And therefore I shall oppose nothing against this; only say, that it is very sad when men put their hopes of being saved upon a miracle, and that without a miracle they must perish. But yet then to despair is entering into hell before their time, and even a course of the greatest imprudence in the world, next to that they are already guilty of, that is, a putting things to that extremity. *Dandum interstitium pœnitentiæ,* said

[l] [See p. 200, note l, above.]

[m] Serm. clxxxi. de tempore, [al. serm. de symbolo] c. 16. [tom. vi. append. col. 284 D.]

[n] In Ps. l. hom. 2. [§ 3 sq.—Inter spuria, tom. v. p. 586 B, 587 B.]

Tacitus[o]. And, *Inter vitæ negotia et diem mortis oportere aliquid spatium intercedere,* said Charles the emperor[p]. For, *Nemo mortem venientem hilaris excipit, nisi qui se ad eam diu composuerat,* said Seneca[q]. 'Repentance must have a space of time;' and 'from the affairs of the world to rush into the arms of death, is too quick a change' for him that would fain be saved. If he can in the midst of all these disadvantages, it is well; but 'he cannot with cheerfulness and joy receive his death, unless he bestowed much time and care in preparations against that sad solemnity.'

Now concerning these instruments of hope I am yet to give another account, lest this either seem to be an easiness and flattery of souls, and not warrantable from any revelation from God; or if it be, that it is also a perfect destruction of all the former doctrine. For if it be enquired thus,—Hath God declared that death-bed penitents shall not be saved, or that they may be saved, or hath He said nothing at all of it? If He hath said they cannot be saved, why then do I bid them hope, and so abuse them with a false persuasion? If He hath said that they may be saved, why do I dispute against it, and make them fear, where God by a just promise hath given them reason to be confident, and hath obliged them to believe they shall be saved? If He hath said nothing of it, why are not they to be comprehended within the general rules of all returning penitents? especially since there was one case specially made for their interest, the example of the thief upon the cross. To this I shall give a clear and plain answer.

That God hath required such conditions of pardon, and that the duty of repentance is of such extent and burden that it cannot be finished and performed by dying persons after a vicious life, is evident from all the former arguments: and therefore if we make dying men's accounts upon the stock of God's usual dealing and open revelation, their case is desperate for the preceding reasons. But why then do I bid them hope, if their case be desperate? Either God, threatening death to all impenitent persons, means not to exact death of all, but of some only; or else when His holy Spirit describes repentance in severe characters, He secretly means to take less than He says. For if it be such a work that cannot possibly be done on a death-bed, how then can dying persons be called upon to repent? For it is vain to repent, if it be impossible to hope: but if it be possible to do the work of repentance on our death-bed, but only that it is very difficult, there is in this affirmative no great matter: every one confesses that, and all evil men put it to the venture.

For the first part of the dilemma, I affirm nothing of it; God threatening death to all the impenitent, excepts none[r]; "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." Neither does God exacting or

[o] [vid. hist. i. 32.]
[p] [See vol. iv. p. 389, note m.]
[q] [Epist. xxx.—tom. ii. p. 115.]
[r] [Luke xiii. 3.]

describing repentance in severe[r] lines, use any respect of persons, but with the same measures He will deal with all. For when there is a difference in the divine mercy, it is in giving time and grace to repent, not in sparing one and condemning another, who die equally criminal and impenitent. Those little lines of hopes are not upon either of these foundations. For whatsoever is known or revealed, is against these persons, and does certainly condemn them. Why then are they bidden to hope and repent?

a. I answer, once for all; it is upon something that we know not. And if they be not saved we know not how, they cannot expect to be saved by any thing that is revealed in their particular. When S. Peter[s] had declared to Simon Magus that he was in the gall of bitterness, and yet made him 'pray, if peradventure the thought of his heart might be forgiven him:' he did not by any thing that was revealed know that he should be pardoned; but by something that he did not know there might be hope. It is at no hand to be dissembled out of tenderness and pity to such persons, but to be affirmed openly; there is not revealed any thing to them that may bid them be in any degree confident. But he that hath a deadly wound, whom the chirurgeons affirm to be hopeless, yet is willing to receive cordials, and to be dressed.

β. If in the measures of life and death which are described in large characters, there be any lines so indefinite and comprehensive, that they who preach and declare the doctrines do not fully take in all that God intends, upon the account of our weakness and ignorance, there may be some little rushes and twigs to support their sinking hopes. For although the matters of duty, and the conditions of life and death, are so plain and legible that we can all understand our obligation, yet things are seldom so described that we can give the final sentence concerning others. There is a secret in these things, which nothing shall open but the day of judgment. No man may judge his brother; that is, no man can or ought to say, this man is damned; and yet we know that he that dies an impenitent traitor, or rebel, or adulterer, is damned; but yet that adulterous Natta, or the rebel Cinna, or the traitor Catiline is actually damned, that we know not. The reason is, because our duty is described for us to guide and walk ourselves by, not to judge and sentence others. And even the judgment of the church, who hath authority to judge and sentence, yet it is only for amendment; it is universal, it is declarative, it is conditional; not personal, final, decretory, and eternal: for otherwise does man judge, otherwise does God.

γ. There is some variety in the case, and in the person, and in the degrees of repentance. There is a period beyond which God will not admit a man to pardon; but when it is we know not. There is also[t] a *minimum religionis*, the least measure of religion, the lowest degree

[r] ['several' B.] [s] [Acts viii. 22.] [t] ['also' deest B.]

of acceptability; but what it is we cannot tell. There is also a proper measure for every one, but no man can fathom it. And the duties and parts of repentance consist in the terms of a great distance and latitude; and we cannot tell when a man first begins to be safe, and when he is newly escaped from the regions of sin, and when he begins his state of grace. Now as God abates great measures of His wrath, and forgives all that is past if we return betimes, and live twenty years in piety and repentance; so He does if the man do so nineteen years, and eighteen, and still shortening till you come to a year, or any the least time that can do the work of repentance, and exterminate his vicious habit. Now because Abraham begged for the pardon of Sodom if there should be found fifty righteous there, and then abated five, and then five more, and then ten more, till he came to ten alone, and it is supposed that Abraham first gave out, and that God would have pardoned the city for one righteous man's sake, if Abraham had still persevered to ask: if any man will suppose that it may be done so in the abatements of time to be made to a returning sinner; though I say it is a strange diminution to come from years to one day, yet I will say nothing against it, but that length or shortness of time makes nothing to the mercies of God, but it makes very much to the duty of man, because every action requires some time, and every habit much more. Now we have reason to say that the condition of a dying penitent after a whole wicked life is desperate, because so far as we understand things, habits are not to be extinguished, and the contraries acquired, but with long time and study. But if there be any secret way by which the Spirit of God does work faster, and produce undiscerned miracles, we ought to adore that goodness by which it is so; and they that can believe this may hope the other. In the mean time, neither the one nor the other is revealed; and so it stands as it did in the whole question.

δ. We find in the instance of Abraham's faith, that against hope he believed in hope; that is, that he had great arguments on both sides, and therefore that in defiance of one he would hope in the other, because this could not fail him, but the other could. If it can be brought to pass that a dying man can hope after a wicked life, it is hope against hope; and of this all that I can say is, that it is no contradiction in the thing to affirm that a dying penitent who hath contracted vicious habits, hath not time left him to perform that repentance which God requires of habitual sinners under the pains of eternal death; and yet to bid such a person do what he can do, and pray, if peradventure God will be intreated. Because that little hopes which he is bid to have are not warranted, or relying upon pretence of any particular revelation, contrary to the so many expressions of severe duty and stricter conditions; but are placed upon the foundation of the divine power, and such little proportions and similitudes of things, and guesses and conjectures of kind persons, as can only be sufficient to make the dying man try what can be done.

ϵ. The first ages of the church did exactly use this method of doctrine and discipline. In some cases (whereof I shall afterwards give account) they refused to declare them pardoned, to minister God's pardon to dying penitents; but yet would not bid them despair, but refer them to the divine judgment: which if it be reduced to the causes of things, if we believe they proceeded reasonably, must mean this, that they knew of no revelation concerning the pardon of such persons; but whether God would or no pardon them they knew not, but bid them hope well. And when they did admit dying penitents to the peace of the church, they did it *de bene esse*, that it might do as much good as it could. But they knew not what that was; *Pœnitentiam dare possumus, securitatem dare non possumus*, they are S. Austin's[t] words. Now if I were to ask of him an account, it would be in the same way of objection as I am now untying. For did God promise pardon to dying penitents after a wicked life? or are there fearful threatenings in scripture against such sinners as certainly all in their case are? or hath God said nothing at all concerning them? If God did promise pardon to such, then why did not the church give security as well as penance? If God did threaten fearfully all such persons, why do they admit such to repentance whom God will not admit to pardon, but hath threatened with eternal death? If He hath said nothing of them, they are to be judged by the measures of others; and truly that will too sadly ring their passing bell. For men in health who have contracted vicious habits cannot be pardoned so long as their vicious habit remains; and they know that to overcome and mortify a vicious habit is a work of time and great labour; and if this be the measure of dying penitents as well as of living and healthful, they will sink in judgment that have not time to do their duty. But then why the church of those ages, and particularly S. Austin, should hope and despair at the same time for them, that is, knew no ground of revelations upon which to fix any hope of pardon for them, and yet should exhort them to repentance, which without hopes of pardon is to no purpose, there is no sensible account to be given but this, that for ought they knew God might do more than they knew, and more than He had promised; but whether He would or not they knew not, but by that means they thought they fairly quit their hands of such persons.

ζ. But after all this strict survey of answers, if we be called to account for being so kind, it must be confessed that things are spoken out of charity and pity, more than of knowledge. The case of these men is sad and deplorable, and it is piety, when things are come to that state and saddest event, to shew mercy by searching all the corners of revelation for comfort, that God may be as much glorified, and the dying men assisted as much as may be. I re-

[t] [vid. p. 202, not. q, supra.]

member the Jews are reproved by some for repeating the last verse but one in the book of Isaiah, and setting it after the last of all; that being a verse of mercy, this of sorrow and threatening; as if they would be more merciful than God himself, and thought it unfit to end so excellent a book with so sad a cursing. Indeed God's ways are best, and His measures the surest; and therefore it is not good to promise where God hath not promised, and to be kind where He is angry, and to be free of His pardon where He hath shut up and sealed His treasures. But if they that say God hath threatened all such sinners as dying penitents after wicked life are, and yet that they must not despair, are to be reproved as too kind; then they much more who confidently promise heaven at last. It is indeed a compliance with human misery, that makes it fit to speak what hopeful things we can; but if these hopes can easily be reproved, I am sure the former severity cannot so easily be confuted: that may, this cannot.

What advices can bring such an one most advantage.

31. α. But now things being put into this constitution, the enquiry into what manner of repentance the dying penitent is obliged to will be of no great difficulty. *Qui dicit omnia nihil excipit.* He that is tied to all can be excused from none. All that he can do is too little, if God shall deal with him according to the conditions of the gospel which are described, and therefore he must not enquire into measures, but do all, absolutely all that he can in that sad period: particularly,

32. β. Let him examine his conscience most curiously, according as his time will permit, and his other abilities; because he ought to be sure that his intentions are so real to God and to religion, that he hath already within him a resolution so strong, a repentance so holy, a sorrow so deep, a hope so pure, a charity so sublime, that no temptation, no time, no health, no interest could in any circumstance of things ever tempt him from God and prevail.

33. γ. Let him make a general confession of the sins of his whole life, with all the circumstances of aggravation; let him be mightily humbled, and hugely ashamed, and much in the accusation of himself, and bitterly lament his folly and misery; let him glorify God and justify Him, confessing that if he perishes it is but just; if he does not, it is a glorious, an infinite mercy; a mercy not yet revealed, a mercy to be looked for in the day of wonders, the day of judgment. Let him accept his sickness and his death humbly at the hands of God, and meekly pray that God would accept that for punishment, and so consign his pardon for the rest through the blood of Jesus. Let him cry mightily unto God, incessantly begging for pardon, and then hope as much as he can, even so much as may exalt the excellency of the divine mercy; but not too confidently, lest he presume above what is written.

34. δ. Let the dying penitent make what amends he can possibly in the matter of real injuries and injustices that he is guilty of, though

it be to the ruin of his estate; and that will go a great way in deprecation. Let him ask forgiveness, and offer forgiveness, make peace, transmit charity and provisions and piety to his relatives.

35. ϵ. Next to these, it were very fitting that the dying penitent did use all the means he can to raise up his spirit, and do internal actions of religion with great fervour and excellency; to love God highly, to be ready to suffer whatsoever can come, to pour out his complaints with great passion and great humility; adding to these and the like great effusions of charity, holy and prudent undertakings of severity and religion in case he shall recover: and if he can, let him do some great thing, something that does in one little body of action signify great affections; any heroical act, any transportation of a holy zeal in his case does help to abbreviate the work of many years. If these things be thus done, it is all that can be done at that time, and as well as it can be then done; what the event of it will be God only knows, and we all shall know at the day of judgment. In this case "the church can give the sacrament, but cannot give security[u]."

* * *

MEDITATIONS AND PRAYERS TO BE USED IN ALL THE FOREGOING CASES.

Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then may ye learn to do good that are accustomed to do evil[x].

This is thy lot, the portion of thy measures from Me, saith the Lord, because thou hast forgotten Me[y].

Give glory to the Lord your God before He cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, lest while you look for light He turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness[z].

What wilt thou say when He shall punish? shall not sorrow take thee as a woman in travail[a]?

And if thou say in thine heart, wherefore came these things upon me? for the greatness of thine iniquity are thy skirts discovered, and thy heels made bare[b].

I have seen thine adulteries, and thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredoms, and thine abominations; woe unto thee, wilt thou not be made clean? when shall it once be? saith the Lord God[c].

Thus saith the Lord unto this people, thus have they loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet; therefore the Lord doth not accept them, He will now remember their iniquity and visit their sins[d].

[u] S. Aug. [p. 202, not. q, supra] et habetur [apud Gratian. decret.] de pœn. dist. vii. [capp. 2 et 4, col. 1969.]
[x] [Jer. xiii. 23.]
[y] [ver. 25.]
[z] [ver. 16.]
[a] [ver. 21.]
[b] [ver. 22.]
[c] [ver. 27.]
[d] [chap. xiv. 10.]

Then saith the Lord, pray not for this people for their good. When they fast I will not hear their cry, and when they offer an oblation I will not accept them, but I will consume them by the sword, and by famine, and by the pestilence[e].

Therefore thus saith the Lord, If thou return, then will I bring thee again, and thou shalt stand before Me: and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as My mouth. I am with thee to save thee and to deliver thee, saith the Lord[f].

And I will deliver thee out of the hand of the wicked, and I will redeem thee out of the hand of the terrible[g].

Learn before thou speak, and use physic or ever thou be sick[h].

Before judgment examine thyself, and in the day of visitation thou shalt find mercy[i].

Humble thyself before thou be sick, and in the time of sins shew repentance[k].

Let nothing hinder thee to pay thy vows in due time, and defer not until death to be justified[l].

I made haste, and prolonged not the time to keep Thy commandments[m].

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place.

Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord.

For if you throughly amend your ways and your doings, if you throughly execute judgment;

If ye oppress not the stranger and the widow, then shall ye dwell in the land[n].

Thus saith the Lord God, I will give you the land, and they shall take away all the detestable things thereof, and all the abominations thereof from thence[o].

And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you, and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will give them a heart of flesh[p].

That they may walk in My statutes, and keep Mine ordinances and do them; and they shall be My people, and I will be their God[q].

But as for them whose heart walketh after their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord God[r].

They have seduced My people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace, and one built up a wall, and others daubed it with untempered morter[s].

[e] [Jer. xiv. 11, 12.]
[f] [chap. xv. 19.]
[g] [ver. 21.]
[h] [Ecclus. xviii. 19.]
[i] [ver. 20.]
[k] [ver. 21.]
[l] [ver. 22.]
[m] [Psalm cxix. 60.]
[n] [Jer. vii. 3—7.]
[o] [Ezek. xi. 17, 18.]
[p] [ver. 19.]
[q] [ver. 20.]
[r] [ver. 21.]
[s] [chap. xiii. 10.]

Will ye pollute Me among My people for handfuls of barley, and pieces of bread, to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live, by your lying unto My people that hear your lies[t].

Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to your ways, saith the Lord God: repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin[u].

Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby you have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel[x]?

For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God: wherefore turn yourselves and live ye[y].

Ye shall remember your ways and all your doings wherein ye have been defiled, and ye shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils that ye have committed[z].

Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope[a].

Woe unto them that justify the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him[b].

And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide Mine eyes from you; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood[c].

Wash ye, make ye clean, put away the evil of your doing from before Mine eyes, cease to do evil[d].

Learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow[e].

Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red as crimson, they shall be as wool[f].

If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the fruit of the land[g].

But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it[h].

She hath wearied herself with lies, therefore have I caused My fury to light upon her[i].

Sow to yourselves in righteousness, and reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground, for it is time to seek the Lord, till He come and rain righteousness upon you[k].

Turn thou unto thy God; keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually[l].

O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in Me is thy help[m].

t [Ezek. xiii. 19.]
u [chap. xviii. 30.]
x [ver. 31.]
y [ver. 32.]
z [chap. xx. 43.]
a [Isa. v. 18.]
b [ver. 23.]
c [chap. i. 16.]
d [ver. 16.]
e [ver. 17.]
f [ver. 18.]
g [ver. 19.]
h [ver. 20.]
i [Ezek. xxiv. 12, 3.]
k [Hos. x. 12.]
l [chap. xii. 6.]
m [chap. xiii. 9.]

Return to the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn to the Lord, say unto Him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips: for in Thee the fatherless findeth mercy. I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely, for Mine anger is turned away[n].

Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near[o].

Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon[p].

For thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy, I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones[q].

For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should fail before Me, and the souls which I have made[r].

For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him; I hid me and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart[s].

I have seen his ways, and will heal him; I will lead him also, and restore comfort to him and to his mourners[t].

I create the fruit of the lips; peace, peace to him that is afar off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord, and I will heal him[u].

But the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt[x].

There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked[y].

It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth: it is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord[z].

Who is a God like unto Thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of His heritage? He retaineth not His anger for ever, because He delighteth in mercy[a].

He will turn again, He will have compassion upon us: He will subdue our iniquities, and Thou wilt cast all our sins into the depth of the sea[b].

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them[c].

[n] [Hos. xiv. 1—4.]
[o] [Isa. lv. 6.]
[p] [ver. 7.]
[q] [chap. lvii. 15.]
[r] [ver. 16.]
[s] [ver. 17.]
[t] [ver. 18.]
[u] [ver. 19.]
[x] [ver. 20.]
[y] [ver. 21.]
[z] [Lam. iii. 26, 27.]
[a] [Micah vii. 18.]
[b] [ver. 19.]
[c] [Eccles. xii. 1.]

A PSALM.

O LORD, though our iniquities testify against us, have mercy upon us for Thy name's sake: for our backslidings are many, we have sinned against Thee[d].

O the hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldst Thou be a stranger to us, and as a way-faring man that turneth aside to tarry for a night?

Why shouldst Thou be as a man astonied, as a mighty man that cannot save? yet Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by Thy name, leave us not.

We acknowledge, O Lord, our wickedness, and the iniquity of our fathers, for we have sinned against Thee.

Do not abhor us for Thy name's sake, do not disgrace the throne of Thy glory; remember, break not the covenant with us.

I will no more sit in the assembly of mockers, nor rejoice; I will sit alone because of Thy hand, for Thou hast filled me with indignation[e].

Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable which refuseth to be healed? wilt Thou be altogether unto me as waters that fail[f]?

O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself, it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.

O Lord, correct me, but with judgment, not in Thine anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing.

O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake Thee shall be ashamed, because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters[g].

Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved: for Thou art my praise.

Be not a terror unto me, Thou art my hope in the day of evil[h].

Behold, O Lord, for I am in distress: my bowels are troubled, mine heart is turned within me, for I have grievously rebelled[i].

For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the Comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me[k].

Hear me, O Lord, and that soon, for my spirit waxeth faint: hide not Thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit[l].

O let me hear Thy loving-kindness betimes, for in Thee is my trust; shew Thou me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto Thee.

Teach me the thing that pleaseth Thee, for Thou art my God: let Thy loving Spirit lead me forth into the land of righteousness.

[d] [Jer. xiv. 7—9.]
[e] [chap. xv. 17.]
[f] [ver. 18.]
[g] [chap. xvii. 13.]
[h] [ver. 17.]
[i] [Lam. i. 20.]
[k] [ver. 16.]
[l] [Psalm cxliii. 7.]

Quicken me, O Lord, for Thy name's sake, and for Thy righteousness sake bring my soul out of trouble.

The Lord upholdeth all such as fall, and lifteth up those that be down [m].

I have gone astray like a sheep that is lost: O seek Thy servant, for I do not forget Thy commandments.

O do well unto Thy servant, that I may live and keep Thy word.

O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength, before I go hence, and be no more seen.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

A PRAYER FOR A SINNER RETURNING AFTER A LONG IMPIETY.

I.

O ETERNAL Judge of men and angels, Father of mercy, and the great lover of souls, I humbly acknowledge that the state of my soul is sad and deplorable, and by my fault, by my own grievous fault, I am in an evil condition; and if Thou shouldst now enter into judgment with me, I have nothing to put in bar against the horrible sentence, nothing of my own, nothing that can ease Thy anger, or abate the fury of one stroke of Thy severe infliction. I do, O God, judge and condemn myself, and justify Thee, for Thou art righteous, and whatsoever Thou doest is good and true. But O my God, when the guilty condemns himself, nothing is left for the offended party but to return to graciousness and pardon. I, O Lord, have done Thy severe and angry work, I have sentenced a vile man to a sad suffering; and if I so perish as I have deserved, Thou art just and righteous, and Thou oughtest for ever to be glorified.

II.

But O my God, though I know that I have deserved evils that I know not, and hope I shall never feel, yet Thou art gracious and holy, and lovest more to behold Thy glory reflected from the floods and springs of mercy, than to see it refracted from the troubled waters of Thy angry and severe displeasure. And because Thou lovest it so highly to shew mercy, and because my eternal interest is served in it, I also ought to desire what Thou lovest, and to beg of Thee humbly and passionately that I may not perish; and to hope with a modest confidence that Thou hast mercy in store for him, to whom Thou hast given grace to ask for it: for it is one degree of pardon to be admitted to the station of penitent beggars; it

[m] [Psalm cxlv. 14.]

is another degree of pardon that Thou hast given me grace to hope, and I know that in the fountains of Thy own graciousness Thou hast infinite arguments and inducements to move Thee to pity me and to pardon.

III.

O my God, pity me for Thy name's sake, even for Thy own goodness' sake, and because I am miserable and need it. And because I have nothing of my own to be a ground of confidence, give Thy servant leave to place my hopes on Thee through Jesus Christ; Thou hast commanded me to come to the throne of grace with boldness, that I may find mercy in time of need; and Thou hast promised to give Thy holy spirit to them that ask Him. O dear God, give me pardon, and give me Thy spirit, and I am full and safe, and clothed and healed, and all that I desire to be, and all that I ought to be.

IV.

I have spent much time in vanity, and in undoing myself; grant me Thy grace, that I may recover my loss, and employ all the remaining portion of my time in holy offices and duties of repentance. My understanding hath been abused by false persuasions and vain confidences. But now, O God, I offer up that imperious faculty wholly to the obedience of Christ; to be governed by His laws, to be instructed by His doctrine, to be bended by all His arguments. My will hath been used to crookedness and peevish morosity in all virtuous employments, but greedy and fierce in the election and prosecution of evil actions and designs: but now, O God, I have no will but what is Thine, and I will rather die than consent and choose any thing that I know displeases Thee. My heart, O God, was a fountain of evil thoughts, ungracious words, and irregular actions, because my passions were not obedient nor orderly, neither temperate, nor governed, neither of a fitting measure, nor carried to a right object: but now, O God, I present them unto Thee, not as a fit oblation, but as the lepers and the blind, the lame and the crooked were brought unto the holy Jesus, to be made straight and clean, useful and illuminate; and when Thou hast taken into Thy possession what is Thine, and what I stole from Thee, or detained violently, and which the devil did usurp, then Thou wilt sanctify and save it, use it as Thine own, and make it to be so for ever.

V.

Blessed God, refuse not Thy returning son: I have prodigally wasted my talents, and spent my time in riotous and vain living; but I have not lost my title and relation to Thee my Father. O my

God, I have the sorrow of an humble penitent, the purposes of a converted sinner, the love of a pardoned person, the zeal of an obliged and redeemed prisoner, the hope of him that feels Thy present goodness, and longs for more. Reject me not, O my God, but do Thou work all my works within me. My heart is in Thy hands, and I know that 'the way of man is not in himself, it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.' But do Thou guide me into the way of righteousness; work in me an excellent repentance, a great caution and observance, an humble fear, a prudent and a religious hope, and a daily growing charity; 'work in me to will and to do of Thy good pleasure:' then shall I praise Thy name, and love Thy excellencies, and obey Thy commandments, and suffer Thy impositions, and be what Thou wouldst have me to be, that I being rescued from the possession of the devil, and the torments of perishing souls, may be admitted to serve Thee, and be a minister of Thy honour in the kingdoms of grace and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR AN OLD PERSON RETURNING AFTER A WICKED LIFE.

I.

O ETERNAL God, give me leave to speak for myself before I die: I would fain live and be healed, I have been too long Thine enemy, and would not be so for ever. My heart is broken within me, and all my fortunes are broken without; I know not how to speak, and I must not, I dare not hold my tongue.

II.

O my God, can yesterday be recalled, and the flying hours be stopped? in my youth I had not the prudence and caution of old age; but is it possible that in my old age I may be restored to the hopes and opportunities of youth? Thou didst make the sun to stand still at the prayer of Joshua, and return back at the importunity of Hezekiah. O do Thou make a new account for me, and reckon not the days of my youth; but from this day reckon the beginnings of my life, and measure it by the steps of duty, and the light of the sun of righteousness now rising upon my heart.

III.

I am ashamed, O God, I am ashamed that I should betray my reason, shame my nature, dishonour all my strengths, debauch my understanding, and baffle all my faculties for so base, so vile affections, so unrewarding interests. O my God, where is all that vanity

which I sucked so greedily as the wild asses do the wind? whither is that pleasure and madness gone which so ravished all my senses, and made me deaf to the holy charms of Thy divinest spirit? Behold, O God, I die for that which is not; and unless Thy mercy be my rescue, for ever I shall suffer torments insufferable, still to come, still to succeed, for having drunk of unsatisfying perishing waters, which had no current, no abode.

IV.

O dear God, smite me not yet; respite me one portion of time, I dare not say how much, but even as much as Thou pleasest. O stay a while, and try me but this once: it is true, O God, I have lost my strength, and given my vigorous years to that which I am ashamed to think on. But yet, O Lord, if Thou pleasest, my soul can be as active, and dutiful, and affectionate, and humble, and sorrowful, and watchful as ever. Thou dost not save any for his own worthiness, but eternal life is a gift; and Thou canst if Thou pleasest give it unto me. But why does my soul run thither, with all its loads of sin and shame upon it? That is too great yet to be thought of. O give me pardon, and give me sorrow, and give me a great, a mighty grace, to do the duty of a whole life in the remaining portion of my days.

V.

O my gracious Lord, whatever Thy sentence be, yet let me have the honour to serve Thee. Let me contribute something to Thy glory, let me converse with Thy saints and servants in the entercourses of piety; let me be admitted to be a servant to the meanest of Thy servants, to do something that Thou lovest. O God my God, do what Thou pleasest, so I may not for ever die in the sad and dishonourable impieties of the damned. Let me but be admitted to Thy service in all the degrees of my soul, and all the days of my short life, and my soul shall have some comfort, because I signify my love and duty to Thee for whom I will not refuse to die. O my God, I will not beg of Thee to give me comfort, but to give me duty and employment. Smite me if Thou pleasest, but smite me here; kill me if Thou pleasest, I have deserved it, but I would fain live to serve Thee, and for no other reason but that Thou mayest love to pardon and to sanctify me.

VI.

O blessed Jesus, do Thou intercede for me; Thy Father hears Thee in all things, and Thou knowest our infirmities, and hast felt our miseries, and didst die to snatch us from the intolerable flames of hell; and although Thou givest Thy gifts in differing proportions

to Thy servants, yet Thou dost equally offer pardon to all Thy enemies that will come unto Thee and beg it. O give me all faith, and all charity, and a spirit highly compunctive, highly industrious, passionate, prudent and indefatigable in holy services. Open Thy fountains, gracious Lord, and bathe my stained soul in Thy blood. Wash the Ethiop, cleanse the leper, dress the stranger's wounds, and forgive Thy enemy.

VII.

I will not, O my God, I dare not distrust those infinite glories of Thy mercy and graciousness, by which Thou art ready to save all the world. The sins of all mankind together are infinitely less than Thy mercy, and Thou who didst redeem the heathen world, wilt also I hope rescue me who am a Christian. This is my glory and my shame, my sins had not been so great if I had not disgraced so excellent a title, and abused so mighty a grace; but yet if the grace which I have abused had not been so great, my hopes had been less. 'One deep, O God, calls upon another.' O let the abyss of Thy mercy swallow up the puddles of my impurity; let my soul no longer sink in the dead sea of Sodom, but in the laver of Thy blood and my tears and sorrow; wash me who come to Thee to be cleansed and purified. It is not impossible to have it done, for Thy power hath no limit. It is not unusual for Thee to manifest such glories of an infinite mercy; Thou doest it daily. O give me a fast, a tenacious hope on Thee, and a bitter sorrow for my sins, and an excellent zeal of Thy glory; and let my repentance be more exemplary than my sins, that the infiniteness of that mercy which shall save me may be conspicuous to all saints and angels, and may endear the return of all sinners to Thee the fountain of holiness and mercy. Mercy, dear God, pity Thy servant, and do Thy work of grace speedily and mightily upon me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ EJACULATIONS AND SHORT PRAYERS TO BE USED BY DYING OR SICK PENITENTS AFTER A WICKED LIFE.

I. O ALMIGHTY Father of men and angels, I have often been taught that Thy mercies are infinite, and I know they are so; and if I be a person capable of comfort, this is the fountain of it: for my sins are not infinite, only because they could not be so, my desires were only limited by my nature, for I would not obey the Spirit.

II. Thou, O God, gavest mercy to the thief upon the cross, and from pain Thou didst bring him to paradise, from sin to repentance, from shame to glory. Thou wert the Lamb slain from the beginning

of the world, and art still slain in all the periods of it. O be Thou pleased to adorn Thy passion still with such miracles of mercy; and now in this sad conjunction of affairs, let me be made the instance.

III. Thou art angry if I despair; and therefore Thou commandest me to hope: my hope cannot rest upon myself, for I am a broken reed, and an undermined wall. But because it rests upon Thee, it ought not to be weak, because Thou art infinite in mercy and power.

IV. He that hath lived best, needs mercy, and he that hath lived worst, even I, O Lord, am not wounded beyond the efficacy of Thy blood, O dearest sweetest Saviour Jesus.

V. I hope it is not too late to say this; but if I might be suffered to live longer, I would by Thy grace live better, spending all my time in duty, laying out all my passion in love and sorrow, employing all my faculties in religion and holiness.

VI. O my God, I am ready to promise any thing now, and I am ready to do or to suffer any thing that may be the condition of mercy and pardon to me. But I hope I am not deceived by my fears, but that I should, if I might be tried, do all that I could, and love Thee with a charity, great like that mercy by which I humbly pray that I may be pardoned.

VII. My comfort, O God, is, that Thou canst if Thou wilt: and I am sure Thy mercy is as great as Thy power, and why then may not I hope that Thou wilt have mercy according to Thy power? Man, only man is the proper subject of Thy mercy, and therefore only he is capable of Thy mercy, because he hath sinned against Thee. Angels and the inferior creatures rejoice in Thy goodness, but only we that are miserable and sinful can rejoice in Thy mercy and forgiveness.

VIII. I confess I have destroyed myself; but in Thee is my help; for Thou gettest glory to Thy name by saving a sinner, by redeeming a captive slave, by enlightening a dark eye, by sanctifying a wicked heart, by pardoning innumerable and intolerable transgressions.

IX. O my Father, chastise me if Thou pleasest, but do not destroy me: I am a son, though an Absalom and a Cain, an unthankful, a malicious, a revengeful, uncharitable person; Thou judgest not by time, but by the measures of the Spirit. The affections of the heart are not to be weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, nor repentance to be measured by time, but by the Spirit and by the measures of Thy mercy.

X. O my God, hope is a word of an uncertain sound when it is placed in something that can fail, but Thou art my hope and my con-

fidence, and Thy mercies are sure mercies which Thou hast revealed to man in Christ Jesus, and they cannot fail them who are capable of them.

XI. O gracious Father, I am as capable of mercy as I was of being created; and the first grace is always so free a grace, so undeserved on our part, that he that needs and calls, is never forsaken by Thee.

XII. Blessed Jesus, give me leave to trust in Thy promises, in the letter of Thy promises; this letter killeth not, for it is the letter of Thy spirit, and saveth and maketh alive. 'Ask and you shall have,' so Thou hast said; O my God, they are Thy own words; and 'whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

XIII. There are, O blessed Jesus, many more; 'and one tittle of Thy word shall not pass away unaccomplished:' and nothing could be in vain by which Thou didst intend to support our hopes. 'If we confess our sins, Thou art just and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquities.'

XIV. When David said he would confess, then Thou forgavest him: when the prodigal was yet afar off, Thou didst run out to meet him, and didst receive him: when he was naked, Thou didst re-invest him with a precious robe; and what O God can demonstrate the greatness of Thy mercy, but such a misery as mine, so great a shame, so great a sinfulness?

XV. But what am I, O God, sinful dust and ashes, a miserable and undone man, that I should plead with the great Judge of all the world? Look not upon me as I am in myself, but through Jesus Christ behold Thy servant; clothe me with the robes of His righteousness, wash me in His blood, conform me to His image, fill me with His spirit, and give me time, or give me pardon and an excellent heroic spirit, that I may do all that can be done, something that is excellent, and that may be acceptable in Jesus Christ. If I perish, I perish; I have deserved it: but I will hope for mercy, till Thy mercy hath a limit, till Thy goodness can be numbered. O my God, let me not perish; Thou hast no pleasure in my death, and it is impossible for man to suffer Thy extremest wrath. Who can dwell with the everlasting burning? O my God, let me dwell safely in the embraces of Thy sweetest mercy. Amen. Amen. Amen.

CHAP. VI.

OF CONCUPISCENCE, AND ORIGINAL SIN; AND WHETHER OR NO, OR HOW FAR WE ARE BOUND TO REPENT OF IT.

§ 1. The doctrine explained and proved out of the scripture.

1. 'ORIGINAL SIN' is so called καταχρηστικῶς, or figuratively, meaning the sin of Adam, which was committed in the 'original' of mankind by our first parent, and which hath influence upon all his posterity. *Nascuntur non proprie sed originaliter peccatores*, so S. Austin[o]; and therefore S. Ignatius[p] calls it παλαιὰν δυσσέβειαν, 'the old impiety,' that which was in the original or first parent of mankind.

2. This sin brought upon Adam all that God threatened, but no more. A certainty of dying, together with the proper effects and affections of mortality, was inflicted on him, and he was reduced to the condition of his own nature, and then begat sons and daughters in his own likeness, that is, in the proper temper and constitution of mortal men. For as God was not bound to give what He never promised, viz., an immortal duration and abode in this life; so neither does it appear in that angry entercourse that God had with Adam, that He took from him or us any of our natural perfections, but His graces only.

3. Man being left in this state of pure naturals, could not by his own strength arrive to a supernatural end (which was typified in his being cast out of paradise, and the guarding it with the flaming sword of a cherub.) For eternal life being an end above our natural proportion, cannot be acquired by any natural means. Neither Adam nor any of his posterity could by any actions or holiness obtain heaven by desert, or by any natural efficiency; for it is a gift still, and it is *neque currentis, neque operantis*[q], 'neither of him that runneth, nor of him that worketh, but of God' who freely gives it to such persons whom He also by other gifts and graces hath disposed toward the reception of it.

4. What gifts and graces or supernatural endowments God gave

[n] [This chapter brought much obloquy upon the author. He himself had his misgivings as to how it would be received (see p. 17 sq. above); his popish adversary E. W. (see vol. vi. p. 285) in the prefatory epistle to his work 'Truth will out,' &c., openly spoke of him as having denied the doctrine of Original Sin; and Taylor found it necessary to defend his statements in a supplementary tract, entitled, 'A further explication of the doctrine of Original Sin;' which now forms the next chapter of the work.—For other particulars, see Heber's Life of Taylor.]

[o] De civitate Dei, lib. xvi. c. 18. [leg. 27.—tom. vii. col. 440.]

[p] Epist. ad Trallian. [interpol., § viii. p. 64.]

[q] [vid. Rom. ix. 16.]

to Adam in his state of innocence, we know not; God hath no where told us, and of things unrevealed we commonly make wild conjectures. But after his fall we find no sign of any thing but of a common man. And therefore as it was with him, so it is with us; our nature cannot go to heaven without the helps of the divine grace; so neither could his: and whether he had them or no, it is certain we have; receiving more by the second Adam than we did lose by the first: and the sons of God are now 'spiritual,' which he never was that we can find.

5. But concerning the sin of Adam, tragical things are spoken; 'it destroyed his original righteousness, and lost it to us for ever; it corrupted his nature, and corrupted ours, and brought upon him, and not him only, but on us also who thought of no such thing, an inevitable necessity of sinning, making it as natural to us to sin as to be hungry, or to be sick and die; and the consequent of these things is saddest of all, we are born enemies of God, sons of wrath, and heirs of eternal damnation.'

6. In the meditation of these sad stories I shall separate the certain from the uncertain, that which is revealed from that which is presumed, that which is reasonable from that which makes too bold reflections upon God's honour, and the reputation of His justice and His goodness. I shall do it in the words of the apostle from whence men commonly dispute in this question, right or wrong according as it happens.

7. "By one man sin came into the world[r]." That sin entered into the world by Adam, is therefore certain, because he was the first man, and unless he had never sinned, it must needs enter by him, for it comes in first by the first.—"And death by sin," that is, death which at first was the condition of nature, became a punishment upon that account: just as it was to the serpent to creep upon his belly, and to the woman to be subject to her husband. These things were so before, and would have been so; for the apostle pressing the duty of subjection, gives two reasons why the woman was to obey: one of them only was derived from this sin, the other was the prerogative of creation; for "Adam was first formed, then Eve[s];" so that before her fall, she was to have been subject to her husband, because she was later in being; she was a minor, and therefore under subjection; she was also the weaker vessel. But it had not been a curse, and if any of them had been hindered by grace and favour, by God's anger they were now left to fall back to the condition of their nature.

8. "Death passed upon all men;" that is, upon all the old world, who were drowned in the flood of the divine vengeance; and who did sin after the similitude of Adam. And therefore S. Paul adds that for the reason, "Inasmuch as all men have sinned." If all

[r] [Rom. v. 12.] [s] [1 Tim. ii. 13.]

men have sinned upon their own account (as it is certain they have) then these words can very well mean that Adam first sinned, and all his sons and daughters sinned after him, and so "died in their own sin[t]," by a death which at first and in the whole constitution of affairs is natural, and a death which their own sins deserved, but yet which was hastened or ascertained upon them the rather for the sin of their progenitor. Sin propagated upon that root and vicious example; or rather from that beginning, not from that cause, but *dum ita peccant, et similiter moriuntur*, 'if they sin so, then so shall they die;' so S. Hierome[u].

9. But this is not thought sufficient; and men do usually affirm that we are formally and properly made sinners by Adam, and in him we all by interpretation sinned; and therefore think these words ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, 'forasmuch as all men have sinned,' ought to be expounded thus, Death passed upon all men; 'in whom' all men have sinned: meaning that in Adam we really sinned, and God does truly and justly impute his sin to us, to make us as guilty as he that did it, and as much punished, and liable to eternal damnation. And all the great force of this fancy relies upon this exposition of ἐφ' ᾧ, to signify 'in him.'

10. Concerning which there will be the less need of a laborious enquiry, if it be observed, first, that the words being read, 'Forasmuch as all men have sinned,' bear a fair and clear discourse and very intelligible; if it be rendered 'in him,' it is violent and hard, a distinct period by itself, without dependence or proper purpose, against the faith of all copies, who do not make this a distinct period, and against the usual manner of speaking. Secondly, this phrase of ἐφ' ᾧ is used in 2 Cor. v. 4, ἐφ' ᾧ[x] οὐ θελόμεν ἐκδύσασθαι, 'not for that we would be unclothed;' and so it is used in Polybius[y], Suidas[z], and Varinus[a]; ἐφ' ᾧ, that is, *ea conditione*, 'for that cause or condition;' and ἐφ' ᾧ παρεῖ, *ad quid ades*[z], are the words of the gospel, as Suidas[z] quotes them. Thirdly, although ἐφ' ᾧ may signify the same with ἐν ᾧ, 'in whom,' or 'in him;' yet it is so very seldom or infrequent, that it were intolerable to do violence to this place to force it to an unnatural signification. Fourthly, if it did always signify the same with ἐν ᾧ, or 'in him,' which it does not; yet we might very well follow the same reading we now do, and which the apostle's discourse does infer; for even ἐν ᾧ does divers times signify 'forasmuch,' or 'for that,' as is to be seen in Rom. viii. 3, and Heb. ii. 18. But fifthly, supposing all that can be, and that it did signify 'in whom,' yet the sense were fair enough, as to the whole article; for 'by him,' or 'in him, we are made sinners,' that is, brought to an evil state of things usually consequent to sinners: we are used

[t] [Numb. xxvii. 3.]
[u] [Pseudo-Hieron. in Rom. v. 12.—tom. v. col. 941.]
[x] [So Wetstein and others; al. ἐπειδή.]
[y] [lib. ix. cap. 27.]
[z] [In voc. ἐφ' ᾧ, col. 1555.]
[a] [al. Phavorinus, in voc. ἐφ' ᾧ, col. 813.]

like sinners 'by him,' or 'in him;' just as when a sinner is justified, he is treated like a righteous person as if he had never sinned, though he really did sin oftentimes; and this for His sake who is made righteousness to us: so 'in Adam we are made sinners,' that is, treated ill and afflicted, though ourselves be innocent of that sin, which was the occasion of our being used so severely for other sins of which we were not innocent. But how this came to pass is told in the following words.

11. "For until the law, sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed when there is no law: nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him that was to come[b]." By which discourse it appears, that S. Paul does not speak of all mankind, as if the evil occasioned by Adam's sin did descend for ever upon that account; but it had a limited effect, and reached only to those who were in the interval between Adam and Moses. This death was brought upon them by Adam; that is, death which was threatened to Adam only, went forth upon them also who indeed were sinners, but 'not after the similitude of Adam's transgression;' that is, who sinned not so capitally as he did. For to sin like Adam, is used as a tragical and a high expression. So it is in the prophet[c], 'They like men have transgressed,' so we read it; but in the Hebrew it is, 'They like Adam have transgressed,' and yet death passed upon them that did not sin after the similitude of Adam; for Abel, and Seth, and Abraham, and all the patriarchs died (Enoch only excepted) and therefore it was no wonder that upon the sin of Adam death entered upon the world, who generally sinned like Adam, since it passed on and reigned upon less sinners. It reigned upon them whose sins therefore would not be so imputed as Adam's was, because there was no law with an express threatening given to them as was to Adam; but although it was not wholly imputed upon their own account, yet it was imputed upon theirs and Adam's. For God was so exasperated with mankind, that being angry He would still continue that punishment even to the lesser sins and sinners, which He only had first threatened to Adam: and so Adam brought it upon them. They indeed in rigour did themselves deserve it, but if it had not been for that provocation by Adam, they who sinned not so bad, and had not been so severely and expressly threatened, had not suffered so severely. The case is this. Jonathan and Michal were Saul's children; it came to pass that seven of Saul's issue were to be hanged, all equally innocent, equally culpable. David took the five sons of Michal, for she had left him unhandsomely. Jonathan was his friend, and therefore he spared his son Mephibosheth. Here it was indifferent as to the guilt of the persons, whether David should take the sons of Michal or of Jonathan; but it is likely that as

[b] [Rom. v. 13, 4.]

[c] [Hos. vi. 7.]

upon the kindness which David had to Jonathan he spared his son, so upon the just provocation of Michal he made that evil to fall upon them, of which they were otherwise capable, which it may be they should not have suffered if their mother had been kind. Adam was to God as Michal to David.

12. But there was in it a further design: for by this dispensation of death, Adam was made a figure of Christ: so the apostle expressly affirms, "who is the figure of Him that was to come;" that as death passed upon the posterity of Adam, though they sinned less than Adam; so life should be given to the followers of Christ, though they were imperfectly righteous, that is, not after the similitude of Christ's perfection.

13. But for the further clearing the article depending upon the right understanding of these words, these two things are observable. First, that the evil of death descending upon Adam's posterity, for his sake went no further than till Moses. For after the giving of Moses' law, death passed no further upon the account of Adam's transgression, but by the sanction of Moses' law, where death was anew, distinctly, and expressly threatened as it was to Adam, and so went forward upon a new score, but introduced first by Adam; that is, he was the cause at first, and till Moses also he was in some sense the author, and for ever after the precedent; and therefore the apostle said well, 'In Adam we all die:' his sin brought in the sentence, in him it began, and from him it passed upon all the world, though by several dispensations. Secondly, in the discourse of the apostle, those that were named were not considered simply as born from Adam, and therefore it did not come upon the account of natural or original corruption, but they were considered as sinners; just as they who have life by Christ are not considered as merely children by title, or spiritual birth, and adoption, but as just and faithful. But then this is the proportion and purpose of the apostle; as God gives to these life by Christ, which is a greater thing than their imperfect righteousness without Christ could have expected: so here also; this part of Adam's posterity was punished with death for their own sin: but this death was brought upon them by Adam; that is, the rather for his provocation of God by his great transgression.

14. There is now remaining no difficulty but in the words of the nineteenth verse, "By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." Concerning which I need not make use of the word πολλοὶ, or 'many;' whom sometimes S. Paul calls πάντας, sometimes πολλοὺς, 'all,' and 'many,' that is, all from Adam to Moses, but they are but 'many,' and not 'all' in respect of mankind; exactly answering to the 'all' that have life by Christ, which are only the πολλοὶ, or the πιστεύοντες, those 'many that believe,' and are adopted into the covenant of believers: by this indeed it is perceivable that this was not a natural title or derivation of an inherent

corruption from Adam, for that must have included 'all,' absolutely and universally. But that which I here dwell and rely upon is this:

15. 'Sin' is often in scripture used for the punishment of sin[d]: and they that suffer, are called 'sinners,' though they be innocent. So it is in this case. 'By Adam's disobedience many were made sinners;' that is, the sin of Adam passed upon them, and sate upon their heads with evil effect, like that of Bathsheba; 'I and my son shall be accounted sinners[e];' that is, evil will befal us, we shall be used like sinners, like traitors and usurpers. So, "This shall be the sin of Egypt," said the prophet[f]; "This shall be the punishment," so we read it. And Cain, complaining of the greatness of his punishment, said, "Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear[g]." And to put it past all doubt, not only punishment is called sin in scripture, but even he that bears it; "Him that knew no sin, God hath made sin, that we might be the righteousness of God in Him[h]:" and the prophet Isaiah[i] speaking of Christ, saith, *Posuit peccatum animam suam*, 'He hath made His soul a sin,' that is, obnoxious to the punishment of sin. Thus it is said that "Christ shall appear the second time without sin[k]," that is, without the punishment of sin, "unto salvation:" for of sin, formally or materially, He was at first as innocent as at the second time; that is, pure in both. And if Christ who bare our burden, became sin for us in the midst of His purest innocence, that we also are by Adam made sinners, that is, suffer evil by occasion of his demerit, infers not that we have any formal guilt, or enmity against God upon that account. *Facti peccatores* in S. Paul, 'by Adam we are made sinners,' answers both in the story and in the expression to *Christus factus peccatum pro nobis;* 'Christ was made sin for us,' that is, was exposed to the evil that is consequent to sin, viz., to its punishment.

16. For the further explication of which, it is observable that the word 'sinner' and 'sin' in scripture is used for any person that hath a fault or a legal impurity, a debt, a vitiosity, defect, or imperfection. For the Hebrews use the word חַטָּאת for any obligation which is contracted by the law without our fault. Thus a Nazarite who had touched a dead body, was tied to offer a sacrifice περὶ ἁμαρτίας, 'for sin;' and the reason is added, ὅτι ἥμαρτε περὶ ψυχῆς, that is, 'he had sinned concerning the dead body,' and yet it was nothing but a legal impurity, nothing moral. And the offering that was made by the leprous, or the menstruous, or the diseased *in profluvio seminis*, is called περὶ ἁμαρτίας, an offering 'for sin,' and yet it might be innocent all the way.

17. Thus in the epistle to the Hebrews[l] it is said that our blessed

[d] [Gesenius et Simonis, חַטָּאת.]
[e] [1 Kings i. 21.]
[f] [Zech. xiv. 19.]
[g] [Gen. iv. 13.]
[h] [2 Cor. v. 21.]
[i] [Isa. liii. 10.]
[k] [Heb. ix. 28.]
[l] [chap. vii. 27.]

Lord (who is compared to the high-priest among the Jews) did 'offer first for His own sins;' by which word it is certain that no sin properly could be meant, for Christ was ἀναμάρτητος, He 'knew no sin;' but it means, the state of His infirmity, the condition of His mortal body, which He took for us and our sins, and is a state of misery and of distance from heaven; for "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven;" whither Christ was not to go, till by offering himself He had unclothed himself of that imperfect vesture, as they that were legally impure might not go to the temple before their offering: and therefore when by death He quit himself of this condition, it is said, 'He died unto sin[m].' Parallel to this is that of S. Paul in the fifth chapter to the Hebrews[n], where the state of infirmity is expressly called sin; the high-priest "is himself also compassed with infirmity; and by reason hereof he ought, as for the people, so also for himself to offer for sins." This is also more expressly by S. Paul[o] called ὁμοίωμα τῆς σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας, 'the likeness of the sin of the flesh;' and thus concupiscence, or the first motions and inclinations to sin, is called sin, and said to have the nature of sin, that is, ὁμοίωμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, the likeness, it may be, the material part of sin, or something by which sin is commonly known. And thus Origen[p] observes that an oblation was to be offered even for new-born children, ὡς οὐ καθαρῶν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας, 'as if they were not clean from sin.' But this being an usual expression among the Hebrews, bears its sense upon the palm of the hand, and signifies only the legal impurity in which the ἀρτιγεγεννημένοι, the 'new-born babes' and their mothers were involved. Even Christ himself, who had no original sin, was subject to this purification. So we read in S. Luke[q], And when the days of 'her' purification were accomplished; but in most books, and particular in the king's MS. it is read, καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν, the days of 'their' purification. But the things of this nature being called 'offerings for sins,' and the expression usual among the Jews, I doubt not but hath given occasion to the christian writers to fancy other things than were intended.

18. Having now explicated those words of S. Paul, which by being misunderstood have caused strange devices in this article, we may now without prejudice examine what really was the effect of Adam's sin, and what evil descended upon his posterity.

19. Adam's sin was punished by an expulsion out of paradise, in which was a tree appointed to be the cure of diseases and a conservatory of life. There was no more told as done, but this, and its proper consequents. He came into a land less blessed, a land which bore thistles and briars easily, and fruits with difficulty, so that he was forced to sweat hard for his bread; and this also (I cannot say

[m] [Rom. vi. 10.]
[n] [ver. 2, 3.]
[o] [Rom. viii. 3.]
[p] [Contra Celsum, lib. vii. cap. 50.—tom. i. p. 730 C.]
[q] [Luke ii. 22.]

did descend, but) must needs be the condition of his children who were left to live so, and in the same place; just as when young Anthony had seized upon Marcus Cicero's land, the son also lost what he never had. And thus death came in, not by any new sentence or change of nature: for man was created mortal; and if Adam had not sinned, he should have been immortal by grace, that is, by the use of the tree of life; and now being driven from the place where the tree grew, was left in his own natural constitution, that is, to be sick and die without that remedy. Οἱ γεγονότες ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ φθαρτοῦ φθαρτοὶ γεγόναμεν[r], 'he was mortal of himself, and we are mortal from him.' *Peccando Adam posteros morti subjecit, et universos huic delicto obnoxios reddit,* said Justin Martyr[s], 'Adam by his sin made all his posterity liable to the sin, and subjected them to death.' One explicates the other; and therefore S. Cyprian[t] calls original sin, *Malum domesticum, contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contractum.* His sin infected us with death, and this infection we derive in our birth, that is, we are born mortal. Adam's sin was imputed to us unto a natural death; in him we are sinners, as in him we die. But this sin is not real and inherent, but imputed only to such a degree. So S. Cyprian[t] affirms most expressly, *Infans recens natus nihil peccavit nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit.* An infant hath not sinned, save only that being carnally born of Adam, in his first birth he hath contracted the contagion of the old death.

20. This evil which is the condition of all our natures, viz., to die, was to some a punishment, but to others not so. It was a punishment to all that sinned both before Moses and since; upon the first it fell as a consequent of God's anger upon Adam, as I before discoursed; upon the latter it fell as a consequent of that anger which was threatened in Moses' law. But to those who sinned not at all, as infants and innocents, it was merely a condition of their nature, and no more a punishment, than to be a child is. It was a punishment of Adam's sin; because by his sin human nature became disrobed of their preternatural immortality, and therefore upon that account they die; but as it related to the persons, it was not a punishment, not an evil inflicted for their sin, or any guiltiness of their own, properly so called.

21. We find nothing else in scripture expressed to be the effect of Adam's sin; and beyond this without authority we must not go. Other things are said, but I find no warrant for them in that sense they are usually supposed, and some of them in no sense at all. The particulars commonly reckoned, are, that from Adam we derive an original ignorance, a proneness to sin, a natural malice, a *fomes,* or nest of sin imprinted and placed in our souls, a loss of our will's

[r] Cyril. adv. Anthrop. [cap. 8.—tom. vi. p. 375.]

[s] Dial. adv. Tryph. [vid. cap. 88. p. 186 A.—Sed verba habentur in Exposrect. confess., c. 10.—Append. p. 427 C.]

[t] Lib. iii. ep. 8. [al. ep. 64. p. 161.]

liberty, and nothing is left but a liberty to sin, which liberty upon the sum of affairs is expounded to be a necessity to sin: and the effect of all is, we are born heirs of damnation.

22. Concerning original or natural ignorance, it is true we derive it from our parents, I mean we are born with it; but I do not know that any man thinks that if Adam had not sinned that sin, Cain should have been wise as soon as his navel had been cut. Neither can we guess at what degree of knowledge Adam had before his fall. Certainly, if he had had so great a knowledge, it is not likely he would so cheaply have sold himself and all his hopes, out of a greedy appetite to get some knowledge. But concerning his posterity; indeed it is true a child cannot speak at first, nor understand; and if (as Plato[x] said) all our knowledge is nothing but memory, it is no wonder a child is born without knowledge. But so it is in the wisest men in the world; they also when they see or hear a thing first, think it strange, and could not know it till they saw or heard it. Now this state of ignorance we derive from Adam, as we do our nature, which is a state of ignorance and all manner of imperfection; but whether it was not imperfect, and apt to fall into forbidden instances even before his fall, we may best guess at by the event; for if he had not had a rebellious appetite, and an inclination to forbidden things, by what could he have been tempted, and how could it have come to pass that he should sin? Indeed this nature was made worse by sin, and became devested[y] of whatsoever it had extraordinary, and was left naked and mere, and therefore it is not only an original imperfection which we inherit, but in the sense now explicated, it is also an original corruption. And this is all: as natural death by his sin became a curse, so our natural imperfection became natural corruption, and that is 'original sin.' Death and imperfection we derive from Adam, but both were natural to us; but by him they became actual, and penal, and by him they became worse, as by every evil act every principle of evil is improved. And in this sense this article is affirmed by all the doctors of the ancient church. We are miserable really, sinners in account or effect, that properly, this improperly; and are fallen into so sad a state of things, which we also every day make worse, that we did need a Saviour to redeem us from it. For in original sin we are to consider the principle, and the effects. The principle is the actual sin of Adam; this being to certain purposes by God's absolute dominion imputed to us, hath brought upon us a necessity of dying, and all the affections of mortality; which although they were natural, yet would by grace have been hindered. Another evil there is upon us, and that is concupiscence; this also is natural, but it was actual before the fall, it was in Adam, and tempted him. This also from him is derived to us, and is by many causes made worse, by him and by ourselves. And this is

[x] [In Menone, et alibi passim.]

[y] [sic edd.]

the whole state of original sin, so far as is fairly warrantable. But for the other particulars the case is wholly differing.

The sin of Adam neither made us { 1. Heirs of damnation: nor 2. Naturally and necessarily vicious.

23. I. It could not make us heirs of damnation. This I shall the less need to insist upon, because of itself it seems so horrid to impute to the goodness and justice of God to be author of so great a calamnity to innocents, that S. Austin's followers have generally left him in that point, and have descended to this lesser proportion, that original sin damns only to the eternal loss of the sight of God's glorious face. But to this, I say these things.

24. *α.* That there are many divines which believe this alone to be the worm that never dies, and the fire that never goeth out; that is, in effect, this, and the anguish for this, is all the hell of the damned. And unless infants remain infants in the resurrection too (which no man that I know affirms) or unless they be senseless and inapprehensive, it is not to be imagined but that all that know they are by way of punishment deprived of the glorious face of God, must needs have a horrible anguish of soul to eternal ages. And this argument, besides the reasonableness of the thing, hath warrant from the words of S. Austin [z], *Si hoc eis non erit malum, non ergo amabunt regnum Dei tot innocentes imagines Dei? Si autem amabunt, et tantum amabunt quantum innocentes amare debent regnum ejus a quo ad ipsius imaginem creantur, nihilne mali de hac ipsa separatione patientur?* Here the good man and eloquent supposes the little babies to be innocent, to be images of God, to love the kingdom of God, and yet to be sentenced to hell: which it may be he did, but I do not understand; save only that in the parable we find Dives in hell to be very charitable to his living brethren. But that which I make use of for the present is that infants, besides the loss of God's presence and the beholding His face, are apprehensive and afflicted with that evil state of things whither their infelicity, not their fault, hath carried them.

25. *β.* But suppose this to be but a mere privative state, yet it cannot be inflicted upon infants as a punishment of Adam's sin, and upon the same account it cannot be inflicted upon any one else. Not upon infants, because they are not capable of a law for themselves, therefore much less of a law which was given to another, here being a double incapacity of obedience: they cannot receive any law, and if they could, yet of this they never were offered any notice till it was too late. Now if infants be not capable of this, nor chargeable with it, then no man is; for all are infants first, and if it comes not by birth, and at first, it cannot come at all. So that although this privative hell be less than to say they are tormented in flames be-

[z] Lib. vi. in Julian. c. 4. [leg. 10.—tom. x. col. 679.]

sides, yet it is as unequal and unjust. There is not indeed the same cruelty, but there is the same injustice. I deny not but all persons naturally are so that they cannot arrive at heaven, but unless some other principle be put into them, or some great grace done for them, must for ever stand separate from seeing the face of God. But this is but accidentally occasioned by the sin of Adam. That left us in our natural state, and that state can never come to heaven in its own strength. But this condition of all men by nature is not the punishment of our sin; for this would suppose that, were it not for this sin superinduced, otherwise we should go to heaven. Now this is not true; for if Adam had not sinned, yet without something supernatural, some grace and gift, we could never go to heaven. Now although the sin of Adam left him in his nakedness, and a mere natural man, yet presently this was supplied; and we were never in it, but were improved and bettered by the promise, and Christ hath died for mankind, and in so doing is become our Redeemer and representative; and therefore this sin of Adam cannot call us back from that state of good things into which we are put by the mercies of God in our Lord Jesus; and therefore now no infant or idiot, or man or woman shall for this alone be condemned to an eternal banishment from the sweetest presence of God. But this will be evinced more certainly in the following periods. For if they stand for ever banished from the presence of God, then they shall be for ever shut up in hell with the devil and his angels; for the scripture hath mentioned no portions but of the right and left hand. Greg. Naz.[a] and his scholiast Nicetas did suppose that there should be a middle state between heaven and hell for infants and heathens; and concerning infants P. Innocent the third and some schoolmen[b] have taken it up: but S. Austin[c] hath sufficiently confuted it; and it is sufficient that there is no ground for it but their own dreams.

26. γ. But then against those that say, the flames of hell is the portion of Adam's heirs, and that infants dying in original sin are eternally tormented as Judas, or Dives, or Julian, I call to witness all the economy of the divine goodness, and justice and truth. "The soul that sins it shall die; as I live, saith the Lord, the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father[d];" that is, he shall not be guilty of his crime, nor liable to his punishment.

27. δ. Is hell so easy a pain, or are the souls of children of so cheap, so contemptible a price, that God should so easily throw them into hell? God's goodness, which pardons many sins which we could avoid, will not so easily throw them into hell for what they could not avoid. God's goodness is against this.

28. ε. It is supposed that Adam did not finally perish for that sin

[a] [Orat. in sanct. baptism., tom. i. p. 653, et Nicet. in eund. loc., tom. ii. p. 1062.—opp. Greg. Naz. fol. Par. 1609.]

[b] Ambrosius Catharinus, Albertus Pighius. [vid. p. 262, not. o, infra.]

[c] De verb. apost., serm. xiv. [al. serm. ccxciv.—tom. v. col. 1183 sqq.]

[d] Ezek. xviii. [vid. ver. 20.]

which himself committed; all antiquity thought so, Tatianus only excepted, who was a heretic accounted, and the father of the Encratites[e]. But then what equity is it that any innocents or little children should? For either God pardoned Adam, or condemned him. If He pardoned him that sinned, it is not so agreeable to His goodness to exact it of others that did not[f]. For if He pardoned him, then either God took off all that to which he was liable, or only removed it from him to place it somewhere else. If He removed it from him to his posterity, that is it which we complain of as contrary to His justice and His goodness. But if God took off all that was due, how could God exact it of others, it being wholly pardoned? But if God did not pardon him the eternal guilt, but took the forfeiture and made him pay the full price of his sin, that is, all which He did threaten and intend, then it is not to be supposed that God should in justice demand more than eternal pains as the price to be paid by one man for one sin. So that in all senses this seems unjust.

29. ζ. To be born, was a thing wholly involuntary and unchosen, and therefore it could in no sense be chosen that we were born so, that is, born guilty of Adam's sin, which we knew not of; which was done so many thousand years before we were born; which we had never heard of if God had not been pleased by a supernatural way to reveal to us; which the greatest part of mankind to this day have never heard of; at which we were displeased as soon as we knew of it; which hath caused much trouble to us, but never tempted us with any pleasure.

30. η. No man can perish for that of which he was not guilty; but we could not be involved in the guilt, unless some way or other our consent had been involved. For it is no matter who sins, or who is innocent, if he that is innocent may perish for what another does without his knowledge or leave, either asked, or given, or presumed. But if our consent was in it, then either it was included naturally, or by an express will of God that made it so. It can no way be imagined how our will can be naturally included, for we had no natural being. We had no life, and therefore no action, and therefore no consent. For it is impossible there should be an act of will in any sense, when there is an act of understanding in no sense. But if by a divine act or decree it became so, and not by our act, then we only are said to consent, because God would have it so; which, if we speak intelligibly, is to charge God with making us guilty when we were not, to say we consented when we did not.

31. θ. In pursuance of which argument, I consider, that whatso-

[e] [Epiphan. hær. xxvi. al. xlvi. p. 390.]

[f] Ex tarditate si Dii sontes præteream et insontes plectant, justitiam suam non sic recte resarciunt. [vid. Plut. de ser. num. vindict. (juxta interpr. Xylandr.) tom. viii. p. 203.]

ever can be said to consent, must have a being either in or out of its causes. But our will was not in being or actual existence when Adam sinned: it was then in its causes. But the soul, and so the will of man, hath no cause but God, it being with the soul immediately created. If therefore we sinned, we could not sin in ourselves, for we were not born; nor could we sin in Adam, for he was not the cause of our will; it must therefore be that we sinned in God: for as was our being, so must our action be; but our being was then only in God, our will and our soul was in Him only, *tanquam in sua causa*, therefore in Him was our action, or consent, or what we please to call it. Which affirmative, what sense, or what piety, or what probability it can have in it, I suppose, needs not much enquiry.

32. ι. To condemn infants to hell for the fault of another, is to deal worse with them than God did to the very devils, who did not perish but for an act of their own most perfect choice.

33. κ. This, besides the formality of injustice and cruelty, does add and suppose a circumstance of a strange ungentle contrivance. For because it cannot be supposed that God should damn infants or innocents without cause, it finds out this way, that God to bring His purposes to pass, should create a guilt for them, or bring them into an inevitable condition of being guilty by a way of His inventing. For if He did make any such agreement with Adam, He beforehand knew that Adam would forfeit all, and therefore that unavoidably all his posterity should be surprised. This is to make pretences, and to invent justifications and reasons of His proceedings, which indeed are all one as if they were not. For he that can make a reason for an action otherwise unjust, can do it without any reason[s]; especially when the reason itself makes the misery as fatal as a decree without a reason. And if God cannot be supposed to damn infants without just cause, and therefore He so ordered it that a cause should not be wanting, but He infallibly and irresistibly made them guilty of Adam's sin; is not this to resolve to make them miserable, and then with scorn to triumph in their sad condition? For if they could not deserve to perish without a fault of their own, how could they deserve to have such a fault put upon them? If it be unjust to damn them without cause, is it not also unjust to make a cause for them whether they will or no?

34. λ. It is supposed and generally taught, that before the fall Adam had original righteousness, that is, not only that he was innocent as children new born are of actual sin (which seems to be that which divines call 'original righteousness,' there being no other either taught, or reasonable) but a rare rectitude of the inner man, a just subordination of the inferior faculties to the superior, an excellent knowledge and clear light: and therefore that he would sin had so little excuse, that well it might deserve such a punishment, so great

[s] Qui vult aliquid in causa vult effectum ex ista causa profluentem.

as himself suffered. Indeed if he had no such rare perfections and rectitude, I can say nothing to the particular: but to the question, this; that if Adam had it not, then he could not lose it, nor his posterity after him; as it is fiercely and mightily pretended that they did. But if he had this rectitude and rare endowments, what equity is it that his posterity who had no such helps to resist the sin, and were so far from having any helps at all to resist it, that they had no notice of it, neither of the law, nor the danger, nor the temptation, nor the action, till it was past; I say, what equity is it that his posterity should in the midst of all these imperfections be equally punished with him, who sinned against so great a light, and so mighty helps?

35. μ. Infants cannot justly perish for Adam's sin, unless it be just that their wills should be included in his will, and his will justly become theirs by interpretation. Now if so, I ask whether before that sin of Adam were our wills free, or not free? For if we had any will at all, it must be free, or not free. If we had none at all, how could it be involved in his? Now if our wills were free, why are they, without our act, and whether we will or no, involved in the will of another? if they were not free, how could we be guilty? If they were free, then they could also dissent: if they were not free, then they could not consent; and so either they never had, or else before Adam's fall they lost their liberty.

36. ν. But if it be enquired seriously, I cannot imagine what can be answered. Could we prevent the sin of Adam? could we hinder it? were we ever asked? could we, if we had been asked after we were born a month, have given our negative? or could we do more before we were born than after? were we, or could we be tied to prevent that sin? did not God know that we could not in that case dissent? and why then shall our consent be taken in by interpretation, when our dissent could not be really acted? But if at that time we could not dissent really, could we have dissented from Adam's sin by interpretation? If not, then we could dissent no way, and then it was inevitably decreed that we should be ruined: for neither really, nor by interpretation could we have dissented. But if we could by interpretation have dissented, it were certainly more agreeable to God's goodness to have interpreted for us in the better sense rather than in the worse; being we did neither, really and actually; and if God had so pleased, He rather might with His goodness have interpreted us to have dissented, than He could with justice have interpreted us to have consented: and therefore certainly He did so, or would have done, if there had been need.

37. ξ. Lastly; the consequent of these is this; that because God is true and just and wise, and good, and merciful, it is not to be supposed that He will snatch infants from their mothers' breasts, and throw them into the everlasting flames of hell for the sin of Adam, that is, as to them, for their mere natural state of which Himself was

Author and Creator: that is, He will not damn them for being good. For "God saw every thing that He had made, and behold it was very good:" and therefore so is that state of descent from Adam. God is the Author of it, and therefore it cannot be ill. It cannot be contrary to God, because it is His work.

38. Upon the account of these reasons I suppose it safe to affirm that God does not damn any one to hell merely for the sin of our first father; which I sum up in the words of S. Ambrose[h], or whoever is the author of the commentaries upon the epistles of S. Paul attributed to him, *Mors autem dissolutio corporis est, cum anima a corpore separatur; est et alia mors, quæ secunda dicitur, in gehenna, quam non peccato Adæ patimur, sed ejus occasione propriis peccatis acquiritur,* 'death is the dividing soul and body; there is also another death which is in hell, and is called the second death, which we do not suffer for the sin of Adam, but by occasion of it we fall into it by our own sins.'

II. Next we are to enquire whether or no it does not make us infallibly, naturally, and necessarily vicious, by taking from us original righteousness, by discomposing the order of our faculties, and enslaving the will to sin and folly; concerning which the enquiry must be made by parts.

39. For if the sin of Adam did debauch our nature, and corrupt our will and manners, it is either

1) By a physical or natural efficiency of the sin itself; or
2) Because we were all in the loins of Adam; or
3) By the sentence and decree of God.

40. 1) Not by any natural efficiency of the sin itself; α) Because then it must be that every sin of Adam must spoil such a portion of his nature, that before he died, he must be a very beast. β) We also by degeneration and multiplication of new sins must have been at so vast a distance from him at the very worst, that by this time we should not have been so wise as a fly, nor so free and unconstrained as fire. γ) If one sin would naturally and by physical causality destroy 'original righteousness,' then every one sin in the regenerate can as well destroy 'habitual righteousness,' because that and this differ not but in their principle, not in their nature and constitution. And why should not a righteous man as easily and as quickly fall from grace, and lose his habits, as Adam did? Naturally it is all one. δ) If that one sin of Adam did destroy all his righteousness and ours too, then our original sin does more hurt, and is more punished, and is of greater malice than our actual sin. For one act of sin does but lessen and weaken the habit, but does not quite destroy it. If therefore this act of Adam (in which certainly at least we did not offend maliciously) destroys all original righteousness, and a malicious act now does not

[h] In cap. v. Rom. [ver. 12.—tom. ii. append. col. 54 E.]

destroy a righteous habit, it is better for us in our own malice, than in our ignorance, and we suffer less for doing evil that we know of, than for doing that which we knew nothing of.

41. 2) If it be said that this evil came upon us because we all were in the loins of Adam; I consider, α) That then by the same reason we are guilty of all the sins which he ever committed while we were in his loins; there being no imaginable reason why the first sin should be propagated, and not the rest; and he might have sinned the second time, and have sinned worse. Add to this that the later sins are commonly the worse, as being committed not only against the same law, but a greater reason, and a longer experience, and heightened by the mark of ingratitude, and deeply noted with folly, for venturing damnation so much longer: and then he that was born last should have most original sin; and Seth should in his birth and nature be worse than Abel, and Abel be worse than Cain. β) Upon this account all the sins of all our progenitors will be imputed to us, because we were in their loins when they sinned them; and every lustful father must have a lustful son, and so every man or no man will be lustful. For if ever any man were lustful or intemperate when or before he begot his child, upon this reckoning his child will be so too, and then his grandchild, and so on for ever. γ) Sin is seated in the will, it is an action, and transient; and when it dwells or abides, it abides no where but in the will by approbation and love, to which is naturally consequent a readiness in the inferior faculties to obey and act accordingly; and therefore sin does not infect our mere natural faculties, but the will only, and not that in the natural capacity, but in its moral only. δ) And indeed to him that considers it, it will seem strange and monstrous that a moral obliquity, in a single instance, should make an universal change in a natural suscipient, and in a natural capacity: when it is in nature impossible that any impression should be made but between those things that communicate in matter or capacity; and therefore if this were done at all, it must be by a higher principle, by God's own act or sanction, and then should be referred to another principle, not this against which I am now disputing. ε) No man can transmit a good habit, a grace, or a virtue by natural generation; as a great scholar's son cannot be born with learning, and the child of a judge cannot upon his birth-day give wise sentences; and Marcus the son of Cicero was not so good an orator as his father: and how can it be then that a naughty quality should be more apt to be disseminated than a good one; when it is not the goodness or the badness of a quality that hinders its dissemination, but its being an acquired and superinduced quality that makes it cannot descend naturally? Add to this, how can a bad quality, morally bad, be directly and regularly transmitted by an action morally good? and since neither God that is the Maker of all does amiss, and the father that begets sins not, and the child that is begotten cannot sin, by what conveyance can any positive evil be derived to the posterity? ζ) It is gene-

rally, now-a-days especially, believed, that the soul is immediately created, not generated, according to the doctrine of Aristotle[i], affirming, Τὸν νοῦν μόνον θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον, 'that the soul is from without, and is a divine substance;' and therefore sin cannot descend by natural generation, or by our being in Adam's loins: and how can it be that the father who contributes nothing to her production, should contribute to her pollution? that he who did not transmit life, should transmit his sin? And yet if the soul were traduced from the parents, and begotten, yet sin could not descend, because it is not a natural but a superinduced quality; and if it could, then it would follow that we should from every vicious father derive a proper original sin, besides the general. η) If in him we sinned, then it were but just that in him we should be punished: for as the sin is, so ought the punishment to be. But it were unjust, or at least it seems so, that he should sin for us, and we be punished for him, or that he should sin for us and for himself, and yet be punished for himself alone.

42. 3) But if it be said that this happened because of the will and decree of God; then there is no more to be done but to look into the record, and see what God threatened, and what He inflicted. He threatened death and inflicted it, with all its preparations and solemnities in men and women: hard labour in them both; which S. Chrysostom[k] thus expresses, Ἐκείνου πεσόντος καὶ οἱ μὴ φαγόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου γεγόνασιν ἐξ ἐκείνου πάντες θνητοὶ, 'Adam falling, even they that did not eat of the tree were of him all born mortal.' He and all his posterity were left in the mere natural state; that is, in a state of imperfection, in a state that was not sufficiently instructed and furnished with abilities in order to a supernatural end, whither God had secretly designed mankind. In this state he could never arrive at heaven, but that was to be supplied by other means; for this made it necessary that all should come to Christ, and is the great αὐθεντία and necessity for the baptism of infants, that they being admitted to supernatural promises and assistances, may be lifted up to a state above their nature; not only to improve their present good, as the Pelagians affirmed,

> Tam dives vero hoc donum baptismatis esse,
> . . . . .
> Ut parvis etiam vitioque carentibus omni
> Congruat, ut qui sunt geniti bene, sint meliores,
> Naturæque bonum adjecto illustretur honore[l];

but to take off that evil state of things whither by occasion of the fall of Adam they were devolved, and to give them new birth, adoption into Christ, and the seeds of a new nature, so to become chil-

[i] [De generatione animalium, lib. ii. cap. 3.—tom. i. p. 736.]
[k] In v. Rom. [12.—hom. x. init.—tom. ix. p. 519 E.]
[l] [S. Prosper, de ingratis, cap. i. p. 104 F.]

dren of God and heirs of the promises, who in their mere naturals did inherit from Adam nothing but misery, and imperfection, and death.

> Cœlorum regnum sperate hoc fonte renati,
> Non recipit felix vita semel genitos.
> . . . . . .
> Insons esse volens isto mundare lavacro,
> Seu patrio premeris crimine, seu proprio [m].

So Xystus[n] in the verses written upon the fount of Constantine.— But secondly, it is not to be supposed that God did inflict any necessity of sinning upon Adam or his posterity, because from that time ever unto this, He by new laws hath required innocence of life, or repentance and holiness. For besides that it is a great testimony of the divine favour that God will still employ us, and exact more services of us, and that there is no greater argument of joy to us in the world than that we are God's servants, and there can be no greater testimony that God is our God; and that of this employing us in His service there can be no greater evidence than the giving to us new laws: besides this, I say, if man could not obey, it is not consistent with the wisdom of God to require of man what He knows man cannot do, nor with His justice to punish that in man which He knows man cannot avoid.

43. But if it be objected, that man had strengths enough in his first creation, but when in Adam he sinned, in him also he forfeited all his strengths; and therefore his consequent disability being his own fault, cannot be his excuse; and to whatsoever laws God shall be pleased afterwards to impose, he cannot plead his infirmity, because himself having brought it on himself, must suffer for it; it being just in God to exact the law of him, even where he is unable to keep it, because God once made him able, and he disabled himself; I answer many things.

44. α) That Adam had any more strengths than we have, and greater powers of nature, and by his fall lost them to himself and us, being part of the question, ought not to be pretended till it be proved. Adam was a man, as his sons are, and no more; and God gave him strength enough to do his duty; and God is as just and loving to us as to him, and hath promised He will lay no more upon us than He will make us able to bear. But β) he that disables himself from doing his Lord service, if he does it on purpose that he may not serve Him, may be punished for not doing all that which was imposed upon him, because that servant did choose his disability, that he might with some pretence refuse the service. He did disobey in all the following particulars; because out of a resolution not to obey in those particulars, he made himself unable in the general. It is all one with the case of voluntary and affected ignorance. He that

[m] [Baron. in A.D. ccccxl.]

[n] [al. 'Sixtus.']

refuses knowledge lest he should understand his duty, and he that disables himself that he may not do it, may be punished not only for not doing it, but for making it impossible to be done. But that was not Adam's case, so far as we know; and it is certain it was not ours in the matter of his sin. γ) But if he commits a fault which accidentally disables him; as if he eats too much, and be sick the next day, and fall into a fever, he may indeed, and is justly punished for his gluttony, but he is not punishable for omitting that which in his present weakness he can no ways perform. The reason is, because this disability was involuntary, and an evil accident; of itself a punishment of his sin, and therefore of itself not punishable; and this involuntariness is still the more notorious and certain, as the consequents are the more remote. δ) No man can be answerable to God for the consequent of his sin, unless it be natural, foretold, or foreseen; but for the sin itself he is; and as for the consequents superinduced by God, he must suffer them, but not answer for them. For these being in the hands of God, are not the works of men's hands; God hath effected it upon the sinner, He is the Author of it, and by it He is directly glorified; and therefore though by it the sinner is punished, yet for it he cannot be punished again. ε.) But that I may come to the case of the present argument. This measure and line of justice is most evident in laws to be imposed after the disability is contracted, and not foreseen before; concerning which, there can be no pretence of justice that the breach of them should be punished. If a law be already imposed, and a man by his fault loses those assistances without which he could not keep the law, he may nevertheless in the rigour of justice be punished for not keeping it, because the law was given him when he had strength, and he ought to have preserved it. For though he cannot be obliged to a new law to which he is not enabled, yet for his sin he shall not be disobliged from an old law to which he was enabled. Although God will not exceed His measures, or do wrong to a sinner, yet by his sin he shall receive no favour, or immunity.—But in laws to be imposed afterwards, the case, I say, is otherwise: because the persons are not capable of any such law; and God knowing they cannot perform them, cannot intend they should, and therefore cannot justly punish them for not doing that which Himself did never heartily intend they should do, because He knew they could not. The instances will make the matter to be confessed. Suppose a man falling into drunkenness, should by the divine judgment fall lame; can God afterwards exact it of him that he should leap and dance in public festivities, when he can neither go nor stand? If so, suppose yet further that by the divine judgment he should fall mad; is the mad man capable of a new law? I suppose it will not be said he is: or if it be, suppose yet further that he be taken speechless, and senseless, or die: can God still exact of him obedience to any new commandment? If he be dead, his day is done, he can work no more, nor

be obliged any more; and so it is, if he be mad, or any ways disabled; the case is all one. For whatsoever the disability be, the incapacity, and impossibility, and the excuse is the same. 6) When God (as it is said) punished the first sin with a consequent disability of doing any future services, if He also punishes the not doing what He afterwards imposes, I ask whether this later punishment be precisely due to the later or to the former sin? If to the later, then in vain is it laid upon the former account; and yet if it be laid upon its own, it is high injustice; because of this law the man was not a subject capable when it was imposed, the man was dead before the law was alive: and a tree is as much capable of a law, as a man is of an impossible commandment. But if the punishment of this later be inflicted upon the sinner for the first transgression by which he disabled himself, then in vain was the later commandment imposed. For since the later sin was unavoidable, and the first sin deserved the whole damnation, what end could there be of imposing this new law, by which God could not serve any new purpose, no not for the manifestation of His justice in condemning him? For if the first sin deserved condemnation, there was no need to introduce a new pretence, and to seek an occasion to slay him. But if it did not, it is certain the new sin could not make it just to do what was not just before, because by this new omission there can be no new guilt contracted. But of this I shall give yet a further account when I shall discourse in what sense God can be said to punish one sin with another.

45. The consequent of the parts of this discourse is this, that since the sin of Adam did not debauch our nature by any natural efficiency of the sin itself[o], nor by our being in the loins of Adam, nor yet by any sentence or decree of God, we are not by Adam's sin made necessarily and naturally vicious, and inclined to evil, but are left in our mere nature such as it was, and such as it is.

——— Nec si miserum (natura) Sinonem
Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.

Nature makes us miserable and imperfect, but not criminal. Ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστίν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος· they are the words of S. Ignatius the martyr[p], 'If any man be a pious and a good man, he is of God; if he be impious, he is of the devil; not by nature, but made so by his own proceedings.' To all which I add this;

[o] Idem sensit Jacobus Faber in v. Rom., Nihil nos ex Adamo trahere nisi obligationem ad mortem. [f. lxiv.—Faber mentions but does not prefer this view.] Albertus Pighius, controv. i. de peccato orig. [fol. Colon. 1545.] et Ambr. Catharinus de lapsu hominis et peccato orig. [8vo. Lugd. 1541.] statuunt, Peccatum originis non habere veram peccati rationem, sed esse tantum reatum quo posteri primorum parentum propter transgressionem illorum primævam sine aliquo vitio proprio et inhærente naturæ pravitate devincti teneantur. [The words are from Gerhard, Loci theol., de pecc. orig. § 57.]

[p] Ep. [interp.] ad Magnes. [§ v. p. 55.]

46. That in scripture there is no signification of any corruption or depravation of our souls by Adam's sin; which I shall manifest by examination of all those places which are the pretence of the contrary doctrine. For if God hath not declared in scripture any such thing, we have the common notions of His justice, and wisdom, and goodness, and truth in prejudice of the contrary.

CONSIDERATION OF OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE FORMER DOCTRINE.

§ 2. Consideration of objections against the former doctrine.

47. THE first is, "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart are only evil continually[q]." I answer, α) it is true, they were so, but it was their own fault, not Adam's; for so it is said expressly, "All flesh had corrupted his way upon earth, and the earth was filled with violence[q]." β) If this corruption had been natural and unavoidable, why did God punish all the world for it except eight persons? why did He punish those that could not help it? and why did others escape that were equally guilty? Is not this a respect of persons, and partiality to some, and iniquity towards all? which far be it from the Judge of all the world. γ) God might as well have punished all the world for sleeping once in a day, or for being hungry, as for sinning, if so to do be natural and unavoidable. δ) If God in these words complained of their natural and original corruption, why did He but then, as if it were a new thing, complain of it, and repent that He had made man, since he proved so bad? ϵ) This malice and corruption was such, that God did send Noah the preacher of righteousness to draw the world from it; but no man supposes that it was fit to send a preacher to dehort them from being guilty of original sin. Therefore it was good counsel,

> ——— Denique teipsum
> Concute, numqua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
> Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
> Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris[r].

Blame not nature, but thy own evil customs; for thy neglect of thy fields will make fern and thistles to grow. It is not only because the ground is accursed, but because it is neglected, that it bears thorns. *Erras si existimas nobiscum vitia nasci; supervenerunt, ingesta sunt,* said Seneca[s], 'thou art deceived if thou thinkest that vices are born with us; no, they are superinduced and come in upon us afterwards.'

48. And by this we may the better understand the following words, "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth[t]." Concerning which, note, that these words are not two sentences. For this is not the reason why God gave over smiting, because 'man was corrupt from his youth.' For if this had been the reason, it would have

[q] [Gen. vi. 5, 12.]
[r] Hor. [sat., lib. i. 3. 34.]
[s] Epist. xciv. [tom. ii. p. 450.]
[t] [Gen. viii. 21.]

come to pass that the same cause which moved God to smite, would also move Him to forbear, which were a strange economy. The words therefore are not a reason of His forbearing, but an aggravation of His kindness; as if He had said, 'Though man be continually evil, yet I will not for all that any more drown the world for man's being so evil:' and so the Hebrews note that the particle כִּי sometimes signifies 'although.'

49. But the great outcry in this question is upon confidence of the words of David[x], "Behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin hath my mother conceived me." To which I answer *a*) that the words are an Hebraism, and signify nothing but an aggrandation of his sinfulness, and are intended for an high expression, meaning, that 'I am wholly and entirely wicked.' For the verification of which exposition, there are divers parallel places in the holy scriptures. "Thou wert my hope when I hanged yet upon my mother's breasts[y]," and, "The ungodly are froward even from their mother's womb; as soon as they be born, they go astray, and speak lies;" which because it cannot be true in the letter, must be an idiotism or propriety of phrase, apt to explicate the other, and signifying only a ready, a prompt, a great, and universal wickedness. The like to this is that saying of the pharisees, "Thou wert altogether born in sin, and dost thou teach us[z]?" which phrase and manner of speaking being plainly a reproach of the poor blind man, and a disparagement of him, did mean only to call him a very wicked person, but not that he had derived his sin originally, and from his birth; for that had been their own case as much as his; and therefore S. Chrysostom[a] explaining this phrase, says, ὡσανεὶ ἔλεγον, ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐν ἁμαρτίαις εἶ σὺ, 'it is as if they should say, Thou hast been a sinner all thy life-time.' To the same sense are those words of Job[b], "I have guided her (the widow) from my mother's womb." And in this expression and severity of *hyperbole* it is that God aggravated the sins of His people, "Thou wast called a transgressor from the womb[c]." And this way of expressing a great state of misery we find used among the heathen writers: for so Seneca[d] brings in Œdipus complaining;

——— Infanti quoque
Decreta mors est: fata quis tam tristia
Sortitus unquam? Videram nondum diem,
. . . . .
Et jam timebar.—
Mors me antecessit; aliquis intra viscera
Materna letum præcoquis fati tulit.
Sed numquid et peccavit? ———

Something like S. Bernard's[e], *Damnatus antequam natus*, 'I was con-

[x] [Psalm li. 5.]
[y] [Psalm xxii. 9; lviii. 3.]
[z] [John ix. 34.]
[a] [tom. viii. p. 341 C.]
[b] [Job xxxi. 18.]
[c] [Isa. xlviii. 8.]
[d] Thebaid. [al. Phœniss., lin. 243.]
[e] [Meditationes devotissimæ ad humanæ conditionis cognitionem (al. Lib. de anima) cap. ii. col. 1049 E.]

demned before I was born; dead before I was alive; and death seized upon me in my mother's womb: somebody brought in a hasty and a too forward death, but did he sin also?' An expression not unlike to this we have in Lucian, *Συγγίνωσκέ μοι μὴ πεφυκότι κακῷ γίνεσθαι*, 'pardon me that I was not born wicked, or born to be wicked.' *β*) If David had meant it literally, it had not signified that himself was born in original sin, but that his father and mother sinned when they begat him; which the eldest son that he begat of Bathsheba (for ought I know) might have said truer than he in this sense. And this is the exposition of Clemens Alexandrinus[g], save only that by 'my mother' he understands Eva: *Καὶ εἰ ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ συνειλήφθη, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ*, 'though he was conceived in sin, yet he was not in the sin;' *peccatrix concepit, sed non peccatorem:* she sinned in the conception, not David. And in the following words he speaks home to the main article. *Λεγέτωσαν ἡμῖν, ποῦ ἐπόρνευσεν τὸ γενηθὲν παιδίον, ἢ πῶς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρὰν τὸ μηδὲν ἐνέργησαν*, 'let them tell us where an infant did fornicate, or how he who had done nothing could fall under the curse of Adam?' meaning so as to deserve the same evil that he did. *γ*) If it did relate to his own person, he might mean that he was begotten with that sanguine disposition and libidinous temper that was the original of his vile adultery: and then, though David said this truly of himself, yet it is not true of all, not of those whose temper is phlegmatic and unactive. *δ*) If David had meant this of himself, and that in regard of original sin, this had been so far from being a penitential expression, or a confessing of his sin, that it had been a plain accusation of God, and an excusing of himself. As if he had said, "O Lord, I confess I have sinned in this horrible murder and adultery, but Thou, O God, knowest how it comes to pass, even by that fatal punishment which Thou didst for the sin of Adam inflict on me and all mankind above three thousand years before I was born, thereby making me to fall into so horrible corruption of nature, that unless Thou didst irresistibly force me from it, I cannot abstain from any sin, being most naturally inclined to all: in this sinfulness hath my mother conceived me, and that hath produced in me this sad effect." Who would suppose David to make such a confession, or in his sorrow to hope for pardon for upbraiding not his own folly, but the decrees of God? *ε*) But that David thought nothing of this, or any thing like it, we may understand by the preceding words, which are as a preface to these in the objection, "Against Thee only have I sinned and done this evil in Thy sight, that Thou mightest be justified in Thy saying, and clear when Thou art judged." He that thus acquits God, cannot easily be supposed in the very next breath so fiercely to accuse Him. *ζ*) To which also add the following words, which are a sufficient reproof of all strange senses in the other, "In sin hath my

[g] Lib. iii. strom. extrem. [cap. xvi.—p. 557.]

mother conceived me; but lo, Thou requirest truth in the inward parts;" as if he had said, 'Though I am so wicked, yet Thy laws are good, and I therefore so much the worse because I am contrary to Thy laws: they require truth and sincerity in the soul, but I am false and perfidious.' But if this had been natural for him so to be, and unavoidable, God who knew it perfectly well, would have expected nothing else of him: for He will not require of a stone to speak, nor of fire to be cold, unless Himself be pleased to work a miracle to have them so.

50. But S. Paul[h] affirms that "by nature we were the children of wrath." *a*) True, we 'were' so, when we were dead in sins, and before we were quickened by the Spirit of life and grace. We were so; now we are not. We were so by our own unworthiness and filthy conversation; now we being regenerated by the Spirit of holiness, we are alive unto God, and no longer heirs of wrath. This therefore, as appears by the discourse of S. Paul, relates not to our original sin, but to the actual; and of this sense of the word 'nature' in the matter of sinning, we have Justin Martyr[i], or whoever is the author of the questions and answers *Ad orthodoxos* to be witness: for answering those words of scripture, "There is not any one clean who is born of a woman," and there is none begotten who hath not committed sin; he says their meaning cannot extend to Christ, for He was not *πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν*, 'born to sin;' but he is *natura ad peccandum natus*, *πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν, ὁ κατὰ τὴν αὐθαίρετον προαίρεσιν ἄγων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἃ βούλεται, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε φαῦλα*, 'by nature born to sin, who by the choice of his own will is author to himself to do what he list, whether it be good or evil.' The following words are eaten out by time; but upon this ground whatever he said of infants, must needs have been to better purposes than is usually spoken of in this article. *β*) Heirs of wrath, signifies persons liable to punishment, heirs of death. It is an usual expression among the Hebrews. So 'sons of death' in the holy scriptures are those that deserve death, or are condemned to die. Thus Judas Iscariot is called 'the son of perdition[j]:' and so is that saying of David to Nathan[k], "The man that hath done this shall surely die;" in the Hebrew it is, "he is the son of death." And so were those Ephesians, 'children' or sons 'of wrath' before their conversion; that is, they had deserved death. *γ*) By nature is here most likely to be meant that which Galen[l] calls *φύσις ἐπίκτητος*, 'an acquisite nature,' that is, *τὰ ἤθη*, 'customs and evil habits.' And so Suidas[m] expounds the word in this very place; not only upon the account of grammar, and the use of the word in the best authors, but also upon an excellent reason: his

[h] [Eph. ii. 2, 3.]
[i] Quæst. lxxxviii. [p. 475 D.]
[j] [John xvii. 12.]
[k] [2 Sam. xii. 5.]
[l] ["Εοικε δ' ἐς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνειν παντα- χῇ τὸ μὲν ἔθος τῇ φύσει, καὶ καλῶς εἴρηται φύσις ἐπίκτητος.—Galen. de motu musculorum, ii. 7. tom. iv. p. 452.—ed. Kühn, 8vo. Lips. 1821—33.]
[m] [In voc. *φύσις*, col. 3864 E.]

words are these, Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ ὁ ἀπόστολος, Καὶ ἦμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ σημαινόμενον τῆς φύσεως λέγει· ἐπεὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἂν ἦν τὸ ἔγκλημα· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔμμονον καὶ κακίστην διάθεσιν, καὶ χρονίαν καὶ πονηρὰν συνήθειαν, 'when the apostle says we were by nature children of wrath, he means not that which is the usual signification of nature, for then it were not their fault, but the fault of Him that made them such; but it means an abiding and vile habit, a wicked and a lasting custom.' Καὶ γὰρ τὸ εἰθισμένον ὥσπερ πεφυκὸς ἤδη γίνεται, saith Aristotle[n], 'custom is like nature, for 'often' and 'always' are not far asunder;' nature is always, custom is almost always. To the same sense are those words of Porphyry[o], Τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἐγγὺς θεῶν γεγονότας, βελτίστους τε ὄντας φύσει καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐζηκότας βίον, ὡς χρυσοῦν γένος νομίζεσθαι, 'the ancients who lived likest to God, and were 'by nature' the best, living the best life, were a golden generation.' δ) 'By nature' means not by birth and natural extraction, or any original derivation from Adam, in this place: for of this these Ephesians were no more guilty than every one else, and no more before their conversion than after; but 'by nature' signifies ὄντως, ἀληθῶς, so the Greek scholiast renders it, 'really,' 'beyond opinion;' *plene et omnino*, 'entirely, or wholly,' so the Syriac[p]; and so S. Hierome[q] affirms that the ancients did expound it: and it is agreeable to the usage of the same phrase Gal. iv. 8, 'Ye did service to them which 'by nature' are no gods,' that is, which 'really' are none. And as these Ephesians were before their conversion, so were the Israelites in the days of their rebellion, a wicked stubborn people, insomuch that they are by the prophet[r] called "children of transgression, a seed of falsehood." But these and the like places have no force at all but what they borrow from the ignorance of that sense and acceptation of the word in those languages which ought to be the measure of them.

51. But it is hard upon such mean accounts to reckon all children to be born enemies of God, that is, bastards and not sons, heirs of hell and damnation, full of sin and vile corruption, when the holy scriptures[s] propound children as imitable for their pretty innocence and sweetness, and declare them rather heirs of heaven[t] than hell. "In malice be children;" and, "unless we become like to children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven;" and, "their angels behold the face of their Father which is in heaven." Heaven is theirs, God is their Father, angels are appropriated to them; they are free from malice, and imitable by men. These are better words than are usually given them; and signify that they are beloved of God, not

[n] Arist. rhet., lib. i. [cap. 11.]

[o] Lib. iv. de esu anim. [cap. ii. p. 295.]

[p] [ܡܠܝܐܝܬ]

[q] [In loc., tom. iv. part. 1. col. 340.]

[r] [Isai. i. 4.]

[s] [1 Cor. xiv. 20; Matt. xviii. 3; xix. 14.]

[t] [See vol. v. p. 566, and the note there.]

hated, designed for heaven, and born to it, though brought thither by Christ and by the spirit of Christ: not born for hell; that was prepared for the devil and his angels, not for innocent babes. This does not call them naturally wicked, but rather naturally innocent, and is a better account than is commonly given them by imputation of Adam's sin.

52. But not concerning children, but of himself S. Paul[u] complains, that his nature and his principles of action and choice are corrupted. "There is a law in my members, bringing me into captivity to the law of sin;" and many other words to the same purpose; all which indeed have been strangely mistaken to very ill purposes, so that the whole chapter so as is commonly expounded is nothing but a temptation to evil life, and a patron of impiety. Concerning which I have in the next chapter given account, and freed it from the common abuse. But if this were to be understood in the sense which I there reprove, yet it is to be observed in order to the present question, that S. Paul does not say, "This law in our members comes by nature, or is derived from Adam." A man may bring a law upon himself by vicious custom, and that may be as prevalent as nature, and more; because more men have by philosophy and illuminated reason cured the disposition of their nature than have cured their vicious habits. Add to this, that S. Paul puts this uneasiness and this carnal law in his members wholly upon the account of being 'under the law,' and of his not being under Christ, not upon the account of Adam's prevarication, as is plain in the analogy of the whole chapter.

53. As easy also it is to understand these words of S. Paul[x] without prejudice to this question, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither indeed can he know them;" meaning (as is supposed) that there is in our natures an ignorance and averseness from spiritual things, that is, a contrariety to God. But it is observable that the word which the apostle uses is ψυχικὸς, which is not properly rendered 'natural,' but 'animal,' and it certainly means a man that is guided only by natural reason, without the revelations of the gospel. Ψυχικὸν καλεῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος τὸν τοῖς ἀνθρωπικοῖς[y] λογισμοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέποντα καὶ μὴ δεχόμενον τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνέργειαν· so Suidas[z]. An animal man, that is, a philosopher, or a rational man, such as were the Greek and Roman philosophers, upon the stock and account of the learning of all their schools could never discern the excellencies of the gospel mysteries; as of God incarnate, Christ dying, resurrection of the body, and the like. For this word ψυχικὸς, or 'animal,' and another word used often by the apostle, σαρκικὸς, 'carnal,' are opposed to πνευματικὸς, 'spiritual;' and are states of evil, or of imperfection, in which while a man remains he cannot do the work of God. For 'animality,'

[u] [Rom. vii. 23.]
[x] [1 Cor. ii. 14.]
[y] [al. ἀνθρωπίνοις.]
[z] [In voc. ψυχικὸς, col. 3967.]

which is a relying upon natural principles without revelation, is a state 'privatively' opposed to the spirit; and a man in that state cannot be saved, because he wants a vital part, he wants the spirit, which is a part of the constitution of a Christian in that capacity, who consists of body, and soul, and spirit, and therefore *anima* without *spiritus*, the soul without the spirit, is not sufficient. For as the soul is a sufficient principle of all the actions of life in order to our natural end and perfection, but it can bear us no further: so there must be another principle in order to a supernatural end, and that is the spirit; called by S. Paul, νέα κτίσις, 'the new creation,' by S. Peter, 'a divine nature;' and by this we become renewed in the inner man: the infusion of this new nature into us is called 'regeneration;' and it is the great principle of godliness, called 'grace,' or the 'spirit,' σπέρμα Θεοῦ, 'the seed of God,' and by it we are begotten by God, and brought forth by the church, to the hopes and beginnings of a new life, and a supernatural end. And although I cannot say that this is a third substance distinct from soul and body, yet it is a distinct principle put into us by God, without which we cannot work, and by which we can; and therefore if it be not a substance, yet it is more than a metaphor, it is a real being, permanent and inherent; but yet such as can be lessened and extinguished.

But 'carnality,' or the state of being in the flesh, is not only 'privatively' opposed but 'contrarily' also to the spiritual state, or the state of grace. But as the first is not a sin derived from Adam: so neither is the second. The first is only an imperfection, or want of supernatural aids; the other is indeed a direct state of sin, and hated by God, but superinduced by choice, and not descending naturally. Now to the 'spiritual' state nothing is in scripture opposed but these two, and neither of these when it is sinful can be pretended upon the stock or argument of any scriptures to descend from Adam; therefore all the state of opposition to grace is owing to ourselves, and not to him. Adam indeed did leave us all in an 'animal' estate, but this state is not a state of enmity or direct opposition to God, but a state insufficient and imperfect. No man can perish for being an 'animal' man, that is, for not having any supernatural revelations, but for not consenting to them when he hath, that is, for being 'carnal' as well as 'animal;' and that he is 'carnal' is wholly his own choice. In the state of 'animality' he cannot go to heaven; but neither will that alone bear him to hell: and therefore God does not let a man alone in that state; for either God suggests to him what is 'spiritual,' or if He does not, it is because himself hath superinduced something that is 'carnal.'

54. Having now explicated those scriptures which have made some difficulty in this question, to what topic soever we shall return, all things are plain and clear in this article. *Noxa caput sequitur*[a];

[a] [Cod. Justinian., lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. 1.]

"the soul that sinneth it shall die[b]." *Neque virtutes, neque vitia parentum liberis imputantur,* saith S. Hierome[c], 'neither the vices nor the virtues of the parents are imputed to the children.' And therefore when Dion Chrysostomus[d] had reproved Solon's laws, which in some cases condemn the innocent posterity; he adds this in honour of God's law, Πλὴν παῖδας καὶ γένος οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν, ὡς ἐκεῖ, τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος αὑτῷ γίνεται τῆς ἀτυχίας αἴτιος, that 'it does not, like the law of the Athenians, punish the children and kindred of the criminal; but every man is the cause of his own misfortune.' But concerning this, it will not be amiss in order to many good purposes, to observe the whole economy and dispensation of the divine justice in this affair.

§ 3. How God punishes the father's sin upon the children.

55. *a.* GOD may and does very often bless children to reward their father's piety; as is notorious in the famous descent of Abraham's family. But the same is not the reason of favours and punishments: for such is the nature of benefits, that he in whose power they are, may without injustice give them why, and when, and to whom he please.

56. *β.* God never imputes the father's sin to the son or relative, formally making him guilty, or being angry with the innocent eternally. It were blasphemy to affirm so fierce and violent a cruelty of the most merciful Saviour and Father of mankind; and it was yet never imagined or affirmed by any that I know of, that God did yet ever damn an innocent son, though the father were the vilest person and committed the greatest evils of the world, actually, personally, choosingly, and maliciously: and why it should by so many, and so confidently, be affirmed in a lesser instance, in so unequal a case, and at so long a distance, I cannot suspect any reason. Plutarch[e] in his book against Herodotus affirms that it is not likely they would, meaning that it was unjust, to revenge an injury which the Samians did to the Corinthians three hundred years before: but to revenge it for ever, upon all generations, and with an eternal anger, upon some persons, even the most innocent, cannot without trembling be spoken or imagined of God, who is the great lover of souls[f]. Whatsoever the matter be in temporal inflictions, of which in the next propositions I shall give account, yet if the question be concerning eternal damnation, it was never said, never threatened by God to pass from father to the son. When God punishes one relative for the sin of another, He does it as fines are taken in our law, *salvo contenemento*[g]; 'the principal stake being safe,' it may be justice to seize upon all the smaller portions; at least it is not against justice for

[b] [Ezek. xviii. 4, 20.]
[c] Epist. iii. de morte Nepotian. [al. ep. xxxv. ad Heliod.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 269.]
[d] [Orat. lxxx. tom. ii. p. 438.]
[e] [De Herod. malign.—tom. ix. p. 413.]
[f] [Wisd. xi. 26.]
[g] [vid. p. 139, not. m, supra.]

God in such cases to use the power and dominion of a lord[h]. But this cannot be reasonable to be used in the matter of eternal interest; because if God should as a lord use His power over innocents and condemn them to hell, He should be author to them of more evil than ever He conveyed good to them; which but to imagine would be a horrible impiety. And therefore when our blessed Saviour took upon Him the wrath of God due to all mankind, yet God's anger even in that case extended no further than a temporal death. Because for the eternal nothing can make recompense, and it can never turn to good.

57. γ. When God inflicts a temporal evil upon the son for his father's sin, He does it as a judge to the father, but as a lord only of the son. He hath absolute power over the lives of all His creatures, and can take it away from any man without injustice when He please, though 'neither he nor his parents have sinned[i];' and He may use the same right and power when either of them alone hath sinned. But in striking the son, He does not do to him as a judge; that is, He is not angry with him, but with the parent; but to the son He is a supreme lord, and may do what seemeth good in His own eyes.

58. δ. When God using the power and dominion of a lord, and the severity of a judge, did punish posterity, it was but so long as the fathers might live and see it, *οὐ λυποῦσα μᾶλλον ἑτέρα κόλασις ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσχοντας δι' αὐτοὺς ὁρᾷν*, said S. Chrysostom[k], to the third and fourth generation, no longer. It was threatened to endure no longer, in the second commandment; and so it happened in the case of Zimri and Jehu; after the fourth generation they prevailed not upon their masters' houses. And if it happen that the parents die before, yet it is a plague to them that they know, or ought to fear, the evil shall happen upon their posterity; *quo tristiores perirent*, as Alexander[l] said of the traitors whose sons were to die after them, 'they die with sorrow and fear.'

59. ε. This power and dominion which God used, was not exercised in ordinary cases, but in the biggest crimes only. It was threatened in the case of idolatry; and was often inflicted in the case of perjury, of which the oracle recited by Herodotus[m] said,

> ——— Impete magno
> Advenit, atque omnem vastat stirpemque domumque.

And in sacrilege the anger of God uses also to be severe, of which it was observed even by the heathens taught by the Delphic priests,

[h] [vid. p. 274, not. x, infra.]

[i] [John ix. 3.]

[k] Homil. xxix. in ix. Gen. [Rather Plutarch, de sera numinis vindicta, tom. viii. p. 221.—Taylor read the words in Grotius, de jure belli et pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21, § 14. n. 1; on referring to which passage the reader will see how the mistake arose.]

[l] [Curt. in vit. Alex., lib. viii. cap. 28. p. 276.—8vo. Berol. 1826.]

[m] [Erato, cap. lxxxvi., interprete Grotio, De jure belli et pacis, lib. ii. cap. 13. § 1. n. 2.]

Sed capiti ipsorum quique enascuntur ab ipsis
Imminet; inque domo cladem subit altera clades[m].

Those sins which the Greeks called ἄγη, and which the Christians called crying sins[n], are such in the punishment of which God did not only use His severe justice as to the offending person, but for the enlargement and extension of His justice, and the terror of the world, He used the rights of His power and dominion over their relatives.

60. ζ. Although God threatened this, and hath a right and power to do this, yet He did not often use His right, but only in such notable examples as were sufficient to all ages to consign and testify His great indignation against those crimes, for the punishment of which He was pleased to use His right, the rights of His dominion. For although He often does miracles of mercy, yet seldom it is that He does any extraordinaries of judgment: He did it to Corah and Dathan, to Achan and Saul, to Jeroboam and Ahab; and by these and some more expressed His severity against the like crimes sufficiently to all ages.

61. η. But His goodness and graciousness grew quickly weary of this way of proceeding. They were the terrors of the law, and God did not deliglit in them: therefore in the time of Ezekiel the prophet He declared against them, and promised to use it no more, that is, not so frequently, not so notoriously, not without great necessity and charity, *Ne ad parentum exempla succresceret improbitas filiorum*[o]. "As I live, saith the Lord, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel, the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge: the soul that sinneth it shall die[p]."

62. θ. The iniquity of the people and the hardness of their heart did force God to use this harsh course, especially since that then there was no declaration, or intermination, and threatening the pains of hell to great sinners. *Duritia populi talia remedia compulerat, ut vel posteritatibus suis prospicientes legi divinæ obedirent,* said Tertullian[q]; something extraordinary was then needful to be done to so vile a people to restrain their sinfulness. But when the gospel was published, and hell-fire threatened to persevering and greater sinners, the former way of punishment was quite left off; and in all the gospel there is not any one word of threatening passing beyond the person offending. *Desiit uva acerba,* saith Tertullian[r], *a patribus manducata filiorum dentes obstupefacere; unusquisque enim in suo*

[m] [Ælian., var. hist. iii. 43, interprete Grotio ut supra, lib. ii. cap. 21. 14. 2.]

[n] [This is taken from Grotius (see note k, above) 'Notandum est hac graviore vindicta (sc. scelerum parentis in posteros) non uti Deum nisi adversus scelera proprie in suam contumeliam perpetrata, ut falsos cultus, perjurium, sacrilegia. Nec aliter Græci existimarunt; nam quæ crimina credita sunt posteritatem obstringere, quæ ἄγη ipsi vocant, omnia istius sunt generis,' &c.]

[o] [The allusion is to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 16 fin.—p. 640.]

[p] [Ezek. xviii. 3.]

[q] [Adversus Marcionem, lib. ii. cap. 15. p. 389 C.]

[r] De monog. [cap. vii. p. 529 A.]

delicto morietur, 'now' (that is, in the time of the gospel) 'the sour grape of the fathers shall no more set on edge the children's teeth, but every one shall die in his own sin.'

63. Upon this account alone it must needs be impossible to be consented to that God should still, under the gospel, after so many generations of vengeance, and taking punishment for the sin, after the publication of so many mercies, and so infinite a graciousness as is revealed to mankind in Jesus Christ, after the so great provisions against sin, even the horrible threatenings of damnation, still persevere to punish Adam in his posterity, and the posterity for what they never did.

64. For either the evil that falls upon us for Adam's sin is inflicted upon us by way of proper punishment, or by right of dominion. If by a proper punishment to us, then we understand not the justice of it, because we were not personally guilty; and all the world says it is unjust directly to punish a child for his father's fault. *Nihil est iniquius quam aliquem hæredem paterni odii fieri*, said Seneca[s]; and Pausanias[t] the general of the Grecian army would not punish the children of Attaginus, who persuaded the Thebans to revolt to the Medes, φὰς τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐκ εἶναι μεταιτίους, 'saying, the children were not guilty of that revolt;' and when Avidius Cassius[u] had conspired against Mark Anthony, he wrote to the senate to pardon his wife and son-in-law; *Et quid dico veniam, cum illi nihil fecerint?* 'but why,' says he, 'should I say, pardon, when they had done nothing?' But if God inflicts the evil upon Adam's posterity which we suffer for his sake, not as a punishment, that is, not making us formally guilty, but using His own right and power of dominion which He hath over the lives and fortunes of His creatures; then it is a strange anger which God hath against Adam, that He still retains so fierce an indignation, as not to take off His hand from striking after five thousand six hundred years, and striking him for that of which he repented him, and which in all reason we believe He then pardoned, or resolved to pardon, when He promised the Messias to him. To this I add this consideration; that it is not easily to be imagined how Christ reconciled the world unto His Father, if after the death of Christ God is still so angry with mankind, so unappeased, that even the most innocent part of mankind may perish for Adam's sin; and the other are perpetually punished by a corrupted nature, a proneness to sin, a servile will, a filthy concupiscence, and an impossibility of being innocent; that no faith, no sacrament, no industry, no prayers can obtain freedom from this punishment.

65. Certain it is, the Jews knew of no such thing, they understood nothing of this economy, that the father's sin should be punished in the children by a formal imputation of the guilt; and therefore Rabbi

[s] [De ira, ii. 34.—tom. i. p. 87.]
[t] [Herodot. Calliope lxxxviii.]
[u] [Vulcatius Gallicanus, in vita Avidii Cassii, cap. 12; inter hist. Aug. scriptt., p. 278.]

Simeon Barsema[x] said well, that when God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, *jure dominii, non pœnæ utitur*, 'He uses the right of empire, not of justice, of dominion, not of punishment, of a lord, not of a judge.' And Philo[y] blames it for the worst of institutions, when the good sons of bad parents shall be dishonoured by their father's stain, and the bad sons of good parents shall have their father's honour; τοῦ νόμου δικάζοντος ἕκαστον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ συγγενῶν ἀρεταῖς ἐπαινοῦντος, ἢ [κακίαις] κολάζοντος, 'for the law praises every one for their own, not for the virtue of their ancestors, and punishes not the father's but his own wickedness upon every man's head.' And therefore Josephus calls the contrary way of proceeding, which he had observed in Alexander[z], ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δίκην, 'a punishment above the measures of a man;' and the Greeks and Romans did always call it injustice.

> Illic immeritam maternæ pendere linguæ
> Andromedam pœnas injustus jusserat Ammon[a].

And hence it is, that all laws forbear to kill a woman with child, lest the innocent should suffer for the mother's fault: and therefore this just mercy is infinitely more to be expected from the great Father of spirits, the God of mercy and comfort. And upon this account Abraham[b] was confident with God, "Wilt Thou slay the righteous with the wicked? shall not the Judge of all the world do right?" And if it be unrighteous to slay the righteous with the wicked, it is also unjust to slay the righteous for the wicked. *Ferretne ulla civitas laborem*[c] *istiusmodi legis, ut condemnaretur filius aut nepos, si pater aut avus deliquissent*[d], 'it were an intolerable law, and no community would be governed by it, that the father or grandfather should sin, and the son or nephew[e] should be punished.' I shall add no more testimonies, but only make use of the words of the christian emperors in their laws, *Peccata igitur suos teneant auctores; nec ulterius progrediatur metus, quam reperiatur delictum*[f]. Let no man trouble himself with unnecessary and melancholy dreams of strange inevitable undeserved punishments, descending upon us for the faults of others: the sin that a man does shall be upon his own head only; sufficient to every man is his own evil, the evil that he does, and the evil that he suffers.

[x] [The words quoted are those of Grotius, De jure belli et pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21. § 14, who adds in a note, Hæc est sententia Rabbini Simeonis Barsema (בַּר צֶמַח), longe verissima.]

[y] Libr. de pietate. [leg. 'De nobilitate,' (confusa sc. εὐσέβεια cum εὐγένεια) in fin.—tom. i. p. 444.]

[z] [sc. Alexander Jannæus.—Joseph. Ant. Jud., xiii. 14. (al. 22.) § 2. p. 597.]

[a] Ovid. [metam. iv. 669.]

[b] [Gen. xviii. 23.]

[c] [leg. 'latorem.']

[d] Cic. de nat. deor., lib. iv. [leg. iii. c. 38.]

[e] [i.e. 'grandson.'—Cf. vol. iv. p. 357, note c.—So Shakesp. Othello, act i. sc. 1. —So with 'niece,' Rich. iii. act iv. init.]

[f] L. 'Sancimus.' c. de pœnis. [Cod., lib. ix. tit. 47. l. 22.]

§ 4. Of the causes of the universal wickedness of mankind.

66. But if there were not some common natural principle of evil introduced by the sin of our parent upon all his posterity, how should all men be so naturally inclined to be vicious, so hard and unapt, so uneasy and so listless to the practices of virtue? How is it that all men in the world are sinners, and that in many things we offend all? For if men could choose and had freedom, it is not imaginable that all should choose the same thing; as all men will not be physicians, nor all desire to be merchants: but we see that all men are sinners, and yet it is impossible that in a liberty of indifferency there should be no variety. Therefore we must be content to say, that we have only a liberty of adhesion or delight; that is, we so love sin that we all choose it, but cannot choose good.

67. To this I answer many things.

First, if we will suppose that there must now be a cause in our nature determining us to sin by an irresistible necessity, I desire to know why such principle should be more necessary to us than it was to Adam? what made him to sin when he fell? He had a perfect liberty, and no ignorance, no original sin, no inordination of his affections, no such rebellion of the inferior faculties against the superior as we complain of; or at least we say he had not, and yet he sinned: and if his passions did rebel against his reason before the fall, then so they may in us, and yet not be long[h] of that fall; it was before the fall in him, and so may be in us, and not the effect of it. But the truth of the thing is this, he had liberty of choice and chose ill, and so do we; and all men say that this liberty of choosing ill is still left to us: but because it is left here, it appears that it was there before, and therefore is not the consequent of original sin.—But it is said, that as Adam chose ill, so do we; but he was free to good as well as to evil, but so are not we; we are free to evil, not to good; and that we are so, is the consequent of original sin. I reply, that we can choose good, and as naturally love good as evil, and in some instances more. A man cannot naturally hate God, if he knows any thing of Him: a man naturally loves his parents: he naturally hates some sort of uncleanness: he naturally loves and preserves himself: and all those sins which are unnatural, are such which nature hates: and the law of nature commands all the great instances of virtue, and marks out all the great lines of justice. Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ τοῖς λογικοῖς γένεσι ἐνουσιωμένος ὅρκος, . . μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Θεοῦ) διορισθέντας νόμους[i], 'it is a law imprinted in the very substance of our natures, and incorporated in all generations of reasonable creatures, not to break or transgress the laws which are appointed by God.' Here only our nature is defective; we do not naturally know, nor yet naturally love those supernatural excellencies

[h] ['Long of,' i. e. 'owing to.' From 'along,' so Todd and Richardson; or from the Saxon *ge-lang*, 'long of,'.' by reason of,' Johnson and Webster; and Lye, Saxon Dictionary.]

[i] [Hierocl. in Pythag., p. 28.]

which are appointed and commanded by God as the means of bringing us to a supernatural condition. That is, without God's grace, and the renovation of the Spirit of God, we cannot be saved. Neither was Adam's case better than ours in this particular. For that his nature could not carry him to heaven, or indeed to please God in order to it, seems to be confessed by them who have therefore affirmed him to have had a supernatural righteousness: which is affirmed by all the Roman party. But although in supernatural instances it must needs be that our nature is defective; so it must needs have been in Adam: and therefore the Lutherans (who in this particular dream not so probably as the other) affirming that justice was natural in Adam, do yet but differ in the manner of speaking, and have not at all spoken against this; neither can they, unless they also affirm that to arrive at heaven was the natural end of man. For if it be not, then neither we nor Adam could by nature do things above nature; and if God did concreate grace with Adam, that grace was never the less grace for being given him as soon as he was made: for even the holy Spirit may be given to a chrisom child; and Christ, and S. John baptist, and the prophet Jeremy, are in their several measures and proportions instances of it. The result of which is this; that the necessity of grace does not suppose that our nature is originally corrupted, for beyond Adam's mere nature something else was necessary, and so it is to us.

68. Secondly, but to the main objection I answer, that it is certain there is not only one, but many common principles from which sin derives itself into the manners of all men.

a. The first great cause of an universal impiety is, that at first God had made no promises of heaven, He had not propounded any glorious rewards, to be as an argument to support the superior faculty against the inferior, that is, to make the will choose the best and leave the worst, and to be as a reward for suffering contradiction. For if the inferior faculty be pleased with its object, and that chance to be forbidden, as it was in most instances, there had need be something to make recompense for the suffering the displeasure of crossing that appetite. I use the common manner of speaking, and the distinction of superior and inferior faculties: though indeed in nature there is no such thing; and it is but the same faculty, divided between differing objects; of which I shall give an account in the tenth chapter, § 3. But here I take notice of it, that it may not with prejudice be taken to the disadvantage of this whole article. For if there be no such difference of faculties founded in nature, then the rebellion of the inferior against the superior is no effect of Adam's sin. But the inclination to sensual objects being chastised by laws and prohibitions, hath made that which we call the rebellion of the inferior, that is, the adherence to sensual objects; which was the more certain to remain, because they were not at first enabled by great promises of good things to contest against sensual temptations. And because there

was no such thing in that period of the world, therefore almost all flesh corrupted themselves: excepting Abel, Seth, Enos, and Enoch, we find not one good man from Adam to Noah; and therefore the apostle[h] calls that world, κοσμὸν ἀσεβῶν, 'the world of the ungodly.' It was not so much wonder that when Adam had no promises made to enable him to contest his natural concupiscence, he should strive to make his condition better by the devil's promises. If God had been pleased to have promised to him the glories He hath promised to us, it is not to be supposed he had fallen so easily. But He did not, and so he fell, and all the world followed his example, and most upon this account, till it pleased God after He had tried the world with temporal promises, and found them also insufficient, to finish the work of His graciousness, and to cause us to be born anew by the revelations and promises of Jesus Christ.

69. β. A second cause of the universal iniquity of the world, is because our nature is so hard put to it in many instances; not because nature is originally corrupted, but because God's laws command such things which are a restraint to the indifferent and otherwise lawful inclinations of nature. I instance in the matters of temperance, abstinence, patience, humility, self-denial, and mortification. But more particularly thus;—A man is naturally inclined to desire the company of a woman whom he fancies. This is naturally no sin: for the natural desire was put into us by God, and therefore could not be evil. But then God as an instance and trial of our obedience, put fetters upon the indefinite desire, and determined us to one woman; which provision was enough to satisfy our need, but not all our possibility. This therefore he left as a reserve, that by obeying God in the so reasonable restraint of our natural desire, we might give Him something of our own. But then it is to be considered that our unwillingness to obey in this instance, or in any of the other, cannot be attributed to original sin, or natural disability derived as a punishment from Adam, because the particular instances were postnate a long time to the fall of man; and it was for a long time lawful to do some things which now are unlawful. But our unwillingness and averseness came by occasion of the law coming cross upon our nature; not because our nature is contrary to God, but because God was pleased to superinduce some commandments contrary to our nature, For if God had commanded us to eat the best meats and drink the richest wines, as long as they could please us, and were to be had, I suppose it will not be thought that original sin would hinder us from obedience. But because we are forbidden to do some things which naturally we desire to do and love, therefore our nature is hard put to it; and this is the true state of the difficulty. *Cito nequitia subrepit, virtus difficilis inventu est*[i], 'wickedness came in speedily, but virtue was hard and difficult.'

70. γ. But then besides these, there are many concurrent causes

[h] [2 Pet. ii. 5.] [i] Sen., lib. iii. quæst. natur., c. 3. [1 g. 30.—tom. ii. p. 739.]

of evil which have influence upon communities of men, such as are, evil examples, the similitude of Adam's transgression, vices of princes, wars, impunity, ignorance, error, false principles, flattery, interest, fear, partiality, authority, evil laws, heresy, schism, spite and ambition, natural inclination, and other principiant causes, which proceeding from the natural weakness of human constitution, are the fountain and proper causes of many consequent evils. *Quis dabit mundum ab immundo*, saith Job[k], 'How can a clean thing come from an unclean?' We all naturally have great weaknesses, and an imperfect constitution, apt to be weary, loving variety, ignorantly making false measures of good and evil, made up with two appetites, that is, with inclination to several objects serving to contrary interests, a thing between angel and beast, and the later in this life is the bigger ingredient. *Hominem . . a natura noverca in lucem edi corpore nudo, fragili atque infirmo animo, anxio ad molestias, humili ad timores, debili ad labores, proclivi ad libidines, in quo divinus ignis sit obrutus, et ingenium, et mores;* so Cicero as S. Austin[l] quotes him, 'Nature hath like a step-mother sent man into the world with a naked body, a frail and infirm mind, vexed with troubles, dejected with fears, weak for labours, prone to lusts, in whom the divine fire, and his wit, and his manners are covered and overturned.' And when Plato[m] had fiercely reproved the baseness of men's manners, by saying that they are even naturally evil; he reckons two causes of it, which are the diseases of the soul (but contracted he knew not how) ignorance and improbity; which he supposes to have been the remains of that baseness they had before they entered into bodies, whither they were sent as to a prison. This is our natural uncleanness and imperfection, and from such a principle we are to expect proper and proportioned effects; and therefore we may well say with Job[n], "What is man that he should be clean, and he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous?" That is, our imperfections are many, and we are with unequal strengths called to labour for a supernatural purchase; and when 'our spirit is very willing,' even then 'our flesh is very weak:' and yet it is worse if we compare ourselves, as Job does, to the purities and perfections of God; in respect of which, as he says of us men in our imperfect state, so he says also of the angels, or the holy ones of God, and of the heaven itself, that it is also unclean and impure: for the cause and verification of which, we must look out something besides original sin. Add to this, that vice is pregnant and teeming, and brings forth new instances, numerous as the spawn of fishes; such as are inadvertency, carelessness, tediousness of spirit, and these also are causes of very much evil.

[k] [Job xiv. 4.]

[l] [Sed paulo aliter.]—Lib. iv. contra Julianum. [cap. 12.—tom. x. col. 612 G.]

[m] In Sophista. [§ 30. tom. iv. p. 369.]—Homines natura sunt mali, et non possunt induci ut justitiam colant.—Lib. ii. de rep. [vid. § 4. tom. vi. p. 336.]

[n] [Job xv. 14.]

§ 5. Of liberty of election remaining after Adam's fall.

71. UPON this account, besides that the causes of an universal impiety are apparent without any need of laying Adam in blame for all our follies and miseries, or rather without charging them upon God, who so ordered all things as we see and feel; the universal wickedness of man is no argument to prove our will servile, and the powers of election to be quite lost in us, excepting only that we can choose evil. For admitting this proposition, that there can be no liberty where there is no variety; yet that all men choose sin, is not any testimony that there is no variety in our choice. If there were but one sin in the world, and all men did choose that, it were a shrewd suspicion that they were naturally determined or strongly precipitated. But every man does not choose the same sin, nor for the same cause; neither does he choose it always, but frequently declines it, hates it, and repents of it: many men even among the heathens did so. So that the objection hinders not but that choice and election still remains to a man, and that he is not naturally sinful, as he is naturally heavy, or upright, apt to laugh, or weep. For these he is always, and unavoidably.

72. And indeed the contrary doctrine is a destruction of all laws, it takes away reward and punishment, and we have nothing whereby we can serve God. And precepts of holiness might as well be preached to a wolf as to a man, if man were naturally and inevitably wicked.

Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio.

There would be no use of reason or of discourse, no deliberation or counsel: and it were impossible for the wit of man to make sense of thousands of places of scripture, which speak to us as if we could hear and obey, or could refuse. Why are promises made, and threatenings recorded? Why are God's judgments registered? to what purpose is our reason above, and our affections below, if they were not to minister to and attend upon the will? But upon this account it is so far from being true that man after his fall did forfeit his natural power of election, that it seems rather to be increased. For as a man's knowledge grows, so his will becomes better attended and ministered unto. But after his fall his knowledge was more than before; he knew what nakedness was, and had experience of the difference of things, he perceived the evil and mischief of disobedience and the divine anger; he knew fear and flight, new apprehensions, and the trouble of a guilty conscience: by all which and many other things, he grew better able, and instructed with arguments to obey God, and to refuse sin for the time to come. And it is every man's case; a repenting man is wiser, and hath oftentimes more perfect hatred of sin than the innocent, and is made more wary by his fall. But of this thing God himself is witness. *Ecce homo tanquam singularis, ex se ipso habet scire bonum et malum,* so the Chaldee

paraphrase[o] reads Gen. iii. 22. Our bibles read thus, "And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of Us, to know good and evil." Now as a consequent of this knowledge, God was pleased by ejecting him out of paradise to prevent his eating of the tree of life, *Ne forte mittat manum suam in arborem vitæ.* Meaning, that now he was grown wise and apt to provide himself, and use all such remedies as were before him. He knew more after his fall than before; therefore ignorance was not the punishment of that sin: and he that knows more is better enabled to choose, and lest he should choose that which might prevent the sentence of death put upon him, God cast him from thence where the remedy did grow. Upon the authority of this place Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon[p] hath these words, *Potestas libera unicuique data est: si vult inclinare se ad bonum et esse justus, penes ipsum est; sin vult se ad malum inclinare et esse impius, et hoc ipsum penes est. Hoc illud est quod in lege scribitur, Ecce homo tanquam singularis, ex seipso habet scire bonum et malum;* 'To every man is given a power that he may choose and be inclined to good if he please; or else if he please to do evil: for this is written in the law, Behold, the man is as a single one, of himself now he knows good and evil: as if he had said, Behold, mankind is in the world without its like, and can of his own counsel and thought know good and evil, in either of these doing what himself shall choose.' *Si lapsus es, poteris surgere; in utramvis partem habes liberum arbitrium,* saith S. Chrysostom[q], 'If thou hast fallen, thou mayest rise again; that which thou art commanded to do, thou hast power to do; thou mayest choose either.

73. I might be infinite in this; but I shall only add this one thing, that to deny to the will of man powers of choice and election, or the use of it in the actions of our life, destroys the immortality of the soul. Κινδυνεύει γὰρ εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὑποφέρεσθαι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκτροπῆς, said Hierocles[r], 'human nature is in danger to be lost, if it diverts to that which is against nature.' For if it be immortal, it can never die in its noblest faculty. But if the will be destroyed, that is, disabled from choosing (which is all the work the will hath to do) then it is dead. For to live, and to be able to operate, in philosophy is all one. If the will therefore cannot operate, how is it immortal? And we may as well suppose an understanding that can never understand, and passions that can never desire or refuse, and a memory that can never remember, as a will that cannot choose. Indeed all the faculties of the soul that operate by way of nature can be hindered in individuals; but in the whole species never. But the will is not impedible, it cannot be restrained at all, if there be any acts of life; and when all the other

[o] ['Ecce Adam unicus est in sæculo ex se, sciens bonum et malum.'—Onkelos as translated in Walton's polyglott.]

[p] [Maimonides de pœnitentia, cap. v. § 1.—p. 70.]

[q] In l. psa. hom. ii. [Inter spur., tom. v. p. 586 B.]

[r] [In Pythag. aur. carm., p. 124.]

faculties are weakest, the will is strongest, and does not at all depend upon the body. Indeed it often follows the inclination and affections of the body, but it can choose against them, and it can work without them. And indeed since sin is the action of a free faculty, it can no more take away the freedom of that faculty, than virtue can; for that also is the action of the same free faculty. If sin be considered in its formality, as it is an inordination or irregularity, so it is contrary to virtue; but if you consider it as an effect or action of the will, it is not at all contrary to the will, and therefore it is impossible it should be destructive of that faculty from whence it comes.

74. Now to say that the will is not dead, because it can choose sin, but not virtue, is an escape[s] too slight. For besides that it is against an infinite experience, it is also contrary to the very being and manner of a man, and his whole economy in this world. For men indeed sometimes by evil habits, and by choosing vile things for a long time together, make it morally impossible to choose and to love that good in particular which is contrary to their evil customs. Ἡράκλειτος ἔφη ὡς ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων[s]· custom is the devil[t] that brings in new natures upon us; for nature is innocent in this particular. *Nulli nos vitio natura conciliat, nos illa integros ac liberos genuit*[u], 'nature does not engage us upon a vice, she made us entire, she left us free,' but we make ourselves prisoners and slaves by vicious habits; or as S. Cyril[v] expresses it, ἐλθόντες ἀναμάρτητοι, νῦν ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἁμαρτάνομεν, 'we came into the world without sin' (meaning, without sin properly so called) 'but now we sin by choice,' and by election bring a kind of necessity upon us. But this is not so in all men, and scarcely in any man in all instances; and as it is, it is but an approach to that state in which men shall work by will without choice, or by choice without contrariety of objects. In heaven and hell men will do so. The saints love God so fully, that they cannot hate Him, nor desire to displease Him. And in hell the accursed spirits so perfectly hate Him that they can never love Him. But in this life which is *status viæ*, a middle condition between both, and a passage to one of the other, it cannot be supposed to be so, unless here also a man be already saved or damned.

75. But then I consider this also, that since it is almost by all men acknowledged to be unjust that infants should be eternally tormented in the flames of hell for original sin; yet we do not say that it is unjust that men of age and reason should so perish, if they be vicious and disobedient. Which difference can have no ground but this, that infants could not choose at all, much less that which not they but their father did long before they were born: but men can choose, and do what they are commanded, and abstain from what is

[s] Stob. [floril. tit. civ. περὶ κακοδαιμ. n. 23.]

[t] ['Heraclitus dixit ingenium homini dæmonem esse.' — Ed. græco-lat., fol. Aurel. Allobr. 1609.—Δαίμων is rightly translated by Taylor, p. 291, below.]

[u] Sen. ep. xciv. [tom. ii. p. 450.]

[v] Catech. ix. [leg. iv. cap. 19. p. 61.]

forbidden. For if they could not, they ought no more to perish for this, than infants for that.

76. And this is so necessary a truth, that it is one of the great grounds and necessities of obedience and holy living; and if after the fall of Adam it be not by God permitted to us to choose or refuse, there is nothing left whereby man can serve God, or offer Him a sacrifice. It is no service, it is not rewardable, if it could not be avoided, nor the omission punishable if it could not be done. All things else are determined, and fixed by the divine providence, even all the actions of men. But the inward act of the will is left under the command of laws only, and under the arrest of threatenings, and the invitation of promises. And that this is left for man can no ways impede any of the divine decrees, because the outward act being overruled by the divine providence, it is strange if the schools will leave nothing to man whereby he can glorify God.

77. I have now said something to all that I know objected, and more than is necessary to the question, if the impertinencies of some schools and their trifling arrests had not so needlessly disturbed this article. There is nothing which from so slight grounds hath got so great, and till of late, so unquestioned footing in the persuasions of men. Origen[x] said enough to be mistaken in the question. Ἡ ἀρὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κοινὴ πάντων ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ἧς οὐ λέγεται, 'Adam's curse is common to all; and there is not a woman on earth to whom may not be said those things which were spoken to this woman,' Eve. Him S. Ambrose did mistake, and followed the error about explicating the nature of original sin, and set it something forward. But S. Austin gave it complement and authority by his fierce disputing against the Pelagians, whom he would overthrow by all means. Indeed their capital error was a great one, and such against which all men while there was need ought to have contended earnestly, but this might and ought to have been done by truth. For error is no good confuter of error, as it is no good conversion that reforms one vice with another. But his zeal against a certain error made him take in auxiliaries from an uncertain or less discerned one, and caused him to say many things which all antiquity before him disavowed, and which the following ages took up upon his account. And if such a weak principle as his saying, could make an error spread over so many churches, for so many ages, we may easily imagine that so many greater causes as I before reckoned might infect whole nations, and consequently mankind, without crucifying our patriarch or first parent, and declaiming against him (poor man) as the author of all our evil. Truth is, we intend by laying load upon him to excuse ourselves, and, which is worse, to entertain our sins infallibly, and never to part with them, upon pretence that they are natural, and irresistible.

[x] Contra Celsum, lib. iv. [cap. 40.—tom. i. p. 535 A.]

§ 6. The practical question.

78. And now if it be enquired whether we be tied to any particular repentance relative to this sin, the answer will not be difficult. I remember a pretty device of Hierome of Florence a famous preacher not long since, who used this argument to prove the blessed virgin Mary to be free from original sin; because it is more likely, if the blessed Virgin had been put to her choice, she would rather have desired of God to have kept her free from venial actual sin, than from original: since therefore God hath granted her the greater, and that she never sinned actually, it is to be presumed God did not deny to her the smaller favour, and therefore she was free from original. Upon this many a pretty story hath been made, and rare arguments framed, and fierce contestations, whether it be more agreeable to the piety and prudence of the Virgin mother to desire immunity from original sin that is deadly, or from a venial actual sin that is not deadly. This indeed is voluntary, and the other is not; but the other deprives us of grace, and this does not. God was more offended by that, but we offend Him more by this. The dispute can never be ended upon their accounts; but this Gordian knot I have now untied as Alexander did, by destroying it, and cutting it all in pieces.—But to return to the question.

79. S. Austin was indeed a fierce patron of this device, and one of the chief inventers and finishers of it; and his sense of it is declared in his book *De peccatorum medicina*[y], where he endeavours largely to prove that all our life time we are bound to mourn for the inconveniences and evil consequents derived from original sin. I dare say every man is sufficiently displeased that he is liable to sickness, weariness, displeasure, melancholy, sorrow, folly, imperfection, and death, dying with groans and horrid spasms and convulsions. In what sense these are the effects of Adam's sin, and though of themselves natural, yet also upon his account made penal, I have already declared, and need no more to dispute; my purpose being only to establish such truths as are in order to practice and a holy life, to the duties of repentance and amendment. But our share of Adam's sin either being in us no sin at all, or else not to be avoided or amended, it cannot be the matter of repentance. *Neminem autem recte ita loqui, pœnitere sese quod natus sit, aut pœnitere quod mortalis sit, aut quod ex offenso forte vulneratoque corpore dolorem sentiat,* said A. Gellius[z], 'a man is not properly said to repent that he was born, or that he shall die, or that he feels pain when his leg is hurt;' he gives this reason, *Quando istiusmodi rerum nec consilium sit nostrum, nec arbitrium.* As these are besides our choice, so they cannot fall into our deliberation; and therefore as they cannot be chosen, so neither refused, and therefore not repented of; for that supposes both; that they were chosen once, and now refused. As Adam was not bound to repent of the sins of all his posterity, so neither are we tied to repent of his

[y] Cap. 3. homil. 1. [al. hom. cccli.—tom. v. col. 1352 D.]
[z] Lib. xvii. c. 1. [p. 747.]

sins. Neither did I ever see in any ancient office or forms of prayer, public or private, any prayer of humiliation prescribed for original sin. They might deprecate the evil consequents, but never confess themselves guilty of the formal sin.

80. Add to this,—Original sin is remitted in baptism, by the consent of those schools of learning who teach this article, and therefore is not reserved for any other repentance; and that which came without our own consent is also to be taken off without it. That which came by the imputation of a sin, may also be taken off by the imputation of righteousness, that is, as it came without sin, so it must also go away without trouble.

But yet because the question may not render the practice insecure, I add these rules by way of advice and caution.

§ 7. Advices relating to the matter of original sin.

81. *a.* IT is very requisite that we should understand the state of our own infirmity, the weakness of the flesh, the temptations and diversions of the spirit, that by understanding our present state we may prevent the evils of carelessness and security. Our evils are the imperfections and sorrows inherent in, or appendent to, our bodies, our souls, our spirits.

82. In our bodies we find weakness and imperfection, sometimes crookedness, sometimes monstrosity; filthiness, and weariness, infinite numbers of diseases, and an uncertain cure, great pain, and restless night, hunger and thirst, daily necessities, ridiculous gestures, madness from passions, distempers and disorders, great labour to provide meat and drink, and oftentimes a loathing when we have them; if we use them they breed sicknesses, if we use them not, we die; and there is such a certain healthlessness in many things to all, and in all things to some men and at some times, that to supply a need is to bring a danger: and if we eat like beasts only of one thing, our souls are quickly weary; if we eat variety, we are sick, and intemperate; and our bodies are inlets to sin, and a stage of temptation. If we cherish them, they undo us; if we do not cherish them, they die: we suffer illusion in our dreams, and absurd fancies when we are waking; our life is soon done, and yet very tedious; it is too long, and too short; darkness and light are both troublesome; and those things which are pleasant, are often unwholesome. Sweet smells make the head ache, and those smells which are medicinal in some diseases, are intolerable to the sense. The pleasures of our body are bigger in expectation than in the possession; and yet while they are expected, they torment us with the delay, and when they are enjoyed, they are as if they were not, they abuse us with their vanity, and vex us with their volatile and fugitive nature. Our pains are very frequent alone, and very often mingled with pleasures to spoil them; and he that feels one sharp pain, feels not all the pleasures of the world, if they were in his power to have them. We live a precarious life, begging help of every thing,

and needing the repairs of every day, and being beholding to beasts and birds, to plants and trees, to dirt and stones, to the very excrements of beasts, and that which dogs and horses throw forth. Our motion is slow and dull, heavy and uneasy; we cannot move but we are quickly tired, and for every day's labour we need a whole night to recruit our lost strengths; we live like a lamp, unless new materials be perpetually poured in, we live no longer than a fly; and our motion is not otherwise than a clock; we must be pulled up once or twice in twenty-four hours; and unless we be in the shadow of death for six or eight hours every night, we shall be scarce in the shadows of life the other sixteen. Heat and cold are both our enemies; and yet the one always dwells within, and the other dwells round about us. The chances and contingencies that trouble us, are no more to be numbered than the minutes of eternity. The devil often hurts us, and men hurt each other oftener, and we are perpetually doing mischief to ourselves. The stars do in their courses fight against some men[a], and all the elements against every man; the heavens send evil influences, the very beasts are dangerous, and the air we suck in does corrupt our lungs: many are deformed, and blind, and ill coloured; and yet upon the most beauteous face is placed one of the worst sinks of the body; and we are forced to pass that through our mouths oftentimes, which our eye and our stomach hates. Pliny[b] did wittily and elegantly represent this state of evil things, *Itaque feliciter (homo) natus jacet manibus pedibusque devinctis, flens animal cæteris imperaturum, et a suppliciis vitam auspicatur, unam tantum ob culpam quia natum est,* 'a man is born happily, but at first he lies bound hand and foot by impoteney and cannot stir; the creature weeps that is born to rule over all other creatures, and begins his life with punishments, for no fault, but that he was born.' In short: the body is a region of diseases, of sorrow and nastiness, and weakness and temptation. Here is cause enough of being humbled.

83. Neither is it better in the soul of man, where ignorance dwells and passion rules. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν θάνατον καὶ πολὺς παθῶν εἰσῆλθεν ἐσμὸς, 'after death came in, there entered also a swarm of passions.' And the will obeys every thing but God[c]. Our judgment is often abused in matters of sense, and one faculty guesses at truth by confuting another; and the error of the eye is corrected by something of reason or a former experience. Our fancy is often abused, and yet creates things of itself, by tying disparate things together, that can cohere no more than music and a cable, than meat and syllogisms: and yet this alone does many times make credibilities in the understandings. Our memories are so frail, that they need instruments of recollection, and laborious artifices to help them; and in the use of these artifices sometimes we forget the meaning of those instruments:

[a] [Compare 'Life of Christ,' disc. xv. 'Of the excellency,' &c. n. 24.]

[b] [Nat. hist.] lib. vi. [leg. vii.] procem, [tom. i. p. 369.]

[c] Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.—[Virg. georg. i. 514.]

and of those millions of sins which we have committed, we scarce remember so many as to make us sorrowful, or ashamed. Our judgments are baffled with every sophism, and we change our opinion with a wind, and are confident against truth, but in love with error. We use to reprove one error by another, and lose truth while we contend too earnestly for it. Infinite opinions there are in matters of religion, and most men are confident, and most are deceived in many things, and all in some; and those few that are not confident, have only reason enough to suspect their own reason. We do not know our own bodies, not what is within us, nor what ails us when we are sick, nor whereof we are made; nay, we oftentimes cannot tell what we think, or believe, or love. We desire and hate the same thing, speak against and run after it. We resolve, and then consider; we bind ourselves, and then find causes why we ought not to be bound, and want not some pretences to make ourselves believe we were not bound. Prejudice and interest are our two great motives of believing; we weigh deeper what is extrinsical to a question, than what is in its nature; and oftener regard who speaks, than what is said. The diseases of our soul are infinite; Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξολισθήσασαν ἡ πολυπαθεστάτη ζωὴ διαδέχεται, καὶ τὸ τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ θανάτου πέρας, said Dionysius of Athens[d], 'mankind of old fell from those good things which God gave him, and now is fallen into a life of passion, and a state of death.' In sum, it follows the temper or distemper of the body, and sailing by such a compass, and being carried in so rotten a vessel, especially being empty, or filled with lightness, and ignorance, and mistakes, it must needs be exposed to the danger and miseries of every storm; which I choose to represent in the words of Cicero[e], *Ex humanæ vitæ erroribus et ærumnis fit, ut verum sit illud quod est apud Aristotelem, sic nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos.* The soul joined with the body, is like the conjunction of the living and the dead; the dead are not quickened by it, but the living are afflicted and die.

But then if we consider what our spirit is, we have reason to lie down flat upon our faces, and confess God's glory and our own shame. When it is at the best, it is but willing, but can do nothing without the miracle of grace. Our spirit is hindered by the body, and cannot

[d] Eccles. hier. c. iii. part. 3. [sc. in theoria.—p. 101 A.]

[e] In Hortens. [The beautiful passage alluded to, and which is preserved to us by S. Augustin, (contra Julian. Pelag., lib. iv. cap. 15. fin., tom. x. col. 623 A,) demands to be given entire; 'Ex quibus humanæ, inquit, vitæ erroribus et ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris initiisque tradendis divinæ mentes interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vita superiore pœnarum luendarum caussa natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur, verumque sit illud quod est apud Aristotelem, simili nos affectos esse supplicio atque eos qui quondam, quum in prædonum Etruscorum manus incidissent, crudelitate excogitata necabantur: quorum corpora viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accommodata, quam aptissime colligabantur: sic nostros animos cum corporibus copulatos, ut vivos cum mortuis esse conjunctos.']

rise up whither it properly tends, with those great weights upon it. It is foolish and improvident; large in desires, and narrow in abilities; naturally curious in trifles, and inquisitive after vanities; but neither understands deeply, nor affectionately relishes the things of God; pleased with forms, cousened[f] with pretences, satisfied with shadows, incurious of substances and realities. It is quick enough to find doubts, and when the doubts are satisfied, it raises scruples; that is, it is restless after it is put to sleep, and will be troubled in despite of all arguments of peace. It is incredibly negligent of matters of religion, and most solicitous and troubled in the things of the world. We love ourselves, and despise others; judging most unjust sentences, and by peevish and cross measures; covetousness and ambition, gain and empire are the proportions by which we take account of things. We hate to be governed by others, even when we cannot dress ourselves; and to be forbidden to do or have a thing, is the best art in the world to make us greedy of it. The flesh and the spirit perpetually are at strife[g]; the spirit pretending that his ought to be the dominion, and the flesh alleging that this is her state, and her day. We hate our present condition, and know not how to better ourselves, our changes being but like the tumblings and tossings in a fever, from trouble to trouble, that's all the variety. We are extremely inconstant, and always hate our own choice: we despair sometimes of God's mercies, and are confident in our own follies; as we order things, we cannot avoid little sins, and do not avoid great ones. We love the present world, though it be good for nothing, and undervalue infinite treasures, if they be not to be had till the day of recompenses. We are peevish if a servant does but break a glass, and patient when we have thrown an ill cast for eternity; throwing away the hopes of a glorious crown for wine, and dirty silver. We know that our prayers, if well done, are great advantages to our state, and yet we are hardly brought to them, and love not to stay at them, and wander while we are saying them, and say them without minding, and are glad when they are done, or when we have a reasonable excuse to omit them. A passion does quite overturn all our purposes, and all our principles, and there are certain times of weakness in which any temptation may prevail, if it comes in that unlucky minute.

84. This is a little representment of the state of man; whereof a great part is a natural impotency, and the other is brought in by our own folly.—Concerning the first when we discourse, it is as if one describes the condition of a mole, or a bat, an oyster, or a mushroom, concerning whose imperfections no other cause is to be enquired of, but the will of God, who gives His gifts as He please, and is unjust to no man by giving or not giving any certain proportion of good things. And supposing this loss was brought first upon Adam, and

f [sic ed.—See p. 3, note a, above.]

g Πάντη ἡ ἐναντιότης ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρυπτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήντησεν. —Macar., hom. xxi. [cap. 2. p. 86.]

so descended upon us, yet we have no cause to complain, for we lost nothing that was ours. *Præposterum est* (said Paulus the lawyer) *ante nos locupletes dici quam acquisierimus.* We cannot be said to lose what we never had; and our father's goods were not to descend upon us, unless they were his at his death. If therefore they be confiscated before his death, ours indeed is the inconvenience too, but his alone is the punishment, and to neither of us is the wrong.

But concerning the second, I mean that which is superinduced, it is not his fault alone, nor ours alone, and neither of us is innocent; we all put in our accursed symbol for the debauching of our spirits, for the besotting our souls, for the spoiling our bodies. *Ille initium induxit debiti, nos fœnus auximus posterioribus peccatis*[h], *&c.*, 'he began the principal, and we have increased the interest.' This we also find well expressed by Justin Martyr[i]; for the fathers of the first ages spake prudently and temperately in this article, as in other things; "Christ was not born or crucified because Himself had need of these things, but for the sake of mankind," ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ ὄφεως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν, ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ποιηρευσαμένου, 'which from Adam fell into death and the deception of the serpent, besides the evil which every one adds upon his own account.' And it appears in the greatest instance of all, even in that of natural death; which though it was natural, yet from Adam it began to be a curse, just as the motion of a serpent upon his belly, which was concreated with him, yet upon this story was changed into a malediction and an evil adjunct. But though Adam was the gate, and brought in the head of death, yet our sins brought him in further, we brought in 'the body of death.' Our life was left by Adam a thousand years long almost; but the iniquity of man brought it quickly to five hundred years, from thence to two hundred and fifty, from thence to a hundred and twenty, and at last to seventy; and then God would no more strike all mankind in the same manner, but individuals and single sinners smart for it, and are cut off in their youth; and 'do not live out half their days[k].' And so it is in the matters of the soul and the spirit. Every sin leaves an evil upon the soul; and every age grows worse, and adds some iniquity of its own to the former examples. And therefore Tertullian[l] calls Adam *mali traducem;* he transmitted the original and exemplar, and we write after his copy. *Infirmitatis ingenitæ vitium,* so Arnobius[m] calls our natural baseness; we are naturally weak, and this weakness is a vice or defect of nature, and our evil usages make our natures worse; like butchers

[h] S. Chrysost. in cap. vi. Ephes. [This reference is wrong; the passage is from a lost writing of S. Chrysostom quoted by S. Aug. cont. Jul. i. 6. On turning to Gerhard's Loci theol., De pecc. orig. § 68, the reader will see how the mistake probably arose.]

[i] Dial. cum Tryph. [§ 88. p. 186 A.]

[k] [Ps. lv. 25.—See an able comment upon these words in Bentley's sermon before George I. on Rom. xiv. 7.—Works, vol. iii. p. 274. 8vo. 1838.]

[l] ['Ac (Eva) traducem illum (sc. Adamum) ejus quod a Malo hauserat, facit.'—De patientia, cap. v. p. 142 C.]

[m] [Contr. gent., lib. i. cap. 8.—Galland., tom. iv. p. 137 D.]

being used to kill beasts, their natures grow more savage and unmerciful; so it is with us all. If our parents be good, yet we often prove bad, as the wild olive comes from the branch of a natural olive, or as corn with the chaff come from clean grain, and the uncircumcised from the circumcised. But if our parents be bad, it is the less wonder if their children are so; a blackamore begets a blackamore, as an epileptic son does often come from an epileptic father, and hereditary diseases are transmitted by generation; so it is in that viciousness that is radicated in the body, for a lustful father oftentimes begets a lustful son; and so it is in all those instances where the soul follows the temperature of the body. And thus not only Adam, but every father may transmit an 'original sin,' or rather an 'original viciousness' of his own; for a vicious nature, or a natural improbity when it is not consented to, is not a sin, but an ill disposition; philosophy and the grace of God must cure it; but it often causes us to sin, before our reason and our higher principles are well attended to. But when we consent to and actuate our evil inclinations, we spoil our natures and make them worse, making evil still more natural. For it is as much in our nature to be pleased with our artificial delights as with our natural. And this is the doctrine of S. Austin[n] speaking of concupiscence. *Modo quodam loquendi peccatum vocatur quod est peccato facta est, et peccati si vicerit facit, reum*[o]. 'concupiscence or the viciousness of our nature is after a certain manner of speaking called sin; because it is made worse by sin, and makes us guilty of sin when it is consented to.' It 'hath the nature of sin,' so the article of the church of England expresses it; that is, it is *in eadem materia*, it comes from a weak principle, *a naturæ vitio*, from the imperfect and defective nature of man and inclines to sin. But (that I may again use S. Austin's[p] words) *Quantum ad nos attinet, sine peccato semper essemus donec sanaretur hoc malum, si ei nunquam consenti-remus ad malum.* Although we all have concupiscence, yet none of us all should have any sin, if we did not consent to this concupiscence unto evil. Concupiscence is *naturæ vitium*, but not *peccatum*, a defect or fault of nature, but not formally a sin: which distinction we learn from S. Austin[q]; *Non enim talia sunt vitia quæ jam peccata dicenda sunt.* Concupiscence is an evil, as a weak eye is, but not a sin, if we speak properly, till it be consented to; and then indeed it is the parent of sin; τίκτει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, so S. James, 'it brings forth sin.'

85. This is the vile state of our natural viciousness and improbity, and misery, in which Adam had some, but truly not the biggest share; and let this consideration sink as deep as it will in us to make us humble and careful, but let us not use it as an excuse to lessen our diligence, by greatening our evil necessity. For death and sin

[n] Lib. i. de nupt. et concup. c. 23. [tom. x. col. 293.]

[o] [... 'et peccatum si vicerit facit; reatus' &c.—Ed. Ben.]

[p] Lib. ii. ad Julian. [cap. 10.—tom. x. col. 547 G.]

[q] Ibid. [cap. 3. col. 531 B.]

were both born from Adam, but we have nursed them up to an ugly bulk and deformity. But I must now proceed to other practical rules.

86. β. It is necessary that we understand that our natural state is not a state in which we can hope for heaven. Natural agents can effect but natural ends, by natural instruments: and now supposing the former doctrine, that we lost not the divine favour by our guilt of what we never did consent to, yet we were born in pure naturals, and they some of them worsted by our forefathers, yet we were, at the best, born but in pure naturals, and we 'must be born again[r];' that as by our first birth we are heirs of death, so by our new birth we may be adopted into the inheritance of life and salvation.

87. γ. It is our duty to be humbled in the consideration of ourselves, and of our natural condition. That by distrusting our own strengths we may take sanctuary in God through Jesus Christ, praying for His grace, entertaining and caressing of His holy spirit, with purities and devotions, with charity and humility, infinitely fearing to grieve Him, lest He leaving us, we be left as Adam left us, in pure naturals, but in some degrees worsted by the nature of sin in some instances, and the anger of God in all, that is, in the state of 'flesh and blood,' which 'shall never inherit the kingdom of heaven[s].'

88. δ. Whatsoever good work we do, let us not impute it to ourselves, or our own choice. For God is the best estimator of that: He knows best what portion of the work we did, and what influence our will had into the action; and leave it to Him to judge and recompense. But let us attribute all the glory to God, and to God's grace, for without Him we can do nothing. But by Him that strengthens us, that works in us to will and to do of His good pleasure, by Him alone we are saved. Giving all glory to God, will take nothing of the reward from us.

89. ϵ. Let no man so undervalue his sin, or overvalue himself, as to lessen that, and to put the fault any where but where it ought to be. If a man accuses himself with too great a rigour, it is no more than if he holds his horse too hard when he is running down a hill. It may be a less force would stop his running; but the greater does so too, and manifests his fear: which in this case of his sin and danger is of itself rewardable.

90. ζ. Let no man when he is tempted, say that he is tempted of God; not only because (as S. James[t] affirms most wisely) "every man is tempted, when he is led away by his own concupiscence;" but because he is a very evil speaker that speaks evil things of God. Think it not therefore in thy thought, that God hath made any[u] necessities of sinning. He that hath forbidden sin so earnestly, threatened it so deeply, hates it so essentially, prevents it so cautiously, dissuades us from it so passionately, punishes it so severely,

[r] [John iii. 7.]
[s] [1 Cor. xv. 50.]
[t] [James i. 13, 14.]
[u] ['many' A.]

arms us against it so strongly, and sent His son so piously and charitably to root out sin (so far as may be) from the face of the earth; certainly it cannot be thought that He hath made necessities of sinning. For whatsoever He hath made necessary, is as innocent as what He hath commanded; it is His own work, and He hateth nothing that He hath made, and therefore He hath not made sin. And no man shall dare to say at doomsday unto God, that He made him to sin, or made it unavoidable. There are no two cases of conscience, no two duties in any case so seemingly contradictory, that which soever a man choose[v] he must sin: and therefore much less is any one state a state of necessary unavoidable enmity against God.

91. η. Use thyself to holy company and pious employment in thy early days; follow no evil example, live by rule, and despise the world; relieve the usual necessities of thy life, but be not sensual in thy appetite; accustom thyself to religion and spiritual things, and then much of that evil nature thou complainest of, will pass into virtuous habits. It was the saying of Xenocrates in Aristotle[w], εὐδαίμονα εἶναι τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα σπουδαίαν· ταύτην γὰρ ἑκάστῳ εἶναι δαίμονα, 'happy is he that hath a diligent studious soul[x]; for that is every man's good angel, and the principle of his felicity.'

92. θ. Educate thy children and charges strictly and severely. Let them not be suffered to swear before they can pray, nor taught little revenges in the cradle, nor pride at school, nor fightings in company, nor drinkings in all their entertainments, nor lusts in private. Let them be drawn from evil company, and do thou give them holy example, and provide for them severe and wise tutors; and what Alexander of Ales said of Bonaventure[y], *Adam non peccavit in Bonaventura*, will be as truly said of young men and maidens. Impiety will not peep out so soon. It was wisely observed by Quintilian[z], who was an excellent tutor for young gentlemen, that ourselves with ill breeding our children are the authors of their evil nature. *Ante palatum eorum quam os instituimus; . . gaudemus si quid licentius dixerint; . . verba ne Alexandrinis quidem permittenda deliciis, risu et osculo excipimus*, 'we teach their palate before we instruct the tongue; and when the tongue begins first to prattle, they can efform wantonness before words; and we kiss them for speaking filthy things:' *fit ex his consuetudo, deinde natura; discunt hæc miseri antequam sciunt vitia esse*, 'the poor wretches sin before they know what it is; and by these actions a custom is made up, and this custom becomes a nature.'

[v] ['chooses' A.]
[w] Topic., lib. ii. cap. 3. [leg. 6. tom. i. p. 112.]
[x] ['cujus animus sit bonus,' Pacius.]
[y] [Act. sanct. Bolland. in Jul xiv. pp. 826 A, 831 B.]
[z] [Inst. or.] lib. i. cap. 2. [tom. i. p. 26 sq.]

§ 8. Rules and measures of deportment when a curse is feared to descend upon children for their parent's fault.

93. *a.* If we fear a curse upon ourselves or family for our father's sin[a], let us do all actions of piety or religion, justice or charity, which are contrary to that crime which is suspected to be the enemy; in all things being careful that we do not inherit the sin. *Si quis paterni vitii nascitur hæres, nascitur et pœnæ*[b], 'the heir of the crime must possess the revenue of punishment.'

94. *β.* Let the children be careful not to commend, not to justify, not to glory in their father's sin, but be diligent to represent themselves the more pious, by how much their fathers were impious; for by such a contrariety and visible distance, they will avoid their father's shame. Εἰώθασι οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ οὕτως ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾷν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων γεγονότας, ὡς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δυσκόλων καὶ χαλεπῶν, ἥνπερ φαίνωνται μηδὲν ὅμοιοι τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὄντες[c], 'for most men love not to honour and praise the sons of good men so much as the sons of wicked men, when they study to represent themselves better, and unlike their wicked parents.' Therefore,

95. *γ.* Let no child of a wicked father be dejected and confounded in his spirit because his fathers were impious. For although it is piety to be troubled for their father's regard, and because he died an enemy to God; yet in reference to themselves they must know, that God puts upon every head his own punishment. Πατρὸς ὀνείδη καὶ τιμωρίας παίδων οὐδενὶ ξυνέπεσθαι, said Plato[d]. For every one is submitted to his own fortune by his own act. The father's crime and the father's punishment make no real permanent blot upon the son. "No man is forced to succeed in his father's crime," said Callistratus the lawyer.

96. *δ.* Every evil that happens to a son for his father's fault, hath an errand of its own to him. For as God is a just judge to his father, so He is an essential enemy to sin, and a gracious lord to the suffering person. When God sent blindness upon the man in the gospel, neither for his parents' sins nor his own, yet He did it for His own glory. Let the afflicted person study by all ways to advance God's glory in the sufferance, and the sharpness of the evil will be taken off.

97. *ε.* Let not a son retain the price of his father's sin, the purchase of his iniquity. If his father entered into the fields of the fatherless, let not the son dwell there. If his ancestors were sacrilegious, let not the son declaim against the crime and keep the lands, but cast off that which brings the burden along with it. And this is to be observed in all those sins, the evil consequent and effect of which remains upon the posterity or successors of the injured person; for in those sins very often the curse descends with the

[a] [With this section compare Taylor's second sermon on 'Entail of curses cut off,' vol. iv. p. 374 sqq.]

[b] [Compare vol. iv. p. 369.]

[c] Isocr. epist. ad Timoth. [p. 605.]

[d] [De legg. ix. § 3.—tom. viii. p. 405.]

wrong. So long as the effect remains, and the injury is complained of, and the title is still kept on foot, so long the son is tied to restitution. But even after the possession is settled, yet the curse and evil may descend longer than the sin; as the smart and aching remains after the blow is past. And therefore even after the successors come to be lawful possessors, it may yet be very fit for them to quit the purchase of their father's sin, or else they must resolve to pay the sad and severe rent charge of a curse.

98. ζ. In such cases in which there cannot be a real, let there be a verbal and public disavowing their father's sin which was public, scandalous, and notorious. We find this thing done by Andronicus Palæologus the Greek emperor[f], who was the son of a bad father; and it is to be done, when the effect was transient, or irremediable.

99. η. Sometimes no piety of the children shall quite take off the anger of God from a family or nation: as it happened to Josiah, who above all the princes that were before or after him turned to the Lord[g], "Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of His great wrath wherewith His anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked Him withal." In such a case as this we are to submit to God's will, and let Him exercise His power, His dominion, and His kingdom as He pleases, and expect the returns of our piety in the day of recompenses: and it may be, our posterity shall reap a blessing for our sakes, who feel a sorrow and an evil for our father's sake.

100. θ. Let all that have children endeavour to be the beginners and the stock of a new blessing to their family; by blessing their children, by praying much for them, by holy education and a severe piety, by rare example, and an excellent religion. And if there be in the family a great curse, and an extraordinary anger gone out against it, there must be something extraordinary done in the matter of religion, or of charity, that the remedy be no less than the evil.

101. ι. Let not the consideration of the universal sinfulness and corruption of mankind, add confidence to thy person, and hardness to thy conscience, and authority to thy sin; but let it awaken thy spirit, and stir up thy diligence, and endear all the watchfulness in the world for the service of God; for there is in it some difficulty, and an infinite necessity.

Ὦ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἶ κακὸν,
σωτήριόν τε τοῖς καλῶς κεκτημένοις,

said Electra in the tragedy[h], 'our nature is very bad in itself, but very good to them that use it well.'

[f] Gregoras [Nicephorus,] lib v. c. 81. [lege p. 81.—fol. Venet. 1729.]

[g] [2 Kings xxiii. 26.]

[h] Eurip. Orest. [lin. 126.]

PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS.

THE first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed and was overcome: and so be all they that are born of him. Thus infirmity was made permanent; and the law also in the heart of the people with the malignity of the root; so that the good departed away, and the evil abode still[i].

Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright: but they have sought out many inventions[j].

For there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not[j].

Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me: purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow: create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me[k].

The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good. The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek after God. They are all gone aside, they are all become filthy: there is not one that doeth good, no not one[l].

O that the salvation of Israel were come out of Sion! When the Lord bringeth back the captivity of His people, Jacob shall rejoice, and Israel shall be glad[m].

Man dieth and wasteth away, yea man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? For now Thou numberest my steps: dost Thou not watch over my sin? My transgression is sealed up in a bag, and Thou sewest up mine iniquity. Thou destroyest the hope of man: Thou prevailest against him for ever, and he passeth: Thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. But his flesh upon him shall have pain, and his soul within him shall mourn[n].

[i] [2 Esdras iii. 21 sq.]
[j] [Eccl. vii. 29 and 20.]
[k] [Psalm li. 5, 7, 10.]
[l] [Psalm xiv. 1—4.]
[m] [ver. 11.]
[n] [Job xiv. 10, &c.]

What is man that he should be clean, and he that is born of a woman that he should be righteous? Behold, He putteth no trust in His saints, yea the heavens are not clean in His sight; how much more abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water[o]?

Trouble and anguish shall make him afraid; they shall prevail against him as a king ready to battle; for he stretcheth out his hand against God, and strengtheneth himself against the Almighty[p].

Let not him that is deceived trust in vanity, for vanity shall be his recompense. Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean thing? No, not one[q].

I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin, and defiled my horn in the dust. My face is foul with weeping, and on my eye-lids is the shadow of death. Not for any injustice in my hand: also my prayer is pure[r].

Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death! I thank God (I am delivered) through Jesus Christ our Lord[s].

But now being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life: for the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord[t].

Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace[u],

[o] [Job xv. 14.] [p] [ver. 24.] [q] [ver. 31.] [r] [chap. xvi. 15.]
[s] [Rom. vii. 24.] [t] [chap. vi. 22.] [u] [ver. 12, 14.]

THE PRAYER.

O ALMIGHTY God, great Father of men and angels, Thou art the preserver of men, and the great lover of souls; Thou didst make every thing perfect in its kind, and all that Thou didst make was very good: only we miserable creatures sons of Adam have suffered the falling angels to infect us with their leprosy of pride, and so we entered into their evil portion, having corrupted our way before Thee, and are covered with Thy rod, and dwell in a cloud of Thy displeasure. Behold me the meanest of Thy servants, humbled before Thee, sensible of my sad condition, weak and miserable, sinful and ignorant, full of need, wanting Thee in all things, and neither able to escape death without a Saviour, nor to live a life of holiness without Thy spirit. O be pleased to give me a portion in the new birth: break off the bands and fetters of my sin, cure my evil inclinations, correct my indispositions and natural averseness from the severities of religion; let me live by the measures of Thy law, not by the evil example and disguises of the world; renew a right spirit within me, and cast me not away from Thy presence, lest I should retire to the works of darkness, and enter into those horrible regions where the light of Thy countenance never shineth.

II.

I am ashamed, O Lord, I am ashamed that I have dishonoured so excellent a creation. Thou didst make us upright, and create us in innocence. And when Thou didst see us unable to stand in Thy sight, and that we could never endure to be judged by the covenant of works, Thou didst renew Thy mercies to us in the new covenant of Jesus Christ; and now we have no excuse, nothing to plead for ourselves, much less against Thee; but Thou art holy and pure, and just and merciful. Make me to be like Thee, holy as Thou art holy, merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful, obedient as our holy Saviour Jesus, meek and charitable, temperate and chaste, humble and patient according to that holy example, that my sins may be pardoned by His death, and my spirit renewed by His spirit, that passing from sin to grace, from ignorance to the knowledge and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, I may pass from death to life, from sorrow to joy, from earth to heaven, from the present state of misery and imperfection, to the glorious inheritance prepared for the saints and sons of light, the children of the new birth, the brethren of our Lord and Brother, our Judge and our Advocate, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus. Amen.

A PRAYER TO BE SAID BY A MATRON IN BEHALF OF HER HUSBAND AND FAMILY, THAT A BLESSING MAY DESCEND UPON THEIR POSTERITY.

I.

O ETERNAL God, our most merciful Lord and gracious Father, Thou art my guide, the light of mine eyes, the joy of my heart, the author of my hope, and the object of my love and worshippings; Thou relievest all my needs, and determinest all my doubts, and art an eternal fountain of blessing, open and running over to all thirsty and weary souls that come and cry to Thee for mercy and refreshment. Have mercy upon Thy servant, and relieve my fears and sorrows, and the great necessities of my family; for Thou alone, O Lord, canst do it.

II.

Fit and adorn every one of us with a holy and a religious spirit, and give a double portion to Thy servant my dear husband: give him a wise heart, a prudent, severe, and indulgent care over the children which Thou hast given us. His heart is in Thy hand, and the events of all things are in Thy disposition. Make it a great part of his care to promote the spiritual and eternal interest of his children, and not to neglect their temporal relations and necessities; but to provide states of life for them in which with fair advantages they may live cheerfully, serve Thee diligently, promote the interest of the christian family in all their capacities, that they may be always blessed, and always innocent, devout and pious, and may be graciously accepted by Thee to pardon, and grace, and glory, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

III.

Bless, O Lord, my sons with excellent understandings, love of holy and noble things, sweet dispositions, innocent deportment, diligent souls, chaste, healthful and temperate bodies, holy and religious spirits, that they may live to Thy glory, and be useful in their capacities to the servants of God, and all their neighbours, and the relatives of their conversation. Bless my daughters with a humble and a modest carriage, and excellent meekness, a great love of holy things, a severe chastity, a constant, holy and passionate religion. O my God, never suffer them to fall into folly, and the sad effects of

a wanton, loose and indiscreet spirit: possess their fancies with holy affections; be Thou the covering of their eyes, and the great object of their hopes, and all their desires. Blessed Lord, Thou disposest all things sweetly by Thy providence, Thou guidest them excellently by Thy wisdom, Thou unitest all circumstances and changes wonderfully by Thy power, and by Thy power makest all things work for the good of Thy servants; be pleased so to dispose my daughters, that if Thou shouldest call them to the state of a married life, they may not dishonour their family, nor grieve their parents, nor displease Thee, but that Thou wilt so dispose of their persons, and the accidents and circumstances of that state, that it may be a state of holiness to the Lord, and blessing to Thy servants. And until Thy wisdom shall know it fit to bring things so to pass, let them live with all purity, spending their time religiously and usefully. O most blessed Lord, enable their dear father with proportionable abilities and opportunities of doing his duty and charities towards them, and them with great obedience and duty towards him, and all of us with a love toward Thee above all things in the world; that our portion may be in love and in Thy blessings, through Jesus Christ our dearest Lord, and most gracious Redeemer.

IV.

O my God, pardon Thy servant, pity my infirmities, hear the passionate desires of Thy humble servant; in Thee alone is my trust, my heart and all my wishes are towards Thee. Thou hast commanded me to pray to Thee in all needs, Thou hast made gracious promises to hear and accept me; and I will never leave importuning Thy glorious majesty, humbly, passionately, confidently, till Thou hast heard and accepted the prayer of Thy servant. Amen, dearest Lord, for Thy mercy sake hear Thy servant. Amen.

[This chapter on 'Original sin' was unsatisfactory, as to other persons (see p. 243, note n, above), so to the bishop of Rochester (p. 7, above), who expressed his disapprobation of it in a letter to Taylor. The letter is not preserved, but Taylor's answer to it, and the bishop's second letter with Taylor's reply, were published, and are given at the end of this treatise.

The tract called 'Deus Justificatus,' also given at the end of this treatise, is another apologetic letter of Taylor on the same subject, and shews how much dissatisfaction had been felt at his statements on this point of doctrine.]

FURTHER EXPLICATION

OF THE

DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN[a].

[This chapter formed no part of the original volume. See p. 243, note n, above.]

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN[a] LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

MY LORD,

I NOW see cause to wish that I had given to your lordship the trouble of reading my papers of 'Original Sin,' before their publication; for though I have said all that which I found material in the question, yet I perceive that it had been fitting I had spoken some things less material, so to prevent the apprehensions that some have of this doctrine, that it is of a sense differing from the usual expressions of the church of England. However, my lord, since your lordship is pleased to be careful not only of truth and God's glory, but desirous also that even all of us should speak the same thing, and understand each other without jealousies, or severer censures, I have now obeyed your counsel, and done all my part towards the asserting the truth, and securing charity and unity: professing with all truth and ingenuity, that I would rather die than either willingly give occasion or countenance to a schism in the church of England; and I would suffer much evil before I would displease my dear brethren in the service of Jesus, and in the ministries of the church. But as I have not given just cause of offence to any, so I pray that they may not be offended unjustly, lest the fault lie on them, whose persons I so much love, and whose eternal interest I do so much desire may be secured and advanced.

Now, my lord, I had thought I had been secured in the article, not only for the truth of the doctrine, but for the advantages and comforts it brings. I was confident they would not, because there was no cause any men should be angry at it; for it is strange to me that any man should desire to believe God to be more severe and less gentle: that men should be greedy to find out inevitable ways of being damned, that they should be unwilling to have the veil drawn away from the face of God's goodness, and that they should desire to see an angry countenance, and be displeased at the glad tidings of the gospel of peace; it is strange to me that men should desire to believe that their pretty babes, which are strangled at the gates of the womb or die before baptism, should, for ought they know, die eternally and be damned, and that themselves should consent to it,

[a] [See p. 7, note a, above.]

and to them that invent reasons to make it seem just. They might have had not only pretences but reasons to be troubled, if I had represented God to be so great a hater of mankind as to damn millions of millions for that which they could not help, or if I had taught that their infants might by chance have gone to hell, and as soon as ever they came for life, descend to an eternal death; if I had told them evil things of God, and hard measures, and evil portions to their children, they might have complained; but to complain because I say God is just to all, and merciful and just to infants; to fret and be peevish because I tell them that nothing but good things are to be expected from our good God, is a thing that may well be wondered at. My lord, I take a great comfort in this, that my doctrine stands on that side where God's justice and goodness and mercy stand apparently: and they that speak otherwise in this article, are forced by convulsions and violences to draw their doctrine to comply with God's justice and the reputation of His most glorious attributes. And after great and laborious devices, they must needs do it pitifully and jejunely: but I will prejudice no man's opinion; I only will defend my own, because in so doing I have the honour to be an advocate for God, who will defend and accept me, in the simplicity and innocency of my purposes, and the profession of His truth.

Now, my lord, I find that some believe this doctrine ought not now to have been published: others think it not true. The first are the wise and few: the others are the many who have been taught otherwise, and either have not leisure or abilities to make right judgments in the question. Concerning the first I have given what accounts I could to that excellent man the lord bishop of Sarum [a], who, out of his great piety and prudence and his great kindness to me, was pleased to call for accounts of me. Concerning the other, your lordship, in great humility, and in great tenderness to those who are not persuaded of the truth of this doctrine, hath called upon me to give all those just measures of satisfaction which I could be obliged to by the interest of any christian virtue. In obedience to this pious care and prudent counsel of your lordship, I have published these ensuing papers, hoping that God will bless them to the purposes whither they are designed: however, I have done all that I could, and all that I am commanded, and all that I was counselled to. And as I submit all to God's blessing, and the events of His providence and economy; so my doctrine I humbly submit to my holy mother the church of England, and rejoice in any circumstances by which I can testify my duty to her, and my obedience to your lordship.

[a] [See p. 7, note a, above.]

CHAP. VII.

A FURTHER EXPLICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN.

§ 1. Of the fall of Adam, and the effects of it upon him and us.

It was well said of S. Augustin[a] in this thing, though he said many others in it less certain, *Nihil est peccato originali ad prædicandum notius, nihil ad intelligendum secretius.* The article we all confess; but the manner of explicating it is not an 'apple of knowledge,' but 'of contention.' Having therefore turned to all the ways of reason and scripture, I at last apply myself to examine how it was affirmed by the first and best antiquity. For the doctrine of original sin, as I have explicated it, is taxed of singularity and novelty; and though these words are very freely bestowed upon any thing we have not learned or consented to; and that we take false measures of these appellatives, reckoning that new that is but renewed, and that singular that is not taught vulgarly, or in our own societies; yet I shall easily quit the proposition from these charges: and though I do confess, and complain of it, that the usual affirmations of original sin are a popular error; yet I will make it appear that it is no catholic doctrine, that it prevailed by prejudice, and accidental authorities; but after such prevailing, it was accused and reproved by the greatest and most judicious persons of christendom.

1. And first, that judgment may the better be given of the allegations I shall bring from authority, I shall explicate and state the question, that there may be no impertinent allegations of antiquity for both sides, nor clamours against the persons interested in either persuasion, nor any offence taken by error and misprision. It is not therefore intended, nor affirmed, that there is no such thing as original sin; for it is certain, and affirmed by all antiquity, upon many grounds of scripture, that Adam sinned, and his sin was personally his, but derivatively ours; that is, it did great hurt to us, to our bodies directly, to our souls indirectly and accidentally.

2. For 'Adam was made a living soul,' the great representative of mankind, and the beginner of a temporal happy life; and to that purpose he was put in a place of temporal happiness, where he was to have lived as long as he obeyed God (so far as he knew nothing else being promised to him, or implied); but when he sinned he was thrown from thence, and spoiled of all those advantages by which he was enabled to live and be happy. This we find in the story; the

[a] [De mor. eccl. i. 22. tom. i. col. 702 D.—'Inter omnia quæ in hac vita possidentur, corpus homini gravissimum vinculum est, justissimis Dei legibus, propter antiquum peccatum, quo nihil est ad prædicandum notius,' &c.]

reasonableness of the parts of which teaches us all this doctrine. To which if we add the words of S. Paul[b], the case is clear; "The first Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit, that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthly[c]; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthly[c], such are they that are earthly[c]; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly; and as we have borne the image of the earthly[c], we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. Now this I say, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption." —This discourse of the apostle hath in it all these propositions, which clearly state this whole article,—There are two great heads of mankind, the two Adams; the first and the Second. The first was framed with an earthly body, the Second had (viz., after His resurrection, when He had died unto sin once) a spiritual body. The first was earthly, the Second is heavenly; from the first we derive an earthly life, from the Second we obtain a heavenly; all that are born of the first are such as he was naturally, but the effects of the Spirit came only upon them who are born of the Second Adam: from him who is earthly we could have no more than he was, or had; the spiritual life, and consequently the heavenly, could not be derived from the first Adam, but from Christ only. All that are born of the first, by that birth inherit nothing but temporal life and corruption; but in the new birth only we derive a title to heaven. For 'flesh and blood,' that is, whatsoever is born of Adam, 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God.' And they are injurious to Christ, who think that from Adam we might have inherited immortality. Christ was the giver and preacher of it; He "brought life and immortality to light through the gospel[d]." It is a singular benefit given by God to mankind, through Jesus Christ.

3. Upon the affirmation of these premises it follows, that if Adam had stood, yet from him we could not have by our natural generation obtained a title to our spiritual life, nor by all the strengths of Adam have gone to heaven: Adam was not our representative to any of these purposes, but in order to the perfection of a temporal life. Christ only is and was from eternal ages designed to be the head of the church, and the fountain of spiritual life. And this is it which is affirmed by some very eminent persons in the church of God; particularly by Junius and Tilenus[e], that *Christus est fundamentum totius prædestinationis;* all that are, or ever were, predestinated, were predestinated in Christ: even Adam himself was predestinated in Him, and therefore from him, if he had stood, though we should have inherited a temporal happy life, yet the scripture speaks nothing of any other event. Heaven was not promised to Adam himself,

[b] [1 Cor. xv. 45 sqq.]
[c] ['earthy' auth. vers.]
[d] [2 Tim. i. 10.]
[e] [Syntagm. tripert. disputt. theolog. part. i. cap. 19. thes. 22. p. 118. 8vo. Genev. 1622.]

therefore from him we could not have derived a title thither. And therefore that enquiry of the schoolmen, 'Whether if Adam had not sinned, Christ should have been incarnate,' was not an impertinent question, though they prosecuted it to weak purposes, and with trifling arguments; Scotus and his scholars were for the affirmative; and though I will not be decretory in it, because the scripture hath said nothing of it, nor the church delivered it; yet to me it seems plainly the discourse of the apostle now alleged, that if Adam had not sinned, yet that by Christ alone we should have obtained everlasting life. Whether this had been dispensed by His incarnation, or some other way of economy, is not signified.

4. But then if from Adam we should not have derived our title to heaven, though he had stood, then neither by his fall can we be said to have lost heaven. Heaven and hell were to be administered by another method. But then if it be enquired what evil we thence received? I answer, that the principal effect was the loss of that excellent condition in which God placed him, and would have placed his posterity, unless sin had entered. He should have lived a long and lasting life, till it had been time to remove him, and very happy. Instead of this, he was thrown from those means which God had designed to this purpose, that is, paradise and the trees[f] of life; he was turned into a place of labour and uneasiness, of briers and thorns, ill air and violent chances,

—— et nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors[g];

the woman was condemned to hard labour and travail, and (that which troubled her most) obedience to her husband; his body was made frail, and weak, and sickly; that is, it was left such as it was made, and left without remedies which were to have made it otherwise. For that Adam was made mortal in his nature, is infinitely certain, and proved by his very eating and drinking, his sleep and recreation; by ingestion and egestion, by breathing and generating his like, which immortal substances never do; and by the very tree of life, which had not been needful, if he should have had no need of it to repair his decaying strength and health.

5. The effect of this consideration is this, that all the product of Adam's sin was by despoiling him, and consequently us, of all the superadditions and graces brought upon his nature. Even that which was threatened to him, and in the narrative of that sad story expressed to be his punishment, was no lessening of his nature, but despoiling him of his supernaturals: and therefore Manuel Palæologus[h] calls it τὸν κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως αὐχμὸν, 'the common dryness of our nature;' and he adds, λέγω δὴ τὴν προπατορικὴν ἁμαρτίαν δι' ἣν τῆς χάριτος ἐκπεπτώκαμεν, 'by our father's sin we fell from our father's graces.' Now according to the words of the apostle,

[f] [sic edd.—Milton, P. L. v. 652.]
[g] [Hor. od., lib. i. 3. lin. 30.]
[h] [Præcepta educationis regiæ, cap. xxvii p. 52.—8vo. Basil. 1578.]

'As is the earthly[k], such are they that are earthly;' that is, all his posterity must be so as his nature was left; in this there could be no injustice. For if God might at first and all the way have made man with a necessity as well as a possibility of dying, though men had not sinned; then so also may He do, if he did sin; and so it was; but this was effected by disrobing him of all the superadded excellencies with which God adorned and supported his natural life. But this also I add, that if even death itself came upon us without the alteration or diminution of our nature, then so might sin, because death was *in re naturali*, but sin is not, and therefore need not suppose that Adam's nature was spoiled to introduce that.

6. As the sin of Adam brought hurt to the body directly, so indirectly it brought hurt to the soul. For the evils upon the body, as they are only felt by the soul; so they grieve, and tempt, and provoke the soul to anger, to sorrow, to envy; they make weariness in religious things; cause desires for ease, for pleasure; and as these are by the body always desired, so sometimes being forbidden by God, they become sins, and are always apt to it; because the body, being a natural agent, tempts to all it can feel, and have pleasure in. And this is also observed and affirmed by S. Chrysostom[l], and he often speaks it, as if he were pleased in this explication of the article: Μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ὁ τῶν παθῶν ἐπεισῆλθεν ὄχλος· ὅτε γὰρ θνητὸν ἐγένετο τὸ σῶμα, ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναγκαίως λοιπὸν, καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ λύπην, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ πολλῆς ἐδεῖτο φιλοσοφίας, ἵνα μὴ πλημμύρα τὸν[m] ἐν ἡμῖν καταποντίσῃ λογισμὸν εἰς τὸν ἁμαρτίας βυθόν· αὗτα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἁμαρτία, ἡ δὲ ἀμετρία αὐτῶν μὴ χαλινουμένη τοῦτο εἰργάζετο· 'together with death entered a whole troop of affections or passions: for when the body became mortal, then of necessity it did admit desires (or lust), and anger, and grief, and all things else, which need great constancy and wisdom, lest the storm should drown reason in us, in the gulf of sin: for these affections or passions were not sin; but the excess of them, not being bridled, did effect this.' The same he affirms[n] *in homil.* xi. *ad Rom.* vi. and *homil.* xii. on Rom. vii. And not much unlike this was that excellent discourse of Lactantius, in his seventh book *De divino præmio*[o], cap. 5. But Theodoret, in his commentaries upon the Romans, follows the same discourse exactly. And this way of explicating the entrance and facility of sin upon us is usual in antiquity; affirming, that because we derive a miserable and an afflicted body from Adam, upon that stock sin enters.

> Quæ quia materiam peccati ex fomite carnis
> Consociata trahit, nec non simul ipsa sodali
> Est incentivum peccaminis, implicat ambas
> Vindex pœna reas, peccantes mente sub una,
> Peccandique cremat socias cruciatibus æquis[p].

[k] [note c, above.]
[l] Ad vii. Rom., homil. xiii. [§ 1. p. 557 E.]
[m] [πλημμύραντα, ed. Ben.]
[n] [p. 530 sqq.]
[o] [al. De vita beata.—tom. i. p. 527 sqq.]
[p] Prudentius in Apotheosi. [lin. 927.]

'Because the soul joined to the body draws from the society of the flesh incentives and arguments to sin; therefore both of them are punished, as being guilty by consociation.' But then thus it was also before the fall: for by this it was that Adam fell. So the same Prudentius[q],

Hæc prima est natura animæ, sic condita simplex
Decidit in vitium per sordida fœdera carnis.

'The soul was created simple and pure, but fell into vice by the evil combination with the flesh.' But if at first the appetites and necessities and tendencies of the body, when it was at ease and health and blessed, did yet tempt the soul to forbidden instances; much more will this be done when the body is miserable and afflicted, uneasy and dying. For even now we see, by a sad experience, that the afflicted and the miserable are not only apt to anger and envy, but have many more desires, and more weaknesses, and consequently more aptnesses to sin in many instances, than those who are less troubled. And this is that which was said by Arnobius[r], *Proni ad culpas et ad libidinis varios appetitus vitio sumus infirmitatis ingenitæ,* 'by the fault of our natural infirmity, we are prone to the appetites of lust and sins.'

7. From hence it follows, that naturally a man cannot do or perform the law of God; because being so weak, so tempted by his body; and this life being the body's day, that is, the time in which its appetites are properly prevailing; to be born of Adam, is to be born under sin, that is, under such inclinations to it, that as no man will remain innocent, so no man can of himself keep the law of God; *Vendidit se prior*[s], *ac per hoc omne semen ejus subjectum est peccato; quamobrem infirmum esse hominem ad præcepta legis servanda,* said the author of the commentary on S. Paul's epistles usually attributed to S. Ambrose[t].

But beyond this there are two things more considerable; the one is that the soul of man being devested by Adam's fall, by way of punishment, of all those supernatural assistances which God put into it; that which remained was a reasonable soul, fitted for the actions of life and of reason, but not of any thing that was supernatural. For the soul, being immerged in flesh, feeling grief by participation of evils from the flesh, hath and must needs have discourses in order to its own ease and comfort, that is, in order to the satisfaction of the body's desires; which, because they are often contradicted, restrained, and curbed, and commanded to be mortified and killed, by the laws of God, must of necessity make great inlets for sin; for while reason judges of things in proportion to present interests, and is less apprehensive of the proportions of those good things which are not

[q] [ibid., lin. 109.]
[r] Lib. i. advers. gentes. [p. 288, not. m, supra.]
[s] [sc. 'Adam.']
[t] In cap. vii. Rom. [tom. ii. append., col. 66 F.]

the good things of this life, but of another; the reason abuses the will as the flesh abuses the reason. And for this there is no remedy but the grace of God, the Holy Spirit, to make us be born again, to become spiritual; that is, to have new principles, new appetites, and new interests.

The other thing I was to note is this; that as the devil was busy to abuse mankind, when he was fortified by many advantages and favours from God: so now that man is naturally born naked, and devested of those graces and advantages, and hath an infirm sickly body, and enters upon the actions of life through infancy, and childhood, and youth, and folly, and ignorance; the devil, it is certain, will not omit his opportunities, but will with all his power possess and abuse mankind: and upon the apprehension of this, the primitive church used, in the first admission of infants to the entrance of a new birth to a spiritual life, pray[u] against the power and frauds of the devil; and that brought in the ceremony of exsufflation, for ejecting of the devil. The ceremony was fond and weak, but the opinion that introduced them was full of caution and prudence. For as Optatus Milevitanus[x] said, *Neminem fugit quod omnis homo qui nascitur, quamvis de parentibus christianis nascatur, sine spiritu immundo esse non possit, quem necesse sit ante salutare lavacrum ab homine excludi ac separari.* It is but too likely the devil will take advantages of our natural weaknesses, and with his temptations and abuses enter upon children as soon as they enter upon choice, and indeed prepossess them with imitating follies, that may become customs of sinfulness before they become sins; and therefore with rare wisdom it was done by the church, to prevent the devil's frauds and violences by an early baptism and early offices.

8. As a consequent of all this it comes to pass, that we being born thus naked of the divine grace, thus naturally weak, thus encumbered with a body of sin, that is, a body apt to tempt to forbidden instances, and thus assaulted by the frauds and violences of the devil, all which are helped on by the evil guises of the world, it is certain we cannot with all these disadvantages and loads soar up to heaven; but in the whole constitution of affairs are in sad dispositions to enter into the devil's portion, and go to hell: not that if we die before we consent to evil, we shall perish; but that we are evilly disposed to do actions that will deserve it, and because if we die before our new birth, we have nothing in us that can, according to the revelations of God, dispose us to heaven; according to these words of the apostle[y], "In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing."

But this infers,—not that in our flesh, or that in our soul, there is any sin properly inherent which makes God to be our present enemy; that is, the only or the principal thing I suppose myself to have so much reason to deny;—but that the state of the body is a state not at

[u] ['used. . . . pray,' sic edd.] [x] Lib. iv. contr. Parmen. [cap. 6. p. 75.]

all fitted for heaven, but too much disposed to the ways that lead to hell. For even in innocent persons, in Christ himself, it was a hindrance or a state of present exclusion from heaven; he 'could not enter into the second tabernacle' (that is, into heaven) 'so long as the first tabernacle of His body was standing;' the body of sin, that is, of infirmity, He was first to lay aside, and so by dying unto sin once, He entered into heaven; according to the other words of S. Paul[y], "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," it is a state of differing nature and capacity; Christ himself could not enter thither till He had first laid that down, as the divine author to the Hebrews[z] rarely and mysteriously discourses.

9. This is the whole sum of Original Sin, which now I have more fully explicated than formerly; it being then only fitting to speak of so much of it as to represent it to be a state of evil, which yet left in us powers enough to do our duty, and to be without excuse (which very thing the Belgic[a] Confession in this article acknowledges) and that not God, but ourselves are authors of our eternal death in case we do perish.

But now though thus far I have admitted as far as can be consonant to antiquity, and not unreasonable, though in scripture so much is not expressed; yet now I must be more restrained, and deny those superadditions to this doctrine, which the ignorance or the fancy, or the interest, or the laziness of men have sewed to this doctrine.

§ 2. Adam's sin is in us no more than an imputed sin, and how it is so.

10. ORIGINAL sin is not our sin properly, not inherent in us, but is only imputed to us, so as to bring evil effects upon us: for that which is inherent in us, is a consequent only of Adam's sin, but of itself no sin; for there being but two things affirmed to be the constituent parts of original sin, the want of original righteousness, and concupiscence, neither of these can be a sin in us, but a punishment and a consequent of Adam's sin they may be. For the case is thus;—

One half of Christians that dispute in this article, particularly the Roman schools, say that concupiscence is not a sin, but a consequent of Adam's sin: the other half of Christians (I mean in Europe) that is, the protestants, generally say that the want of original righteousness is a consequent of Adam's sin, but formally no sin. The effect of these is this, that it is not certain amongst the churches that either one or the other is formally our sin, or inherent in us; and we cannot affirm either without crossing a great part of christendom in their affirmative.

There have indeed been attempts made to reconcile this difference;

[y] [1 Cor. xv. 50.]
[z] [Heb. ix. 8; vii. 27; v. 2, 3.]
[a] [cap. xiv. In sylloge confessionum, p. 635.—8vo. Oxon. 1827.]

and therefore in the conference at Worms[b], and in the book offered at Ratisbon[c] to the emperor, and in the *Interim*[d] itself they jumbled them both together, saying, that *Originale peccatum est carentia justitiæ originalis, cum concupiscentia.* But the church of England defines neither, but rather inclines to believe that it consists in concupiscence, as appears in the explication of the article which I have annexed. But because she hath not determined that either of them is formally a sin, or inherent in us, I may with the greater freedom discourse concerning the several parts.

The want of original righteousness is not a thing, but the privation of a thing, and therefore cannot be inherent in us; and therefore if it be a sin at all to us, it can only be such by imputation. But neither can this be imputed to us as a sin formally, because if it be at all, it is only a consequent or punishment of Adam's sin, and unavoidable by us: for though Scotus[e] is pleased to affirm that there was an obligation upon human nature to preserve it; I doubt not but as he intended it, he said false. Adam indeed was tied to it, for if he lost it for himself and us, then he only was bound to keep it for himself and us; for we could not be obliged to keep it unless we had received it; but he was, and because he lost it, we also missed it; that is, are punished, and feel the evil effects of it. But besides all this, the matter of original righteousness is a thing framed in the school-forges, but not at all spoken of in scripture, save only that "God made man upright[f]," that is, he was brought innocent into the world, he brought no sin along with him, he was created in the time and stature of reason and choice; he entered upon action when his reason was great enough to master his passion, all which we do not: it is that which, as Prosper describes it, made a man *expertem peccati, et capacem Dei;* for by this is meant that he had grace and helps enough, if he needed any, besides his natural powers; which we have not by nature, but by another dispensation.

11. Add to all this, that they who make the want of original righteousness to be a sin formally in us, when they come to explicate their meaning by material or intelligible events, tell us it is an aversion from God; that is, in effect, a turning to the creature, and differs no otherwise from concupiscence, than going from the west directly does from going directly to the east; that is, just nothing. It follows then, that if concupiscence be the effect of Adam's sin, then so must the want of original righteousness, because they are the same thing in real event: and if that be no sin in us, because it was only the punishment of his sin, then neither is the other a sin, for the same reason.

[b] [Colloq. Wormac., 4to. Viteb. 1542.]
[c] [Acta colloquii Ratisponensis, p. 4. —4to. Argentor. 1542.]
[d] [cap. ii.—Apud Goldast., const. imper., tom. i. p. 520.—fol. Francof. 1615. —Burnet, history of the reformation, part ii. book i. in A.D. 1548.]
[e] [In lib. ii. sentent., dist. xxxii.—tom. vi. p. 948 sqq.]
[f] [Eccl. vii. 29.]

But then for concupiscence, that this is no sin before we consent to it, appears by many testimonies of antiquity, and of S. Austin[g] himself, *Quantum ad nos attinet, sine peccato semper essemus donec sanaretur hoc malum, si ei nunquam consentiremus ad malum.* And it is infinitely against reason it should; for in infants the very actions and desire of concupiscence are no sins, therefore much less is the principle; if the little emanations of it in them be innocent, although there are some images of consent, much more is that principle innocent before any thing of consent at all is applied to it.

By the way, I cannot but wonder at this, that the Roman schools, affirming the first motions of concupiscence to be no sin, because they are involuntary, and not consented to by us, but come upon us whether we list or no, yet that they should think original sin to be a sin in us really and truly, which it is certain is altogether as involuntary and unchosen as concupiscence. But I add this also, that concupiscence is not wholly an effect of Adam's sin; if it were, then it would follow that if Adam had not sinned we should have no concupiscence, that is, no contrary appetites; which is infinitely confuted by the experience of Adam's fall: for by the rebellion and prevailing of his concupiscence it was that he fell, and that which was the cause could not be the effect of the same thing: as no child can beget his own father, nor any thing which it leads and draws in after itself. Indeed it is true that by Adam's sin this became much worse, and by the evils of the body and its infirmities, and the nakedness of the soul as well as the body, and new necessities and new emergencies; *πάντη ἡ ἐναντιότης ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρυπτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήντησεν,* as Macarius[h] said, 'an entire contrariety, both manifest and secret, came in upon us from the transgression of Adam;' this, I say, became much worse, and more inordinate and tempted and vexed, and we were more under the devil's power, because we had the loss of our own.

12. The result is this. That neither the one nor the other is our sin formally, but by imputation only, that is, we are not sinners, but we are afflicted for his sin, and he is punished in us; and that it cannot be our sin properly, but metonymically, that is, our misery only; appears to me demonstratively certain upon this account: for how can that in another be our sin, when it is in us involuntary, when our own acts, if involuntary, are not sins?

If it be asked, how can we have the punishment unless we also have the fault? I return this answer, that S. Augustine[i] and some others who make this objection, have already given answers themselves, and

— delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi[k],

[g] Ad Julianum, lib. ii. [cap. 10.—tom. x. col. 547 G.]

[h] Homil. v. [p. 287. not. g, supra.]

[i] Lib. iv. contra duas epistt. Pelag., c. 4. [tom. x. col. 470.]

[k] [Hor. epist., lib. i. 2. lin. 14.]

is an answer enough; as Saul sinned and his seven sons were hanged: and all that evil which is upon us being not by any positive infliction, but by privative, or the taking away gifts and blessings and graces from us which God, not having promised to give, was neither naturally nor by covenant obliged to give, it is certain He could not be obliged to continue that to the sons of a sinning father, which to an innocent father He was not obliged to give.

But these things, which are only evils and miseries to us upon Adam's account, become direct punishments upon our own account, that is, if we sin. But then as to the argument itself: certainly it were more probable to say, We had not the fault, we did not do the sin which another did; therefore the evil that we feel is our misery, but not our punishment; rather than to say, We are punished, therefore we are guilty. For let what will happen to us, it is not true that we are guilty of what we never did: and whatever comes upon us by the way of empire and dominion, nothing can descend upon us by the way of justice, as relating to our own fault.

But thus it was, that 'in him we are all sinners;' that is, his sin is reckoned to us so as to bring evil upon us; because we were born of him, and consequently put into the same natural state where he was left after his sin; no otherwise than as children born of a bankrupt father, are also miserable; not that they are guilty of their father's sin, or that it is imputed so as to involve them in the guilt, but it is derived upon them and reckoned to evil events; the very nature of birth and derivation from him infers it.

13. And this it is that S. Austin[k] once said, *Nascimur non proprie sed originaliter peccatores;* that is, Adam's sin is imputed to us, but we have none of our own born with us. And this expression of 'having Adam's sin imputed to us,' is followed by divers of the modern doctors: by S. Bernard, *serm.* ii. *De dominica prima post* viii. *epiph.*[l]; by Lyra *in* v. *cap. Rom.*[m]; by Cajetan *ibidem*[n]; by Bellarmine, *tom.* iii.[o], *De amiss. gratiæ, lib.* v. *cap.* 17; by Dr. Whitaker, *lib.* i. *De peccato originali, capp.* 7 et 9[p]; by Parœus in his Animadversions upon Bellarmine, *lib.* v. *De amiss. gratiæ, cap.* 16[q]; by Dr. George Charleton, *lib. De consensu ecclesiæ catholicæ contra Tridentinos, controv.* 4[r], which is the fifth chapter, 'Of grace,' in these words, "Either we must, with Pelagius, wholly deny original sin, or it must be by the imputation of the injustice that was in Adam that we are made sinners, because original sin is an imputed sin." The effect of this is, that therefore it is not formally ours, and it is no sin inherent in us; and then the imputation means nothing but that it brought evils upon us; our dying, our sorrow, and the

k De civ. Dei, lib. xviii. [leg. xvi. 27.]
l [col. 93 sqq.]
m [ver. 12.]
n [In Rom. v. 12.—tom. v. p. 26.]
o [al. tom. iv. col. 436 sqq.]
p [tom. i. pp. 638, 42.—opp. fol. Genev. 1610.]
q [p. 855 sq.—8vo. Heidelb. 1613.]
r [p. 427.—8vo. Francof. 1613.]

affections of mortality and concupiscence, are the consequents of Adam's sin, and the occasion of ours, and so we are in him and by him made sinners. And in this there can be no injustice, for this imputation brings nothing upon us as in relation to Adam's sin, but what by His power and justice He might have done without such relation; and what is just if done absolutely, must needs be just if done relatively; and because there is no other way to reconcile this with God's justice, it follows that there is no other sense of imputation than what is now explicated.

§ 3. The doctrine of the ancient fathers was that free-will remained in us after the fall.

14. ADAM'S sin did not destroy the liberty of our election, but left it naturally as great as before the fall.

And here I observe, that the fathers before S. Augustine generally maintained the doctrine of man's liberty remaining after the fall; the consequents of which are incompossible and inconsistent with the present doctrines of original sin.

That the doctrine of man's liberty remaining was general and catholic, appears by these few testimonies instead of very many. Justin Martyr, in his second[t] apology for the Christians, hath these words, Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοερὸν καὶ δυνάμενον αἱρεῖσθαι τἀληθῆ καὶ εὖ πράττειν, τὸ γένος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον πεποίηκεν, ὥστ' ἀναπολόγητον εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ· λογικοὶ γὰρ καὶ θεωρητικοὶ γεγέννηνται· 'Christ hath declared that the devil and his angels, and men that follow him, shall be tormented in hell for ever; which thing is not yet done for the sake of mankind, because God foresees that some by repentance shall obtain salvation, even some that are not yet born: and from the beginning He created mankind so that he should be endued with understanding, and by the power of his free-will should obtain choice to follow truth, and to do well: wherefore all men are wholly left without excuse and defence before God, for they are created by Him reasonable and fit for contemplation.'

S. Cyrillus[u], *lib.* iv. *in Joan.* c. 7, *Non possumus secundum ecclesiæ veritatisque dogmata liberam potestatem hominis, quod liberum arbitrium appellamus, ullo modo negare.*

S. Hieronymus[x], *epist. ad Ctesiphontem, extrem., Frustra blasphemas et ignorantium auribus ingeris, nos liberum arbitrium condemnare; damnetur ille qui damnat.*

Auctor Hypognosticôn[y], *lib.* iii., *Igitur liberum arbitrium hominibus esse, certa fide credimus, et prædicamus indubitanter; (et infra) Est igitur liberum arbitrium, quod quisquis esse negaverit, catholicus non est.*

[t] [al. 'first,' § 28. p. 61.]
[u] [p. 501. opp. latine, fol. Par. 1605.]
[x] [Ep. xliii. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 481.]
[y] [capp. 3 fin. et 10 init.—Inter opp. S. August., tom. x. append., coll. 13 G et 20 F.]

Gregory Nyssenus[z], the great divine, saith, *lib.* vii. *De philosoph.* c. 2, *Concupiscere et non concupiscere, mentiri et non mentiri, et quæcunque talia in quibus consistunt virtutis et vitii opera, hæc sunt in nostro libero arbitrio.*

B. Macarius Ægyptius[a], *hom.* xv. *Cæterumve semel et omnino resonet et permaneat delectus et arbitrii libertas, quam primitus homini dedit Deus, ea propter dispensatione sua res administrantur, et corporum solutio sit, ut in voluntate hominis situm sit, ad bonum vel malum converti.*

Marcus Eremita[b], *lib. De baptismo, ultra medium,* speaks more home to the particular question, *Hæc et similia cum sciat scriptura, in nostra potestate positum esse ut hæc agamus nec ne, propterea non Satanam, neque peccatum Adæ, sed nos increpat; (et infra[b],) Primam conceptionem habemus ex dispensatione quemadmodum et ille, et perinde ac ille pro arbitrio possumus obtemperare vel non obtemperare.*

Julius Firmicus[c], *De erroribus profanarum religionum,* cap. 29, *Liberum te Deus fecit, in tua manu est ut aut vivas aut pereas, qui te per abrupta præcipitas.*

S. Ambrose[d], *in exposit. psalm.* xl., *Homini dedit eligendi arbitrium, quid sequatur; . . ante hominem vita et mors; si deliqueris, non natura in culpa est, sed eligentis affectus.*

Gaudentius Brixianus[e], *tertio tractat. super Exod., Horum concessa semel voluntatis libertas non aufertur, ne nihil de eo judicare possit qui liber non fuerit in agendo.*

Boethius, *libro De consolatione philosophiæ*[f], *Quæ cum ita sint, manet intemerata mortalibus arbitrii libertas.*

Though it were easy to bring very many more testimonies to this purpose, yet I have omitted them because the matter is known to all learned persons, and have chosen these, because they testify, That our liberty of choice remains after the fall; that if we sin, the fault is not in our nature, but in our persons and election; that still it is in our powers to do good or evil: that this is the sentence of the church; that he who denies this is not a catholic believer.

15. And this is so agreeable to nature, to experience, to the sentence of all wise men, to the nature of laws, to the effect of reward and punishments, that I am persuaded no man would deny

[z] [Rather, Nemesius; see Fabricius, biblioth. græc., lib. v. cap. 14, 'Nemesius.']

[a] [Instead of correcting this passage by conjecture, the editor gives the original Greek, with Picus's translation. Ἀλλ' ἵνα φανῇ καθάπαξ καὶ διαμείνῃ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς ἔδωκε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τούτου οἰκονομικῶς τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖται, καὶ γίγνεται λύσις σωμάτων, κ.τ.λ. 'Atqui ut prorsus appareat et rata sit arbitrii libertas, quam ab initio Deus largitus est homini, summa cum dispensatione res illius administrantur, fitque corporum solutio,' &c.—p. 96 C.—fol. Paris. 1621.]

[b] [Biblioth. vett. patr. Galland., tom. viii. pp. 48, 54.]

[c] [p. 117.]

[d] [vid. in ver. 10, § 22.—tom. i. col. 876 B.]

[e] [p. 948 G.]

[f] [lib. v. pros. 6. p. 1116.]

it, if it were not upon this mistake; for many wise and learned men dispute against it, because they find it affirmed in holy scripture every where, That grace is necessary, that we are servants of sin, that we cannot come to God unless we be drawn, and very many more excellent things to the same purpose: upon the account of which they conclude that therefore our free-will is impaired by Adam's fall, since without the grace of God we cannot convert ourselves to godliness; and being converted, without it we cannot stand; and if we stand, without it we cannot go on; and going on, without it we cannot persevere.

α. Now though all this be very true, yet there is a mistake in the whole question. For when it is affirmed that Adam's sin did not, could not, impair our liberty, but all that freedom of election which was concreated with his reason, and is essential to an understanding creature, did remain inviolate; there is no more said, but that after Adam's fall all that which was natural remained, and that what Adam could naturally do, all that he and we can do afterwards. But yet this contradicts not all those excellent discourses which the church makes of the necessity of grace; of the necessity and effect of which I am more earnestly persuaded, and do believe more things, than are ordinarily taught in the schools of learning: but when I say that our will can do all that it ever could, I mean all that it could ever do naturally, but not all that is to be done supernaturally.—But then this I add, that the things of the Spirit, that is, all that belongs to spiritual life, are not naturally known, not naturally discerned; but are made known to us by the Spirit; and when they are known, they are not naturally amiable, as being in great degrees and many regards contradictory to natural desires; but they are made amiable by the proposition of spiritual rewards, and our will is moved by God in ways not natural, and the active and passive are brought together by secret powers; and after all this, our will, being put into a supernatural order, does upon these presuppositions choose freely, and work in the manner of nature. Our will is after Adam naturally as free as ever it was, and in spiritual things it's free, when it is made so by the Spirit; for nature could never do that: according to that saying of Celestine[s], *Nemo nisi per Christum libero bene utitur arbitrio: omnis sancta cogitatio et motus bonæ voluntatis ex Deo est,* 'a man before he is in Christ, hath free-will, but cannot use it well; he hath motions and operations of will, but without God's grace they do not delight in holy things.'

β. But then in the next place there is another mistake also: when it is affirmed in the writings of some doctors that the will of man is depraved, men presently suppose that depravation is a natural or physical effect, and means a diminution of powers; whereas it signifies

[s] [Præteritorum sedis apostolicæ episcoporum auctoritates de gratia, &c., capp. iv. et vi. p. 472 sq.]

nothing but a being in love with, or having chosen, an evil object, and not an impossibility or weakness to do the contrary, but only because it will not; for the powers of the will cannot be lessened by any act of the same faculty, for the act is not contrary to the faculty, and therefore can do nothing towards its destruction.

γ. As a consequent of this I infer that there is no natural necessity of sinning; that is, there is no sinful action to which naturally we are determined; but it is our own choice that we sin: this depending upon the former, stands or falls with it. But because God hath superinduced so many laws, and the devil superinduces temptations upon our weak nature, and we are to enter into a supernatural state of things; therefore it is that we need the helps of supernatural grace to enable us to do a supernatural duty in order to a divine end; so that the necessity of sinning which we all complain of, though it be greater in us than it was in Adam before his fall, yet is not absolute in either, nor merely natural, but accidental and superinduced; and in remedy to it, God also hath superinduced and promised 'His holy spirit to them that ask Him.'

§ 4. Adam's sin is not imputed to us to our damnation.

16. BUT the main of all is this; that this sin of Adam is not imputed unto us to eternal damnation. For eternal death was not threatened to Adam for his sin, and therefore could not from him come upon us for that which was none of ours. Indeed the Socinians affirm that the death which entered into the world by Adam's sin was death eternal; that is, God then decreed to punish sinners with the portion of devils. It is likely He did so, but that this was the death introduced for the sin of Adam upon all mankind is not at all affirmed in scripture: but temporal death is the effect of Adam's sin; 'in Adam we all die,' and the death that Adam's sin brought in is such as could have a remedy or recompence by Christ; but eternal death hath no recompence, and shall never be destroyed; but temporal death shall. But that which I say is this; that for Adam's sin alone no man but himself is or can justly be condemned to the bitter pains of eternal fire.

This depends also upon the former accounts, because mere nature brings not to hell, but choice. *Nihil ardet in inferno nisi propria voluntas*, said S. Bernard[h]; and since original sin is not properly ours, but only by imputation, if God should impute Adam's sin so as to damn any one for it, all our good we receive from God is much less than that evil; and we should be infinitely to seek for justifications of God's justice and glorifications of His mercy, or testimonies of His goodness.

But now the matter is on this side so reasonable in itself, that let a man take what side he will, he shall have parties enough; and no prejudices, or load of a consenting authority, can be against him, but

[h] [See vol. v. p. 598, note k.]

that there shall be on the side of reason as great and leading persons, as there are of those who have been abused by error and prejudice. In the time of S. Augustine, Vincentius, Victor, and some others, did believe that infants dying without baptism should nevertheless be saved, although he believed them guilty of original sin: Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin, affirmed the same of the children of faithful parents, but Zuinglius affirmed it of all, and that no infant did lose heaven for his original stain and corruption.

Something less than this was the doctrine of the Pelagians; who exclude infants unbaptized from the kingdom of heaven, but promised to them an eternal and a natural beatitude; and for it S. Augustine[i] reckons them for heretics, as indeed being impatient of every thing almost which they said. But yet, the opinion was embraced lately by Ambrosius Catharinus, Albertus Pighius, and Hieronymus Savanarola. And though S. Augustine sometimes calls as good men as himself by the name of Pelagians, calling all them so that assign a third place or state to infants; yet besides these now reckoned, S. Gregory Nazianzen[j] and his scholiast Nicetas did believe and teach it; and the same is affirmed also by S. Athanasius, or whoever is the author of the 'Questions to Antiochus[k],' usually attributed to him, and also by S. Ambrose[l], or the author of the commentaries on S. Paul's epistles, who lived in the time of pope Damasus, that is, before four hundred years after Christ: and even by S. Augustine himself expressly in his third book *De libero arbitrio, cap.* xxiii.[m]; but when he was heated with his disputations against the Pelagians, he denied all[n], and said that a middle place or state was never heard of in the church.

For all this, the opinion of a middle state for unbaptized infants continued in the church, and was expressly affirmed by pope Innocent the third[o]; who although he says infants should not see the face of God, yet he expressly denies that they shall be tormented in hell; and he is generally followed by the schoolmen; who almost universally teach, that infants shall be deprived of the vision beatifical, but shall not suffer hell-torments; but yet they stoop so much towards S. Augustine's harsh and fierce opinion, that they say this deprivation is a part of hell; not of torment, but of banishment from God, and of abode in the place of torment. Among these they are also divided, some affirming that they have some pain of sense, but little and light; others saying they have none: even as they pleased to fancy; for they speak wholly without ground, and merely by chance and interest; and against the consent of antiquity, as I have

[i] Lib. de hæresibus, cap. xviii. [leg. lxxxviii.—tom. viii. col. 26.]

[j] Orat. in sanctum baptism. [p. 253. not. a, supra.]

[k] Quæst. cxiv. [leg. cxv.—tom. ii. p. 295 F.]

[l] In cap. v. Rom. [ver. 12.]

[m] [tom. i. col. 637 sqq.]

[n] De verb. apost. serm. xxv. [leg. xiv. —al. serm. ccxciv. cap. 3. tom. v. col. 1184 A.]

[o] Lib. iii. decretal. [Greg. ix.] tit. 'De bapt. et ejus effectu;' cap. 'Majores.' [col. 1278.]

already instanced. But Gregorius Ariminensis, Driedo, Luther, Melancthon, and Tilmanus Heshusius, are fallen into the worst of S. Augustine's opinion, and sentence poor infants to the flames of hell for original sin, if they die before baptism.

17. To this I shall not say much more than what I have said otherwhere, but that no catholic writer for four hundred years after Christ did ever affirm it, but divers affirmed the contrary. And indeed if the unavoidable want of baptism should damn infants, for the fault which was also unavoidable, I do not understand how it can in any sense be true that Christ died for all, if at least the children of christian parents should not find the benefit of Christ's death, because that without the fault of any man they want the ceremony. Upon this account some good men, observing the great sadness and the injustice of such an accident, are willing upon any terms to admit infants to heaven, even without baptism, if any one of their relatives desire it for them, or if the church desires it; which in effect admits all christian infants to heaven; of this opinion were Gerson[q], Biel[r], Cajetan[s], and some others. All which to my sense seems to declare, that if men would give themselves freedom of judgment, and speak what they think most reasonable, they would speak honour of God's mercy, and not impose such fierce and unintelligible things concerning His justice and goodness, since our blessed Saviour, concerning infants and those only who are like infants[t], affirms, that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.' But now in the midst of this great variety of opinions it will be hard to pick out any thing that is certain. For my part I believe this only as certain, that nature alone cannot bring them to heaven, and that Adam left us in a state in which we could not hope for it; but this I know also, that as soon as this was done, Christ was promised, and that before there was any birth of man or woman; and that God's grace is greater and more communicative than sin, and Christ was more gracious and effective than Adam was hurtful; and that therefore it seems very agreeable to God's goodness to bring them to happiness by Christ, who were brought to misery by Adam, and that He will do this by Himself alone, in ways of His own finding out.

And yet if God will not give them heaven by Christ, He will not throw them into hell by Adam: if His goodness will not do the first, His goodness and His justice will not suffer Him to do the second: and therefore I consent to antiquity and the schoolmen's opinion thus far; that the destitution or loss of God's sight is the effect of original sin, that is, by Adam's sin we were left so as that we cannot by it go to heaven. But here I differ; whereas they say this may be a final event, I find no warrant for that, and think it only to be an intermedial event; that is, though Adam's sin left us there, yet God

[q] 17 [?] tom. iii. serm. de nativ. B. Mariæ in concil. Const. [p. 133.]

[r] Lib. iv. dist. 4. q. 2. [f. 140 sqq.]

[s] In 3 Thom. q. lxviii. [artt. 1, 2, 11.]

[t] [See this argument expanded, vol. v. p. 565.]

did not leave us there, but instantly gave us Christ as a remedy. And now what in particular shall be the state of unbaptized infants, so dying, I do not profess to know or teach, because God hath kept it as a secret; I only know that He is a gracious Father, and from His goodness nothing but goodness is to be expected; and that is, since neither scripture, nor any father till about S. Augustine's time, did teach the poor babes could die, not only once for Adam's sin, but twice and for ever, I can never think that I do my duty to God if I think or speak any thing of Him that seems so unjust, or so much against His goodness. And therefore, although by baptism, or by the ordinary ministry, infants are new born, and rescued from the state of Adam's account, which metonymically may be called a remitting of original sin, that is, receiving them from the punishment of Adam's sin, or the state of evil whither in him they are devolved; yet baptism does but consider that grace which God gives in Jesus Christ, and He gives it more ways than one; to them that desire baptism; to them that die for christianity; and the church, even in Origen's[u] time, and before that, did account the babes that died in Bethlehem by the sword of Herod to be saints; and I do not doubt but He gives it many ways that we know not of.

And therefore S. Bernard, and many others, do suppose, that the want of baptism is supplied by the baptism of the Holy Ghost. To which purpose the eighty-seventh epistle of S. Bernard[v] is worth the reading. But this I add, that those who affirmed that infants without actual baptism could not be saved, affirmed the same also of them if they wanted the holy eucharist, as is to be seen in Paulinus, *epigr.* vi.[x], the writer of *Hypognosticôn, lib,* v.[y], S. Augustine, *hom.* x.[z], *serm.* viii., *De verbis apostoli*[a]; and the one hundred and seventh epistle to Vitalis[b].

And since no church did ever enjoin to any catechumen any penance or repentance for original sin, it seems horrible and unreasonable that any man can be damned for that for which no man is bound to repent.

§ 5. The doctrine of antiquity in this whole matter.

18. THE sum of all is this;

α. Original sin is Adam's sin imputed to us to many evil effects.

β. It brings death and the evils of this life.

γ. Our evils and necessity being brought upon us, bring in a flood of passions which are hard to be bridled, or mortified.

δ. It hath left us in pure naturals, disrobed of such aids extraordinary as Adam had.

[u] [Hom. iii. in divers.—tom. iii. f. cxxi. K.—fol. Par. 1522.]

[v] [col. 1454 sq.]

[x] [The epigrams of Paulinus are found in his thirty-second epistle (al. lib. ii. epist. 4) but they refer rather to baptism than the eucharist.]

[y] [Inter opp. S. August.—tom. x. append. col. 39 sq.]

[z] [Legendum omnino, 'tom. x.' scil. edd. Basil. et ed. Paris. 1586.]

[a] [al. serm. clxxiv. cap. 6.—tom. v. col. 834.]

[b] [al. ep. ccxvii. c. 5. tom. ii. col. 805.]

ε. It deprives us of all title to heaven or supernatural happiness, that is, it neither hath in it strength to live a spiritual life, nor title to a heavenly.

ζ. It leaves in us our natural concupiscence, and makes it much worse.

Thus far I admit and explicate this article.

But all that I desire of the usual propositions which are variously taught now-a-days, is this.

α. Original sin is not an inherent evil; not a sin properly, but metonymically; that is, it is the effect of one sin, and the cause of many; a stain, but no sin.

β. It does not destroy our liberty which we had naturally.

γ. It does not introduce a natural necessity of sinning.

δ. It does not damn any infant to the eternal pains of hell.

And now how consonant my explication of the article is to the first and best antiquity, besides the testimonies I have already brought here concerning some parts of it, will appear by the following authorities, speaking to the other parts of it, and to the whole question.

S. Ignatius[c] the martyr, in his epistle to the Magnesians, hath these words, Ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος, 'if a man be a pious man, he is a man of God; if he be impious, he is of the devil, not made so by nature, but by his own choice and sentence;' by which words he excludes nature, and affirms our natural liberty to be the cause of our good or evil; that is, we are in fault, but not Adam, so as we are.

And it is remarkable that Ignatius hath said nothing to the contrary of this, or to infirm the force of these words; and they who would fain have alleged him to contrary purposes, cite him calling Adam's sin παλαιὰν δυσσέβειαν[d], 'the old iniquity;' which appellative is proper enough, but of no efficacy in this question.

Dionysius the Areopagite (if he be the author of the 'Ecclesiastical hierarchy[e]') does very well explicate this article; Τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀνοήτως ἐξολισθήσασαν ἡ πολυπαθεστάτη ζωὴ διαδέχεται καὶ τὸ τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ θανάτου πέρας, 'when in the beginning human nature foolishly fell from the state of good things which God gave it, it was then entered into a life of passions, and the end of the corruption of death.' This sentence of his differs not from that of S. Chrysostom before alleged; for when man grew miserable by Adam's fall, and was disrobed of his aids, he grew passionate, and peevish, and tempted, and sick, and died. This is all his account of Adam's story; and it is a very true

[c] Cap. iii. part. 3. [p. 286, not. d, supra.]

[d] [p. 243, not. p, supra.]

[e] [p. 262, not. p, supra.]

one: but the writer was of a later date, not much before S. Augustine's time, as it is supposed; but a learned and a catholic believer.

19. Concerning Justin Martyr I have already given this account, that he did not think the liberty of choice impaired by Adam's sin, but in his dialogue with Tryphon the Jew[f] he gives no account of original sin but this, that "Christ was not crucified or born as if Himself did need it, but for the sake of mankind, which by Adam fell into death, and the deception of the serpent, besides all that which men commit wickedly upon their own stock of impiety." So that the effect of Adam's sin was death, and being abused by the devil; for this very reason, to rescue us from the effects of this deception and death, and to redeem us from our impiety, Christ was born and died. But all this meddles not with any thing of the present questions; for to this all interests, excepting the Pelagians and Socinians, will subscribe. It is material which is spoken by him, or some under his name in the 'Questions and answers to the orthodox[g],' Οὐδεὶς πεφυκὼς ἁμαρτάνειν ἢ ἀνομεῖν, ὃς οὐχ ἥμαρτεν ἢ οὐκ ἠνόμησεν· πέφυκε δὲ ἁμαρτάνειν ὁ κατὰ τὴν αὐθαίρετον προαίρεσιν ἄγων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἃ βούλεται, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε φαῦλα· τὸ δὲ βρέφος, ἅτε οὔπω ὂν τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ πέφυκεν ἁμαρτάνειν· 'there is no man who is by nature born to sin and do wickedly, but hath sinned and done wickedly; but he is by nature born to sin, who by the choice of his free-will is author to himself of doing what he will, whether it be good or bad; but an infant, as being not endued with any such power, it appears sufficiently that he is not by nature born to sin.' These words, when they had been handled as men pleased, and turned to such senses as they thought they could escape by, at last they appear to be the words of one who understood nothing of original sin, as it is commonly explicated at this day. For all that this author (for it was indeed some later catholic author, but not Justin) did know of original sin, was that which he relates in the answer to the one hundred and second question[h], Περιτεμνόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἐκδυόμενοι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, δι' ὃν ἁμαρτωλοὶ γεγονότες τεθνήκαμεν, καὶ ἐνδυόμενοι τὸν Χριστὸν, δι' ὃν δικαιωθέντες ἀνιστάμεθα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἐν ᾧ, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, περιετμήθητε περιτομὴν ἀχειροποίητον τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος ὑμῶν, 'we also are circumcised with the circumcision of Christ by baptism, putting off Adam, by whom we being made sinners did die, and putting on Christ, by whom being justified, we are risen from the dead: in whom (saith the apostle) we were circumcised with the circumcision which is made without hands, while you have put off your body.' That is, Adam's sin made us to become sinners, that is, was imputed to us, so that in him we die; but by Christ being justified we are made alive; that is, in Him we are admitted to another life, a life after our resurrection; and this is by baptism; for there

[f] [p. 186 A.] [g] Quæst. lxxxviii. [p. 475 D.] [h] [p. 483 B.]

we die to Adam and live to Christ, we are initiated in a new birth to a new and more perfect state of things. But all this leaves infants in a state of so much innocence, that 'they are not formally guilty of a sin, but imperfect and insufficient to righteousness, and every one hath his liberty left him to do as he please[i]:' so far is affirmed by the author of these answers. But the sentence of Justin Martyr in this article may best be conjectured by his discourse, at large undertaking to prove τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐλευθερὰν πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ καλὰ, 'a freedom of election to fly evil things and to choose that which is good,' set down in his second[j] apology for the Christians.

Theophilus Antiochenus[k] affirms that which destroys the new φαινόμενα about Adam's perfection and rare knowledge in the state of innocence. Τῇ δὲ οὔσῃ ἡλικίᾳ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἔτι νήπιος ἦν, διὸ οὔπω ἐδύνατο τὴν γνῶσιν κατ' ἀξίαν χωρεῖν, 'Adam in that age was yet as an infant, and therefore did not understand that secret, viz., that the fruit which he ate had in it nothing but knowledge:' and a little after reckoning the evil consequents of Adam's sin, he names these only, πόνος, ἀδύνη, καὶ τὸ τέλος θάνατος, 'grief, sorrow, and death at last.'

20. Clemens of Alexandria[l] having affirmed ὅτι φύσει μὲν ἐπιτήδειοι γεγόναμεν πρὸς ἀρετὴν, 'that by nature we are born apt to virtue, not that we have virtue from our birth, but that we are apt to require it from thence,' takes opportunity to discuss this question, Whether Adam was formed perfect or imperfect; if imperfect, how comes it to pass that the works of God, especially man, should be imperfect? if perfect, how came he to break the commandments? He answers, that Adam was not made perfect in his constitution, but prepared indeed for virtue; ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν βούλεται σώζεσθαι· αὐτὴ οὖν φύσις ψυχῆς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ὁρμᾷν· 'for God would have us by ourselves, that is, by our own choice, to be saved; for it is the nature of the soul to be driven and stirred up by itself.'—Many more things to the same purpose he affirms in perfect contradiction to them who believe Adam's sin so to have debauched our faculties that we have lost all our powers of election. Our powers of election grow stronger, not weaker, according as our knowledge increases; τοῦτο ἦν ἀπανδρούμενον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμενον[m], 'that which was in Adam' (meaning his free will) 'that was it which grew with the increase of a man;' therefore it was not lost by Adam. But more pertinent to the present questions are these words, 'An innocent martyr suffers like an infant;' τὸ νήπιον οὐ προημαρτηκὸς, ἢ ἐνεργῶς μὲν οὐχ ἡμαρτηκὸς οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ[n], 'an infant neither committed actual sin, or sin in himself; neither hath he sinned beforehand;' that is,

[i] Quæst. lxxxviii. [p. 475 D.]
[j] [al. 'first;' cap. xliii. p. 69 A.]
[k] Ad Autolycum, lib. ii. [cap. 25.]
[l] Strom., lib. vi. [cap. 11. p. 788.]
[m] Strom., lib. iv. p. 535. edit. Morellianæ. [al. p. 632.]
[n] Pag. 506. [al. 600.]

properly in Adam, to whose sin he gave no consent; for else there can be no *antithesis* or opposition in the parts of his distinction; 'he sinned not actually in himself,' being one member; the other, προημαρτηκὸς, or 'sinning before,'—being opposed to actual sin, ἐνεργῶς, or ἐν ἑαυτῷ, 'in himself,'—must mean 'original' and 'in another.' And this he also expressly affirms, Λεγέτωσαν· ἡμῖν, ποῦ ἐπόρνευσεν τὸ γεννηθὲν παιδίον, ἢ πῶς ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρὰν τὸ μηδὲν ἐνέργασαν[o]; when Tatianus and the Encratites[p] did design to prove marriage to be unlawful, because it produced nothing but sinners; and to that purpose urged those words of Job, "There is no man free from pollution, οὐδ' εἰ μία ἡμέρα ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, though his life be but of one day." For so antiquity[q] did generally quote Job xxv. 4, following the LXX., which interprets the place, there being neither the same words nor the like sense in the Hebrew; but that very quotation had no small influence into the forward persuasions of the article concerning original sin, as is visible to them that have read the writings of the ancient doctors. But to the things here objected Clemens replied, "Let them tell us then how an infant newly born hath fornicated or polluted himself, or how he is fallen under the curse of Adam, he who hath done nothing?" He had no other way to extricate himself. For if marriage produces none but sinners, persons hated by God, formally guilty of sin, then as the fruit is, such is the tree. He answers, True, if it were so; but marriage produces infants that are innocent, and having done nothing evil yet, they never deserved to fall under Adam's curse. The effect of which is this, that to them, sickness and death is a misery, but not formally a punishment; because they are innocent, and formally are no sinners. Some to elude this testimony would make these words to be the words of the Encratites or Julius Cassianus; but then they are no sense, but a direct objection to themselves. But the case is clear to them that read and understand; and therefore the learned and good man Joannes Gerardus Vossius confesses downright *Clementem Alexandrinum non satis intellexisse peccatum originale*, 'that he did not understand the doctrine of original sin.' This only I add, that he takes from the objector that place of David[r], "In sin hath my mother conceived me;" affirming[s] that by 'my mother,' he means Eve, and that she *peccatrix concepit sed non peccatorem*, 'she was in sin when she conceived him, but he was not in sin when he was conceived.'—But the meaning of Clemens Alexandrinus is easily to be understood to be consonant to truth, and the usual doctrine of the first ages, which makes Adam's sin to be ours by imputation, but that no sin upon that title is inherent in us; and Clemens Alexandrinus understood the question very well, though not to the purposes of our new opinions.

[o] Pag. 468. [al. 556.]
[p] [vid., p. 254, not. e, supra.]
[q] [Clemens Alexandrinus ubi supra; et vide notam in edit. Potter.]
[r] [Ps. li. 5.]
[s] [Ubi supra.]

21. Tertullian speaks of the sin of Adam several times, but affirms not that we have any formal, proper, and inherent sin: but that the soul of man is a sinner, because it is unclean, just as it was amongst the rites of Moses' law, where legal impurity was called 'sin;' and that we derive from Adam a shame rather than a sin, an ignominy or reproach, like that of being born of dishonourable parents; or rather 'from the society of the flesh,' as he expresses it[t], and that this dishonour lasts upon us till we enter upon a new relation in Christ. *Ita omnis anima eousque in Adam censetur donec in Christo recenseatur, tamdiu immunda quamdiu recenseatur; peccatrix autem quia immunda, recipiens ignominiam ex carnis societate.* And this which he here calls 'a reproach,' he otherwhere[u] calls an 'imperfection' or a 'shame,' saying, "By Satan man at first was circumvented, and therefore given up unto death, and from thence all the kind was from his seed infected; he made a traduction[x] of his sentence or damnation;" to wit, unto death, which was his condemnation. And therefore speaking of the woman, he says[y], "The sentence remaining upon her in this life, it is necessary that the guilt also should remain;" which words are rough and hard to be understood, because after baptism the guilt does not remain; but by the following words we may guess that he means, that women still are that which Eve was, even 'snares to men, gates for the devil to enter,' and that they, as Eve did, 'dare and can prevail with men, when the devil by any other means cannot.' I know nothing else that he says of this article, save only that according to the constant sense of antiquity he affirms[z] that 'the natural faculties of the soul were not impaired.' *Omnia naturalia animæ ut substantiva ejus ipsi inesse, et cum ipsa procedere atque proficere.* And again[a], *Hominis anima, velut surculus quidam, ex matrice Adam in propaginem deducta, et genitalibus fœminæ foveis commendata cum omni sua paratura, pullulabit tam intellectu quam et sensu,* 'the soul, like a sprig from Adam derived into his offspring, and put into the bed of its production, shall with all its appendages spring or increase both in sense and understanding.'—And that there is 'liberty of choice' (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον which supposes liberty) he proved against Marcion and Hermogenes, as himself affirms in the twenty-first chapter[b] of the same book.

S. Cyprian[c], proving the effect of baptism upon all, and consequently the usefulness to infants, argues thus, 'If pardon of sins is given to the greatest sinners, and them that before sinned much against God and afterwards believed, and none is forbidden to come

[t] Lib. de anima, cap. xxxix. sq. [p. 294 B.]

[u] Liber de testimonio animæ adversus gentes, cap. iii. [p. 66 B.]

[x] ['Exinde totum genus de suo semine infectum, suæ etiam damnationis traducem fecit.']

[y] De habitu muliebri [al. De cultu fœmin.] cap. i. [p. 150 A.]

[z] Lib. de anima, cap. xx. [p. 278 D.]

[a] Cap. ix. [leg. xix.—p. 278 C.]

[b] [p. 279 D.]

[c] Lib. iii. epist. 8. ad Filium [al. ep. lxiv. p. 161.]

to baptism and grace, how much more must not an infant be forbidden, *qui recens natus nihil peccavit nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit; qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria sed aliena peccata,* who being new born hath not sinned at all, but only being born carnally of Adam, he hath in his first birth contracted the contagion of the old death; which comes to the remission of sin the more easily, because not his own sins, but the sins of another, are forgiven him.' In which it is plainly affirmed that the infant is innocent, that he hath not sinned himself, that there is in him no sin inherent, that Adam's sin therefore only is imputed, that all the effect of it upon him is the contagion of death, that is, mortality and its affections; and according as the sins are, so is the remission, they are the infant's improperly and metonymically, therefore so is the remission.

But Arnobius[d] speaks yet more plainly, *Omne peccatum corde concipitur, et ore consummatur; hic autem qui nascitur sententiam Adæ habet, peccatum vero suum non habet,* 'he that is born of Adam hath the sentence of Adam upon him, but not the sin;' that is, he hath no sin inherent, but the punishment inflicted by occasion of it.

The author of the short commentaries upon the epistles of S. Paul attributed to S. Ambrose, speaks so much, that some have used the authority of this writer to prove that there is no original sin, as Sixtus Senensis[e] relates. His words are these, *Mors autem dissolutio corporis est, cum anima a corpore separatur; est et alia mors quæ secunda dicitur, in gehenna; quam non peccato Adæ patimur, sed ejus occasione propriis peccatis acquiritur,* 'death is the dissolution of the body, when the soul is separated from it; there is also another death in hell which is called the second death, which we suffer not from Adam's sin, but by occasion of it it is acquired by our own sins.' These words need no explication: for when he had in the precedent words affirmed that we all sinned in the mass of Adam, this following discourse states the question right, and declares that though Adam's sin be imputed to us to certain purposes, yet no man can be damned to the second death for it: it is a testimony so plain for the main part of my affirmation in this article, that as there is not any thing against it within the first four hundred years, so he could not be accounted a catholic author if the contrary had been the sense or the prevailing opinion of the church.

22. To these I shall add the clearest testimonies of S. Chrysostom[f], "It seems to have in it no small question, that it is said that by the disobedience of one many become sinners: for sinning and being made mortal, it is not unlikely that they which spring from

[d] In comment. in psalm. l. [al. li.—Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. v. part. 3. p. 255 G.]

[e] Bibliotheca sancta, lib. vi. annot. cxxxvi. [leg. ccxxxvi. p. 894.]

[f] Hom. x. in Rom. [§ 3. tom. ix. p. 523.]

him should be so too; but that another should be made a sinner by his disobedience, what agreement or consequent, I beseech you, can it have? what therefore doth this word 'sinner' in this place signify? It seems to me to signify the same that 'liable to punishment, guilty of death,' does signify, because Adam dying, all are made mortal by him." And again[g], "Thou sayest, What shall I do? By him, that is, by Adam, I perish[h]. No, not for him. For hast thou remained without sin? For though thou hast not committed the same sin, yet another thou hast." —And in the twenty-ninth[i] homily upon the same epistle, he argues thus: "What therefore? tell me, are all dead in Adam by the death of sin? how then was Noah a just man in his generation? how was Abraham and Job? If this be to be understood of the body, the sentence will be certain, but if it be understood of justice and sin, it will not." —But to sum up all; he answers[k] the great argument used by S. Austin to prove infants to be in a state of damnation and sin properly, 'because the church baptizes them, and baptism is for the remission of sins.' "Thou seest how many benefits there are of baptism; but many think that the grace of baptism consists only in the remission of sins: but we have reckoned ten honours of baptism. For this cause we baptize infants, although they are not polluted with sin; to wit, that to them may be added sanctity, justice, adoption, inheritance, and the fraternity of Christ." Divers other things might be transcribed to the same purposes out of S. Chrysostom, but these are abundantly sufficient to prove that I have said nothing new in this article.

Theodoret[l] does very often consent with S. Chrysostom, even when he differs from others, and in this article he consents with him and the rest now reckoned; "When God made Adam and adorned him with reason, He gave him one commandment that He might exercise his reason: he being deceived broke the commandment, and was exposed to the sentence of death; and so he begat Cain, and Seth, and others: but all these, as being begotten of him, had a mortal nature. This kind of nature wants many things, meat and drink and clothes, and dwelling, and divers arts: the use of these things oftentimes provokes to excess; and the excess begets sin. Therefore the divine apostle saith, that when Adam had sinned, and was made mortal for his sin, both came to his stock, that is, death and sin; for 'death came upon all, inasmuch as all men have sinned.' For every man suffers the decree of death, not for the sin of the first man, but for his own." Much more to the same purpose he hath upon

[g] Homil. xvii. in 1 Cor. [§ 3.—tom. x. p. 150 A.]

[h] [Τί οὖν ἐγὼ πάθω, φησὶ, δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀπόλλυμαι;—ed. Ben.]

[i] [leg. 'thirty-ninth,' § 3.—tom. x. p. 367 A.]

[k] Homil. ad Neophytos. [tom. v. col. 619, ed. Erasm. fol. Paris. 1588.—Omittit homiliam ut spuriam ed. Ben.—Citat locum S. Aug. in lib. i. contr. Julian. Pelag., cap. 6.—tom. x. col. 509 F.]

[l] In Rom. v. [tom. iii. p. 56.]

the same chapter[m]: but this is enough to all the purposes of this question.

Now if any man thinks that though these give testimony in behalf of my explication of this article, yet that it were easy to bring very many more to the contrary; I answer, and profess ingenuously, that I know of none till about S. Austin's time. For that the first ages taught the doctrine of original sin, I do no ways doubt, but affirm it all the way: but that it is a sin improperly, that is, a stain and a reproach rather than a sin, that is, the effect of one sin and the cause of many, that it brought in sickness and death, mortality and passions, that it made us naked of those supernatural aids that Adam had, and so more liable to the temptations of the devil; this is all I find in antiquity, and sufficient for the explication of this question, which the more simply it is handled, the more true and reasonable it is. But that I may use the words of Solomon[n], according to the vulgar translation, *Hoc inveni, quod fecerit Deus hominem rectum, et ipse se infinitis miscuerit quæstionibus,* 'God made man upright, and he hath made himself more deformed than he is, by mingling with innumerable questions.'

23. I think I have said enough to vindicate my sentence from novelty, and though that also be sufficient to quit me from singularity, yet I have something more to add as to that particular, and that is, that it is very hard for a man to be singular in this article, if he would. For first, in the primitive church, when Valentinus and Marcion, Tatianus, Julius Cassianus, and the Encratites, condemned marriage upon this account, because 'it produces that only which is impure,' many good men and right believers did, to justify marriages, undervalue the matter of original sin; this begat new questions in the manner of speaking, and at last real differences were entertained, and the Pelagian heresy grew up upon this stock. But they changed their propositions so often, that it was hard to tell what was the heresy: but the first draught of it was so rude, so confused, and so unreasonable, that when any of the followers of it spake more warily, and more learnedly, yet by this time, the name 'Pelagian' was of so ill a sound, that they would not be believed if they spake well, nor trusted in their very recantations, nor understood in their explications, but cried out against in all things, right or wrong. And in the fierce prosecution of this, S. Austin and his followers, Fulgentius, Prosper, and others, did *excedere in dogmate, et pati aliquid humanum.* S. Austin called them all Pelagians who were of the middle opinion concerning infants; and yet many catholics, both before and since his time, do profess it. The Augustan confession[o] calls them Pelagians who say that concupiscence is only the effect of Adam's sin, and yet all the Roman churches say it confidently; and every man that is angry in this question calls his enemy Pelagian if

[m] Vide eundem in exposit. psalm. l. [tom. i. p. 936 sq.]

[n] [Eccl. vii. 30.]

[o] [In cap. 'De peccato originis.']

he be not a Stoic, or a Manichee, a Valentinian or an Encratite. But the Pelagians say so many things in their controversy, that, like them that talk much, they must needs say some things well, though very many things amiss: but if every thing which was said against S. Austin in these controversies be Pelagianism, then all antiquity were Pelagians and himself besides; for he before his disputes in these questions said much against what he said after, as every learned man knows. But yet it is certain that even after the Pelagian heresy was conquered, there were many good men who, because they from every part take the good and leave the poison, were called Pelagians by them that were angry at them for being of another opinion in some of their questions. Cassian was a good and holy man, and became the great rule of Monastines, yet because he spake reason in his exhortations to piety, and justified God, and blamed man, he is called Pelagian; and the epistle *Ad Demetriadem*, and the little commentary on S. Paul's epistles, were read and commended highly by all men, so long as they were supposed to be S. Hierome's; but when some fancied that Faustus was the author, they suspect the writings for the man's sake. And however S. Austin was triumphant in the main article against those heretics, and there was great reason he should, yet that he took in too much, and confuted more than he should, appears in this, that though the world followed him in the condemnation of Pelagianism, yet the world left him in many things which he was pleased to call Pelagianism. And therefore when archbishop Bradwardin[p] wrote his books *De causa Dei*[q] against the liberty of will, and for the fiercer way of absolute decrees; he complains in his preface that 'the whole world was against him and gone after Pelagius *in causa liberi arbitrii.*' Not that they really were made so, but that it is an usual thing to affright men from their reasons by names and words, and to confute an argument by slandering him that uses it.

24. Now this is it that I and all men else ought to be troubled at, if my doctrine be accused of singularity, I cannot acquit myself of the charge but by running into a greater. For if I say that one proposition is taught by all the Roman schools, and therefore I am not singular in it; they reply, It is true, but then it is popery which you defend. If I tell that the Lutherans defend another part of it, then the Calvinists hate it, therefore because their enemies avow it; either it is popery, or Pelagianism; you are an Arminian, or a Socinian. And either you must say that which nobody says, and then you are singular; or if you do say as others say, you shall feel the reproach of the party that you own, which is also disowned by all but itself.

That therefore which I shall choose to say is this, that the doctrine of original sin, as I explicate it, is wholly against the Pelagians; for they wholly deny original sin, affirming that Adam did us no hurt

[p] [Archbishop of Canterbury, 1349.] [q] [Edited by Savile, fol. Lond. 1618.]

by his sin, except only by his example. These men are also followed by the Anabaptists, who say that death is so natural, that it is not by Adam's fall so much as made actual. The Albigenses were of the same opinion. The Socinians affirm that Adam's sin was the occasion of bringing eternal death into the world, but that it no way relates to us, not so much as by imputation. But I having shewn in what sense Adam's sin is imputed to us, am so far either from agreeing with any of these, or from being singular, that I have the acknowledgment of an adversary, even of Bellarmine[p] himself, that it is the doctrine of the church; and he laboriously endeavours to prove that original sin is merely ours by imputation. Add to this, that he also affirms that when Zuinglius says that 'original sin is not properly a sin, but metonymically,' that is, 'the effect of one sin and the cause of many,' that in so saying he agrees with the catholics. Now these being the main affirmatives of my discourse, it is plain that I am not alone, but more are with me than against me. Now though he is pleased afterward[q] to contradict himself, and say it is *veri nominis peccatum*, yet because I understood not how to reconcile the opposite parts of a contradiction, or tell how the same thing should be really a sin, and yet be so but by a figure only; how it should be properly a sin, and yet only metonymically; and how it should be the effect of sin, and yet that sin whereof it is an effect; I confess here I stick to my reason and my proposition, and leave Bellarmine and his catholics to themselves.

25. And indeed they that say original sin is any thing really, any thing besides Adam's sin imputed to us to certain purposes, that is, effecting in us certain evils which dispose to worse, they are, according to the nature of error, infinitely divided, and agree in nothing but in this, that none of them can prove what they say. Anselm, Bonaventure, Gabriel, and others, say that 'original sin is nothing but a want of original righteousness.' Others say, that they say something of truth, but not enough; for 'a privation can never be a positive sin, and if it be not positive it cannot be inherent:' and therefore that it is necessary that they add *indignitatem habendi;* a certain 'unworthiness to have it' being in every man, that is the sin. But then if it be asked, What makes them unworthy, if it be not the want of original rightcousness; and that then they are not two things but one seemingly, and none really; they are not yet agreed upon an answer. Aquinas and his scholars say, original sin is 'a certain spot upon the soul.' Melancthon, considering that concupiscence, or the faculty of desiring, or the tendency to an object, could not be a sin, fancied original sin to be 'an actual depraved desire.'—Illyricus[r] says it is 'the substantial image of the devil.' Scotus and Durandus say

[p] Tom. iv. De amiss. gratiæ &c.—lib. v. cap. 17. [col. 436 sqq.]

[q] Ibid. [lib. iv.] cap. 2. sect. 'Unum hoc,' et 'Ex his tribus.' [tom. iv. col. 255.]

[r] [See vol. vi. p. 655, note f.]

it is nothing but a 'mere guilt,' that is, an obligation passed upon us to suffer the ill effects of it: which indeed is most moderate of all the opinions of the school, and differs not at all, or scarce discernibly, from that of Albertus Pighius and Catharinus[s], who say that 'original sin is nothing but the disobedience of Adam imputed to us.' But the Lutherans affirm it to be the 'depravation of human nature, without relation to the sin of Adam, but a vileness that is in us:' the church of Rome of late says, that, 'besides the want of original righteousness, with an habitual aversion from God, it is a guiltiness and a spot; but it is nothing of concupiscence, that being the effect of it only.'—But the protestants of Mr. Calvin's persuasion affirm that 'concupiscence is the main of it, and is a sin before and after baptism;' but amongst all this infinite uncertainty, the church of England speaks moderate words, apt to be construed to the purposes of all peaceable men that desire her communion.

26. Thus every one talks of original sin, and agree that there is such a thing, but what it is they agree not; and therefore in such infinite variety, he were of a strange imperious spirit that would confine others to his particular fancy. For my own part, now that I have shewn what the doctrine of the purest ages was, what uncertainty there is of late in the question, what great consent there is in some of the main parts of what I affirm, and that in the contrary particulars men cannot agree, I shall not be ashamed to profess what company I now keep in my opinion of the article; no worse men than Zuinglius[t], Stapulensis[u], the great Erasmus[x], and the incomparable Hugo Grotius[y], who also says there are *multi in Gallia qui eandem sententiam magnis sane argumentis tuentur*, 'many in France which with great argument defend the same sentence;' that is, who explicate the article entirely as I do; and as S. Chrysostom and Theodoret did of old, in compliance with those holy fathers that went before them: with whom although I do not desire to err, yet I suppose their great names are guard sufficient against prejudices and trifling noises, and an amulet against the names of Arminian, Socinian, Pelagian, and I cannot tell what monsters of appellatives. But these are but boys' tricks, and arguments of women; I expect from all that are wiser to examine whether this opinion does not, or whether the contrary does better explicate the truth, with greater reason, and to better purposes of piety; let it be examined which best glorifies God and does honour to His justice and the reputation of His goodness;

[s] [See p. 262, note o, above.]

[t] Lib. de bapt. tract. 3. [tom. ii. fo. 89 b, sqq.—opp. fol. Tiguri, 1581.]

[u] In cap. v. Rom. [fo. lxii. b, sqq.—fol. Paris. 1531.]

[x] [In Rom. v. 12 sqq.—tom. vi. p. 586.]

[y] [Taylor seems to have been much taken with the statements of Grotius on the doctrine of Original Sin, and to have derived from him the most questionable part of his own views on the subject.—Much harm seems to have been done in England by the writings of Grotius: men of different parties admired him equally; Milton as much as Taylor; and both probably were injured by it in their theology.—ED.]

which does with more advantage serve the interest of holy living, and which is more apt to patronize carelessness and sin: these are the measures of wise and good men; the other are the measures of fairs and markets, where fancy and noise do govern.

§ 6. An exposition of the ninth article of the church of England concerning original sin; according to scripture and reason.

27. AFTER all this, it is pretended and talked of that my doctrine of original sin is against the ninth article of the church of England, and that my attempt to reconcile them was ineffective. Now although this be nothing to the truth or falsehood of my doctrine, yet it is much concerning the reputation of it. Concerning which, I cannot be so much displeased that any man should so undervalue my reason, as I am highly content that they do so very much value her authority. But then to acquit myself and my doctrine from being contrary to the article, all that I can do is to expound the article, and make it appear that not only the words of it are capable of a fair construction, but also that it is reasonable they should be expounded so as to agree with scripture and reason, and as may best glorify God, and that they require it. I will not pretend to believe that those doctors who first framed the article did all of them mean as I mean; I am not sure they did or that they did not; but this I am sure, that they framed the words with much caution and prudence, and so as might abstain from grieving the contrary minds of differing men. And I find that in the 'Harmony of Confessions' printed in Cambridge MDLXXXVI., and allowed by public authority, there is no other account given of the English confession in this article, but "that every person is born in sin, and leadeth his life in sin, and that nobody is able truly to say his heart is clean; that the most righteous person is but an unprofitable servant; that the law of God is perfect, and requireth of us perfect and full obedience; that we are able by no means to fulfil that law in this worldly life; that there is no mortal creature which can be justified by his own deserts in God's sight." Now this was taken out of the English confession inserted in the 'General Apology' written in the year MDLXII., in the very year the articles were framed. I therefore have reason to believe that the excellent men of our church, bishops and priests, did with more candour and moderation opine in this question; and therefore when by the violence and noises of some parties they were forced to declare something, they spake warily, and so as might be expounded to that doctrine which in the 'General Apology' was their allowed sense. However, it is not unusual for churches in matters of difficulty to frame their articles so as to serve the ends of peace, and yet not to endanger truth, or to destroy liberty of improving truth, or a further reformation. And since there are so very many questions and opinions in this point, either all the dissenters must be allowed to reconcile the article and their opinion, or must refuse her communion; which whosoever shall enforce, is a great

schismatic and an uncharitable man. This only is certain, that to tie the article and our doctrine together is an excellent art of peace, and a certain signification of obedience; and yet is a security of truth, and that just liberty of understanding, which, because it is only God's subject, is then sufficiently submitted to men when we consent in the same form of words.

The Article is this,

ORIGINAL SIN STANDETH NOT IN THE FOLLOWING OF ADAM, AS THE PELAGIANS DO VAINLY TALK,—

28. 'The following of Adam,' that is, the doing as he did, is actual sin, and in no sense can it be original sin; for that is as vain as if the Pelagians had said the second is the first; and it is as impossible that what we do should be Adam's sin, as it is unreasonable to say that his should be really and formally our sin; imitation supposes a copy, and those are two terms of a relation, and cannot be coincident, as 'like' is not 'the same.' But then if we speak of original sin as we have our share in it, yet cannot our imitation of Adam be it; possibly it may be an effect of it, or a consequent. But therefore Adam's sin did not introduce a necessity of sinning upon us: for if it did, original sin would be a fatal curse, by which is brought to pass not only that we do, but that we cannot choose but follow him: and then the following of Adam would be the greatest part of original sin, expressly against the article.

29.—BUT IT IS THE FAULT AND CORRUPTION OF THE NATURE OF EVERY MAN—

'The fault,' *vitium naturæ*, so it is in the Latin copies; not a sin properly, *non talia sunt vitia quæ jam peccata dicenda sunt*[z], but a disease of the soul, as blindness, or crookedness; that is, it is an imperfection or state of deficiency from the end whither God did design us: we cannot with this nature alone go to heaven; for it having been debauched by Adam, and disrobed of all its extraordinaries and graces whereby it was or might have been made fit for heaven,—it is returned to its own state, which is perfect in its kind, that is, in order to all natural purposes, but imperfect in order to supernatural, whither it was designed. The case is this: the eldest son of Crœsus the Lydian was born dumb[a], and by the fault of his nature was unfit to govern the kingdom; therefore his father, passing him by, appointed the crown to his younger brother; but he in a battle seeing his father in danger to be slain, in zeal to save his father's life, strained the ligatures of his tongue, till that broke which bound him; by returning to his speech, he returned to his title. We are

[z] S. August. [not found.] [a] [Herodot. Clio, lxxxv.]

born thus imperfect, unfit to reign with God for ever, and can never return to a title to our inheritance, till we by the grace of God be redintegrate and made perfect like Adam; that is, freed from this state of imperfection by supernatural aids, and by the grace of God be born again.

'Corruption.'—This word is exegetical of the other, and though it ought not to signify the diminution of the powers of the soul,—not only because the powers of the soul are not corruptible, but because if they were, yet Adam's sin could not do it, since it is impossible that an act proper to a faculty should spoil it, of which it is rather perfective; and an act of the will can no more spoil the will, than an act of understanding can lessen the understanding;—yet this word 'corruption' may mean a spoiling or disrobing our nature of all its extraordinary investitures, that is, supernatural gifts and graces; a comparative corruption: so as Moses' face, when the light was taken from it; or a diamond, which is more glorious by a reflex ray of the sun, when the light was taken off, falls into darkness, and yet loses nothing of its nature. But 'corruption' relates to the body, not to the soul, and in this article may very properly and aptly be taken in the same sense as it is used by S. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 42; the body 'is sown in corruption,' that is, in all the effects of its mortality; and this indeed is a part of original sin, or the effect of Adam's sin; it introduced natural corruption, or the affections of mortality, the solemnities of death; for indeed this is the greatest part of original sin; 'fault and corruption' mean the concupiscence and mortality.

'Of the nature of every man.'—This gives light to the other, and makes it clear it cannot be in us properly a sin; for sin is an affection of persons, not of the whole nature: for an universal cannot be the subject of circumstances, and particular actions, and personal proprieties; as human nature cannot be said to be drunk, or to commit adultery. Now because sin is an action or omission, and it is made up of many particularities, it cannot be subjected in human nature: for if it were otherwise, then an universal should be more particular than that which is individual, and a whole should be less than a part; *actiones sunt suppositorum*, and so for omissions; now every sin is either one or other: and therefore it is impossible that this, which is an affection of an universal, viz., of human nature, can be a sin, for a sin is a breach of some law, to which not natures, but persons, are obliged; and which natures cannot break, because not natures, but persons only, do or neglect.

30.—THAT NATURALLY IS ENGENDERED OF THE OFFSPRING OF ADAM,—

This clause is inserted to exclude Christ from the participation of

Adam's sin. But if concupiscence, which is in every man's nature, be a sin, it is certain Christ had no concupiscence or natural desires, for He had no sin. But if He had no concupiscence or natural desires, how He should be a man, or how capable of law, or how He should serve God with choice, where there could be no *potentia ad oppositum*, I think will be very hard to be understood. Christ felt all our infirmities, yet without sin: all our infirmities are the effects of the sin of Adam, and part of that which we call original sin; therefore all these our infirmities which Christ felt, as in Him they were for ever without sin, so as long as they are only natural, and unconsented to, must be in us without sin. For whatsoever is naturally in us, is naturally in Him; but a man is not a man without natural desires; therefore these were in Him, in Him without sin; and therefore so in us, without sin, I mean properly, really, and formally.

But there's a *catachresis* also in these words, or an ἔλλειψις, 'naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam:' Cain, and Abel, and Seth, and all the sons of Adam, who were the first offspring, and not engendered of the offspring of Adam, were as guilty as we: but they came from Adam, but not from Adam's offspring, therefore the article is to be expounded to the sense of these words, 'naturally engendered (or are) of the offspring of Adam.'

31.—WHEREBY MAN IS VERY FAR GONE FROM ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS,—

That is, men are devolved to their natural condition, devested[c] of all those gifts and graces which God gave to Adam, in order to his supernatural end, and by the help of which he stood in God's favour, and innocent, until the fatal period of his fall: this original righteousness or innocence we have not naturally, for our natural innocence is but negative, that is, we have not consented to sin. The righteousness he had before his fall I suppose was not only that, but also his doing many actions of obedience and intercourse with God, even all which passed between God and himself till his eating the forbidden fruit. For he had this advantage over us, he was created in a full use of reason; we his descendents enter into the world in the greatest imperfection, and are born under a law which we break before we can understand, and it is imputed to us as our understanding increases: and our desires are strongest when our understanding is weakest: and therefore by this very economy, which is natural to us, we must needs in the condition of our nature be very far from Adam's original righteousness, who had perfect reason before he had a law, and had understanding as soon as he had desires. This clause thus understood is most reasonable and true, but the effect of it can be nothing in prejudice of the main business, and if any thing else

[c] [sic edd.]

be meant by it, I cannot understand it to have any ground in scripture or reason; and I am sure our church does not determine for it.

32.—AND IS INCLINED TO EVIL,—

That every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true: and it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly[d]. α) Because that which is unavoidable is not a sin. β) Because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential. γ) It is superinduced to nature, and is after it, and comes by reason of the laws which God made after He made our nature; He brought us laws to check our nature, to cross and displease, that by so doing we may prefer God before ourselves: this also with some variety; for in some laws there is more liberty than in others, and therefore less natural inclination to disobedience. δ) Because our nature is inclined to good and not to evil in some instances, that is, in those which are according to nature, and there is no greater endearment of virtue than the law and inclination of nature in all the instances of that law. ε) Because that which is intended for the occasion of virtue and reward, is not naturally and essentially the principle of evil. ζ) In the instances in which naturally we incline to evil, the inclination is naturally good, because it is to its proper object; but that it becomes morally evil must be personal, for the law is before our persons; it cannot be natural, because the law by which that desire can become evil is after it.

33.—SO THAT THE FLESH LUSTETH AGAINST THE SPIRIT,—

This clause declares what kind of inclination to evil is esteemed criminal; that which is approved, that which passeth to act, that which is personally delighted in, in the contention which is after regeneration or reception of the Holy Spirit. For the flesh cannot lust against the Spirit in them that have not the Spirit; unless both the principles be within there can be no contention between them, as a man cannot fight a duel alone; so that this is not the sin of nature, but of persons; for though potentially it is sin, yet actually and really it is none until it resist the Spirit of God, which is the principle put into us to restore us to as good a state at least as that was which we were receded from in Adam. By the way, it is observable that the article makes only concupiscence or lusting to be the effect of Adam's sin, but affirms nothing of the loss of the will's liberty, or diminution of the understanding, or the rebellion of the passions against reason, but only against the Spirit, which certainly is natural to it, and in Adam did rebel against God's commandments when it was the inlet to the sin, and therefore could not be a punishment of it.

[d] [This sentence became the occasion of a controversy between Taylor and Henry Jeanes, a presbyterian, 'minister of God's word at Chedzoy in Somersetshire.'—Taylor's letters are given at the end of this treatise.]

—AND THEREFORE—

The illative conjunction expressly declares that the sense of the church of England is, that this corruption of our nature in no other sense and for no other reason is criminal, but because it does resist the Holy Spirit: therefore it is not evil till it does so, and therefore if it does not, it is not evil. For if the very inclination were a sin, then when this inclination is contested against, at the same time, and in the same things, the man sins and does well, and he can never have a temptation but he offends God; and then how we should understand S. James's[c] rule, that 'we should count it all joy when we enter into temptation,' is beyond my reach and apprehension. The natural inclination hath in it nothing moral, and *g.*[d] as it is good in nature, so it is not ill in manners; the supervening consent or dissent makes it morally good or evil.

34.—IN EVERY PERSON BORN INTO THE WORLD IT DESERVETH GOD'S WRATH AND DAMNATION.—

Viz., when it is so consented to, when it resists and overcomes the Spirit of grace. For we, being devested of the grace given to the first Adam, are to be renewed by the Spirit of grace, the effect of the Second Adam; which grace when we resist, we do as Adam did, and reduce ourselves back into the state where Adam left us. That was his sin and not ours, but this is our sin and not his; both of them deserve God's wrath and damnation, but by one he deserved it, and by the other we deserve it. But then it is true that this corrupted nature deserves God's wrath, but we and Adam deserve not in the same formality, but in the same material part we do. He left our nature naked, and for it he deserved God's wrath; if we devest our nature of the new grace we return to the same state of nature, but then we deserve God's wrath; so that still the object of God's wrath is our mere nature so as left by Adam; but though he sinned in the first disrobing, and we were imperfect by it, yet we sin not till the second disrobing, and then we return to the same imperfection, and make it worse. But I consider, that although some churches in their Confessions express it, yet the church of England does not: they add the word 'eternal' to 'damnation;' but our church abstains from that: therefore 'God's wrath and damnation,' can signify the same that 'damnation' does in S. Paul; all the effects of God's anger: temporal death, and the miseries of mortality, was the effect of Adam's sin, and of our being reduced to the natural and corrupted, or worsted state: or secondly, they may signify the same that 'hatred' does in S. Paul[e], and in Malachi[f]; "Esau have I hated," that is, 'loved him less,' or did not give him what he was

[c] [chap. i. 2.] [d] [i. e. 'ergo.'] [e] [Rom. ix. 13.] [f] [chap. i. 3.]

born to: he lost the primogeniture, and the priesthood and the blessing. So do we naturally fall short of heaven. This is hatred or the wrath of God, and His judgment upon the sin of Adam to condemn us to a state of imperfection, and misery, and death, and deficiency from supernatural happiness, all which I grant to be the effect of Adam's sin, and that our imperfect nature deserves this, that is, it can deserve no better.

35.—AND THIS INFECTION OF NATURE—

Viz. This imperfection; not any inherent quality that by contact pollutes the relatives and the descendents, but this abuse and reproach of our nature, this stain of our nature, by taking off the supernatural grace and beauties put into it, like the cutting off the beards of David's embassadors, or stripping a man of his robe, and turning him abroad in his natural shame, leaving him naked as Adam and we were. But the word 'infection' being metaphorical, may aptly signify any thing that is analogical to it: and may mean a natural habitude or inclination to forbidden instances; but yet it signifies a very great evil, for in the best authors, to be such 'by nature,' means an aggravation of it. So Carion in Aristophanes[g],

Ἄνθρωπος οὗτός ἐστιν ἄθλιος φύσει,

'This man is very miserable,' or 'miserable by nature;' and again[h],

Πάντως γὰρ ἄνθρωπον φύσει τοιοῦτον ἐς τὰ πάντα
ἠγεῖσθέ μ' εἶναι, κοὐδὲν ἂν νομίζεθ' ὑγιὲς εἰπεῖν;

"Do you believe me to be such a man by nature that I can speak nothing well?"

36.—DOTH REMAIN, YEA IN THEM THAT ARE REGENERATED,—

That is, all the baptized and unbaptized receive from Adam nothing but what is inclined to forbidden instances, which is a principle against which, and above which, the Spirit of God does operate. For this is it which is called 'the lust of the flesh;' for so it follows,

—WHEREBY THE LUST OF THE FLESH,—

That is, the desires and pronenesses to natural objects, which by God's will came to be limited, ordered and chastised, curbed and restrained.

37.—CALLED IN GREEK *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*,—

Here it is plain that the church of England, though she found it necessary to declare something in the fierce contention of the time, in order to peace and unity of expression, yet she was not willing too

[g] [Plut. 118.] [h] [Ibid., lin. 273.]

minutely to declare and descend to the particulars on either side, and therefore she was pleased to make use of the Greek word, of the sense of which there were so many disputes, and recites the most usual redditions of the word.

38.—WHICH SOME DO EXPOUND THE WISDOM, SOME THE SENSUALITY, SOME THE AFFECTION, SOME THE DESIRE, OF THE FLESH, IS NOT SUBJECT TO THE LAW OF GOD.—

These several expositions reciting several things, and the church of England reciting all indefinitely, but definitely declaring for none of them, does only in the generality affirm that the flesh and spirit are contrary principles, that the flesh resists the law of God, but the spirit obeys it; that is, by the flesh alone we cannot obey God's law, naturally we cannot become the sons of God and heirs of heaven, but it must be a new birth by a spiritual regeneration. The 'wisdom of the flesh,' that is, natural and secular principles, are not apt dispositions to make us obedient to the law of God; 'sensuality,' that signifies an habitual lustfulness; 'desires' signify actual lustings; 'affections' signify the natural inclination. Now which of these is here meant the church hath not declared, but by the other words of the article it is most probable she rather inclines to render *φρόνημα σαρκὸς*, by 'desires and sensuality,' rather than by 'affection or wisdom,' though of these also in their own sense it is true to affirm that they are not subject to the law of God: there being some foolish principles which the flesh and the world is apt to entertain, which are hindrances to holiness; and the affection, that is, inclination to some certain objects, being that very thing which the laws of God have restrained more or less in several periods of the world, may, without inconvenience to the question, be admitted to expound *φρόνημα σαρκός*.

39.—AND ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO CONDEMNATION TO THEM THAT BELIEVE AND ARE BAPTIZED,—

That is, this concupiscence, or inclination to forbidden instances, is not imputed to the baptized nor to the regenerate; that is, when the new principle of grace and of the Spirit is put into us, we are reduced to as great a condition, and as certain an order and a capacity of entering into heaven, as Adam was before his fall: for then we are drawn from that mere natural state where Adam left us; and therefore although these do die, yet it is but the condition of nature, not the punishment of the sin. For Adam's sin brought in death, and baptism and regeneration does not hinder that, but it takes away the formality of it; it is not a punishment to itself, but a condition of nature, as it is to infants. For that even to them also there is no condemnation for their original concupiscence, is undeniable and demonstratively certain upon this account; because even the actual desires and little concupiscences of children are innocent, and there-

fore much more their natural tendencies and inclinations. For if a principle be criminal, if a faculty be a sin, much more are the acts of that faculty also a sin; but if these be innocent, then much more is that.

40.—YET THE APOSTLE DOES CONFESS THAT CONCUPISCENCE AND LUST HATH OF ITSELF THE NATURE OF SIN.—

'Of itself;' that is, it is in the whole kind to be reproved; it is not a sin to all persons, not to unconsenting persons; for if it be no sin to them that resist, then neither is it a sin to them that cannot consent. But it hath the 'nature of sin,' that is, it is the material part of sin, a principle and root from whence evil may spring, according to S. Austin's[i] words, *Modo quodam loquendi peccatum vocatur quod et peccato facta est, et peccati si vicerit facit reum.* Just as if a man have a natural thirst, it may tempt him, and is apt to incline him to drunkenness; if he be of a sanguine disposition, it disposes him to lust; if choleric, to anger; and is so much a sin as the fuel is a part of the fire; but because this can be there where damnation shall not enter, this nature of sin is such as does not make a proper guiltiness. For it is a contradiction to say the sin remains and the guilt is taken away: for he that hath a sin is guilty of punishment, for that is[k], he is liable to it if God pleases; He may pardon if He please, but if He pardons He takes away the sin. For in the justified no sin can be inherent or habitual; *Quomodo justificati et sanctificati sumus, si peccatum aliquod in nobis relinquitur*[l]? If concupiscence be an inherent sin in us before baptism, it must either be taken away by baptism, or imputed to us after baptism: for if the malice remains, the guilt cannot go away; for God will by no means justify the remaining sinner.

41. These things I have chose to say and publish, because I find that the usual doctrines about original sin are not only false, and presumed without any competent proof, but because, as they are commonly believed, they are no friends to piety, but pretences of idleness, and dishonourable to the reputation of God's goodness and justice; for which we ought to be very zealous, when a greater indifference would better become us in the matter of our opinion, or the doctrine of our sect. And therefore it is not to be blamed in me that I move the thoughts of men in the proposition; for it is not an useless one, but hath its immediate effects upon the honour of God, and the next upon the lives of men. And therefore this hath in it many degrees of necessary doctrine, and the fruits of it must needs do more than make recompence for the trouble I put them to in making new enquiries into that doctrine concerning which they were so long at ease.

[i] Lib. i. de nupt. et concup., c. 23. [p. 289, not. n, supra.]

[k] ['for that is,' sic edd.—The editor avoids to alter the sentence on conjecture.]

[l] Hieron. ad Oceanum. [vid. epist. lxxxii. per tot.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 645 sqq.]

But if men of a contrary judgment can secure the interests and advantages of piety, and can reconcile their usual doctrines of original sin with God's justice and goodness and truth, I shall be well pleased with it, and think better of their doctrine than now I can: but until that be done, they may please to consider that there is in holy scripture no sign of it, nor intimation, that at the day of judgment Christ shall say to any, 'Go, ye cursed sons of Adam, into everlasting fire, because your father sinned; and though I will pardon millions of sins which men did choose and delight in, yet I will severely exact this of you, which you never did choose, nor could delight in:' this, I say, is not likely to be in the event of things, and in the wise and merciful dispensation of God, especially since Jesus Christ himself, so far as appears, never spake one word of it; there is not any tittle of it in all the four gospels; it is a thing of which no warning was or could be given to any of Adam's children, it is not mentioned in the Old testament (for that place of David in the fifty-first psalm Clemens Alexandrinus[1] and others of the fathers snatch from any pretence to it); and that one time where it is spoken of in the New testament, there is nothing said of it but that it is imputed to us to this purpose only, that it brought in death temporal: and why such tragedies should be made of it, and other places of scripture drawn by violence to give countenance to it, and all the systems of divinity of late made to lean upon this article, which yet was never thought to be fundamental, or belonging to the foundation, was never put into the creed of any church, but is made the great support of new and strange propositions, even of the fearful decree of absolute reprobation, and yet was never consented in or agreed upon, what it was, or how it can be conveyed, and was (in the late and modern sense of it) as unknown to the primitive church as it was to the doctors of the Jews, that is, wholly unknown to them both; why, I say, men should be so fierce in their new sense of this article, and so impatient of contradiction, it is not easy to give a reasonable account.

For my own particular, I hope I have done my duty, having produced scriptures, and reasons, and the best authority, against it. *Qui potest capere, capiat.*

For "I had a good spirit; yea rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled." Wisd. viii. 19, 20.[m]

[1] [vid. p. 323, not. s, supra.]

[m] [This 'Further explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin' was sent by Taylor before publication to Bp. Warner, to 'peruse, censure, reject or condemn,' as his lordship should think fit. Taylor says in his letter to the bishop accompanying the tract, that the 'storm is over, and many of the contradictors profess themselves of his opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not right to own it.' However, the bishop remained not satisfied either with the statements of ch. vi. on 'Original Sin,' or with this 'Further explication' of it. —See Heber's Life of Taylor.]

CHAP. VIII.

OF SINS OF INFIRMITY.

§ 1. Of the state of infirmity, and its first remedy.

1. ALL mankind hath for ever complained of their irremediable calamity, their propensity to sin. For though by the dictates of nature all people were instructed in the general notices of virtue and vice, right reason being our rule; insomuch that the old philosophers (as Plutarch[a] reports) said that virtue was nothing else but τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσίς τις καὶ δύναμις γεγενημένη ὑπὸ λόγου, a disposition and force of reason; and this reason having guided the wisest, was formed into laws for others; yet this reason served to little other purposes but to upbraid our follies and infelicities, and to make our actions punishable by representing them to be unreasonable: for they did certainly sin, and they could no more help it, than they could prevent their being sick, or hungry, or angry, or thirsty. Nature had made organs for some, and senses for others, and conversation and example brought in all. So that if you reproved a criminal, he heard and understood you, but could not help it: as Laius in the tragedy;

> Λέληθεν οὐδὲν τῶνδέ μ' ὧν σὺ νουθετεῖς,
> Γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται[b].

Reason taught him well, but nature constrained him to the contrary; his affections were stronger than his reason.

2. And it is no wonder that while flesh and blood is the prevailing ingredient, while men are in the state of conjunction, and the soul serves the body, and the necessities of this are more felt than the discourses of that, that men should be angry and lustful, proud and revengeful, and that they should follow what they lust after, not what they are bidden to do. For passions and affections are our first governors, and they being clearly possessed of all mankind in their first years, have almost secured to themselves the soul of man, before reason is heard to speak: and when she does speak, she speaks at first so little and so low, that the common noises of fancy and company drown her voice. This I say is the state of nature. And therefore Lactantius[c] brings in a pagan complaining, *Volo equidem non peccare, sed vincor; indutus sum enim carne fragili, et imbecilla; hæc est quæ concupiscit, quæ irascitur, quæ dolet, quæ mori*

[a] Περὶ ἠθικῆς ἀρετῆς. [tom. vii. p. 736.]

[b] [Clem. Alex., strom. ii. 15.—Euripidis esse in Chrysippo docet Valcken. diatrib., p. 21 sq.—Vid. p. 151, not. n, et p. 168, not. s, supra.]

[c] Lib. iv. inst., c. 24. [tom. i. p. 337.]

timet. Itaque ducor incertus[d], *et pecco non quia volo sed quia cogor: sentio me et ipse peccare; sed necessitas fragilitatis impellit, cui repugnare non possum,* 'I would fain avoid sin, but I am compelled. I am invested with a frail and weak flesh: this is it which lusteth, which is angry, which grieves, which fears to die. Therefore I am led uncertainly, and I sin, not because I will, but because I am constrained. I perceive that I do ill, but the necessity of my weakness drives me on, and I cannot resist it.'

Καὶ μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω κακὰ,
θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων·

'I know well and perceive the evils that I go upon, and they are horrid ones, but my anger is greater than my reason;' so Medea[e] in the tragedy. This is the state of a natural man in his mere naturals, especially as they are made worse by evil customs and vile usages of the world.

3. Now this is a state of infirmity; and all sins against which there is any reluctancy and contrary desires of actual reason, are sins of infirmity. But this infirmity excuses no man: for this state of infirmity is also a state of death; for by this S. Paul[f] expressed that state from which Christ came to redeem us: ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν, 'when we were yet in infirmity,' or without strength, 'in due time Christ died for us;' that is, when we were ἀσεβεῖς, 'impious,' or 'sinners,' such as the world was before it was redeemed, before Christ came. These are the sick and weak whom Christ, the great Physician of our souls, came to save. This infirmity is 'the shadow of death:' and it signifies that state of mankind which is the state of nature, not of original and birth, but in its whole constitution, as it signifies not only the natural imperfection, but the superinduced evil from any principle; all that which is opposed to grace.

4. To this state of nature being so pitiable, God began to find a remedy, and renewed the measures of virtue, and by a law made them more distinct and legible, and imposed punishments on the transgressors. For by little and little the notices of natural reason were made obscure, some were lost, some not attended to, all neglected some way or other; till God by a law made express prohibition of what was unreasonable, forbidding us to desire what before was unfit and unnatural, and threatening them that did things unlawful. But this way, by reason of the peevishness of men, succeeded not well, but men became worse by it. For what the law did forbid without the threatening of any penalty, they took for an advice only, and no severe injunction: and those commandments which were established with a threatening to the transgressors, they expounded only by the letter, and in the particular instance, and in the outward act.

5. Before the law, men allowed to themselves many impieties,

[d] ['invitus' ed.] [e] Medea apud Eurip. [lin. 1078.] [f] [Rom. v. 6.]

which reason indeed marked out to be such, but no law had forbidden them in express letter. They thought it lawful to seduce and tempt another man's wife, and invite her to his house and conjugation, so he did not steal or force her away: but if they found a coldness between her and her husband, they would blow the coals, and enkindle an evil flame. It is supposed that Herod did so to Herodias his brother Philip's wife, even after the law. They would not by violence snatch the estate from a young prodigal heir, but if he were apt, they would lend him money, and nurse his vice, and entangle his estate, and at last devour it. They would not directly deny to pay the price of a purchase; but they would detain it or divert it, or pay it in trifling sums, or in undesired commodities. This was *concupiscere rem alienam*. They did not steal, but coveted it, and so entered indirectly: and this God seeing, forbad it by a law; 'For I had not known lust or desires to be a sin' (saith S. Paul[g]) 'but that the law said, Thou shalt not covet.'

6. But because the law only forbad lustings, but imposed no penalty, they despised it; and those things which were forbidden with an appendent penalty, they would act them privately. For if they avoided the notice of the criminal judge, they feared not the face of an angry God: and this Lactantius[h] observed of them, *Metus legum non scelera comprimebat, sed licentiam submovebat: poterant enim leges delicta punire, conscientiam munire non poterant; itaque quæ ante palam fiebant, clam fieri cœperunt; circumscribi etiam jura;* 'for all the threatenings of the law they were wicked still, though not scandalous; vile in private, and wary in public; they did circumscribe their laws, and thought themselves bound only to the letter, and obliged by nothing but the penalty, which if they escaped they reckoned themselves innocent.' Thus far the law instructed them, and made them afraid. But for the first, they grew the more greedy to do what now they were forbidden to desire. The prohibition of the law being like a dam to the waters, the desire swells the higher for being checked; and the wisdom of Romulus in not casting up a bank against parricide had this effect, that until the end of the second punic war, which was almost six hundred years, there was no example of one that killed his father. Lucius Ostius[i] was the first. And it is certain that the easterlings neither were nor had they reason to be fond of circumcision; it was part of that load which was complained of by the apostles in behalf of the Jewish nation, which neither they nor their fathers could bear; and yet as soon as Christ took off the yoke, and that it was forbidden to His disciples, the Jews were as fond of it as of their pleasures; and fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in immediate succession were all circumcised[k], and no arguments, no authority could hinder them. And for their fear, it

[g] [Rom. vii. 7.]
[h] [Epit. cap. lix.—tom. ii. p. 49.]
[i] [Fr. Balduin. in leges Romuli, cap. xi. p. 18. fol. Paris. 1544.]
[k] ['Εκ περιτομῆς, says Eusebius.—See vol. vi. p. 659, note i.]

only produced caution, and sneaking from the face of men, and both together set them on work to corrupt the spirit of the law by expositions too much according to the letter: so that by this means, their natural desires, their lustings and concupiscence, were not cured.

7. For as Lactantius brought in the heathen complaining, so does S. Paul[1] bring in the Jew, "That which I do I allow not, for what I would, that I do not, but what I hate that I do." I say, that is the state of a man under the law; a man who is not regenerate and made free by the spirit of Christ; that is, a man who abides in the infirmities of nature: of which the law of nature warned him first, and the superinduced law of God warned him more; but there was not in these covenants or laws sufficient either to endear or to secure obedience; they did not minister strength enough to conquer sin, to overthrow its power, to destroy the kingdom and reign of sin: this was reserved for the great day of triumph; it was the glory of the gospel, the power of Christ, the strength of the Spirit which alone was able to do it; and by this with its appendages, that is the pardon of sin and a victory over it, a conquest by the prevailing and rule of the Spirit, by this alone the gospel is the most excellent above all the covenants and states and institutions of the world.

8. But then the Christian must not complain thus; if he be advanced into the secrets of the kingdom, if he be a Christian in any thing beyond the name; he cannot say that sin gives him laws, that it reigns in his mortal body, that he is led captive by Satan at his will, that he sins against his will frequently and habitually, and cannot help it. But so it is, men do thus complain; and which is worse, they make this to be their excuse and their encouragement. If they have sinned foully, they say, It is true; but "it is not I, but sin that dwelleth in me. For that which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not, and what I hate, that do I[m]." And if they be tempted to a sin, they cannot be dissuaded from it, or encouraged to a noble and pertinacious resistance, because they have this in excuse ready, "To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not: for the good which I would, I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do[n]." That is, 'It is my infirmity, give me leave to do it, I am the child of God for all my sin; for I do it with an unwilling willingness. I shall do this always, and shall never be quit of this tyranny of sin: it was thus with S. Paul himself, and I ought not to hope to be otherwise than he, and a person more free from sin.' We find in the life of Andronicus, written by Nicetas Choniates[o], the same pretence made in excuse for sin, 'they could not help it;' and we find it so in our daily experience; and the thing itself warranted by many interpreters of

[1] [Rom. vii. 15, 19]
[m] [ver. 15.]
[n] [ver. 18.]
[o] [lib. ii. cap. 7.—Inter histor. Byzant. scriptores, p. 177 B.]

scripture, who suppose that S. Paul in the seventh chapter to the Romans, from the fourteenth verse to the end, describes his own state of infirmity and disability, or which is all one, the state of a regenerate man, that it is no other but an ineffective striving and struggling against sin, a contention in which he is most commonly worsted, and that this striving is all that he can shew of holiness to be a testimony of his regeneration.

§ 2. An exposition and vindication of that text Rom. vii. 15. *ad* 20, which by the mistake of some is thought to mean the state of infirmity in the regenerate.

9. How necessary it is to free the words of S. Paul from so dangerous a sense, we may easily believe, if we consider that to suppose a man who is regenerate by the Spirit of Christ to be still a slave under sin, and within its power, and that he fain would but cannot help it, is very injurious to the power of Christ and the mightiness of the Spirit of grace: when all its effect is only said to be that it strives, but can do nothing; that is, sin abounds more than grace, and the man that is redeemed by Christ is still unredeemed, and a captive under sin and Satan. This is not only an encouragement of evil life, but a reproach and scorn cast upon the Holy Spirit[p]; it is *verbum dictum contra Spiritum sanctum,* 'a word spoken against the Holy Ghost.' And as S. Austin[q] calls it, it is *tuba hostis, non nostra, unde ille incitetur, non unde vincatur,* 'the devil's trumpet, to encourage him in his war against poor mankind, but by this means he shall never be overcome.' And therefore he gives us caution of it; for speaking of these words, "The good which I would, that do I not, but the evil that I would not, that I do," advises thus, *Lectio divina quæ de apostoli Pauli epistola recitata est, quotiescunque legitur, timendum est ne male intellecta det hominibus quærentibus occasionem,* 'whenever these words of S. Paul are read, we must fear lest the misunderstanding of them should minister an occasion of sin to them that seek it: for men are prone to sin, and scarce restrain themselves; when therefore they hear the apostle saying, I do not the good which I would, but I do the evil which I hate, they do evil, and as it were displeasing themselves because they do it, think themselves like the apostle.' In pursuance of this caution, I shall examine the expositions which are pretended.

10. I. These words, "I do not the good which I would, but I do the evil which I hate," are not the words or character of a regenerate person in respect of actual good or bad.

A regenerate man cannot say that he does frequently or habitually commit the sin that he hates, and is against his conscience.

a. Because "no man can serve two masters;" if he be a servant

[p] [1 John iv. 4.]

[q] Serm. xliii. et xlv. de tempore. [al. serm. cii. in append. tom. v. col. 181 sqq. et serm. cli. col. 718 B.]

of sin, he is not a servant of the Spirit. No man can serve Christ and Belial. If therefore he be 'brought into captivity to the law of sin[r],' he is the servant of sin; and such was he whom S. Paul describes in this chapter. Therefore this person is not a servant of Christ; he that is a servant of righteousness is freed from sin; and he who is 'a servant of sin' is not a servant of, but 'freed from righteousness[s].' A regenerate person therefore is a servant of the Spirit, and so cannot at the same time be a servant, or a slave and a captive under sin.

11. β. When the complaint is made, 'I do the evil which I hate,' the meaning is, 'I do it seldom,' or 'I do it commonly and frequently.' If it means, 'I do it seldom,' then a man cannot use these words so well as the contrary; he can say, 'the good which I would I do regularly and ordinarily, and the evil which I hate I do avoid; sometimes indeed I am surprised, and when I do neglect to use the aids and strengths of the Spirit of grace, I fall; but this is because I will not, and not because I cannot help it;' and in this case the man is not a servant or captive of sin, but a servant of Christ, though weak and imperfect. But if it means, 'I do it commonly, or constantly, or frequently,' which is certainly the complaint here made, then to be a regenerate person is to be a vile person, 'sold under sin,' and not God's servant. For if any man shall suppose these words to mean only thus, 'I do not do so much good as I would, and do sometimes fall into evil, though I would fain be entirely innocent,' indeed this man teaches no false doctrine as to the state or duty of the regenerate, which in this life will for ever be imperfect; but he speaks not according to the sense and design of the apostle here. For his purpose is to describe that state of evil in which we are by nature, and from which we could not be recovered by the law, and from which we can only be redeemed by the grace of Jesus Christ; and this is a state of death, of being killed by sin, of being captivated and sold under sin, after the manner of slaves; as will further appear in the sequel.

12. γ. Every regenerate man and servant of Christ 'hath the Spirit of Christ[t].' But 'where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty[u];' therefore no slavery; therefore 'sin reigns not' there. Both the propositions are the words of the apostle; the conclusion therefore infers that the man whom S. Paul describes in this chapter, is not the regenerate man, for he hath not liberty, but is 'in captivity to the law of sin[x],' from which every one that is Christ's, every one that hath the Spirit of Christ, is freed.

13. δ. And this is that which S. Paul calls being 'under the law,' that is, a being carnal, and in the state of the flesh; not but that the 'law itself is spiritual;' but that we being carnal of ourselves, are not cured by the law, but by reason of the infirmity of the flesh[y],

[r] [Rom. vii. 23.]
[s] [Rom. vi. 20.]
[t] [Rom. viii. 9.]
[u] [2 Cor. iii. 17.]
[x] [Rom. vii. 23.]
[y] [Rom. vii. 13, 14; and viii. 3.]

made much worse; curbed, but not sweetly won; admonished, but assisted by no Spirit but the spirit of bondage and fear. This state is opposed to the spiritual state. The giving of the law is called the ministry of death[z]; the gospel is called the 'ministry of the Spirit,' and that is the 'ministration of life;' and therefore 'if we be led by the Spirit, we are not under the law[a]:' but if we be under the law, we are dead, and sin is revived; and 'sin by the law brings forth fruit unto death.' From hence the argument of the apostle is clear. The man whom he here describes is such an one who is under the law; but such a man is dead by reason of sin, and therefore hath not in him the Spirit of God, for that is the ministration of life. A regenerate person is alive unto God; he lives 'the life of righteousness:' but he that is under the law is killed by sin; and such is the man that is here described, as appears verse 9, and I shall in the sequel further prove; therefore this man is not the regenerate.

14. ϵ. To which for the likeness of the argument I add this; that the man who can say, 'I do that which I hate,' is a man in whom sin is not mortified, and therefore he lives after the flesh: but then he is not regenerate; "for if ye live after the flesh ye shall die," saith S. Paul[b], "but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."

These arguments are taken from consideration of the rule and dominion of sin in the man whom S. Paul describes, who therefore cannot be a regenerate person. To the same effect and conclusion are other expressions in the same chapter.

15. ζ. The man whom S. Paul here describes, who complains that 'he does not the good which he would, but the evil that he would not,' is such a one in whom sin does inhabit; "It is no more I, but sin that dwelleth in me[c]." But in the regenerate sin does not inhabit; "My father and I will come unto him, and make our abode with him:" so Christ promised to His servants; to them who should be regenerate; and "the Spirit of God dwelleth in them[d];" "the Spirit of Him that raised Jesus from the dead;" and therefore the regenerate are called the "habitation of God through the Spirit." Now if God the Father, if Christ, if the Spirit of Christ, dwells in a man, there sin does not dwell. The strong man that is armed keeps possession; but if a stronger than he comes he dispossesses him. If the Spirit of God does not drive the devil forth, Himself will leave the place; they cannot both dwell together. Sin may 'be' in the regenerate, and grieve God's Spirit, but it shall not 'abide' or dwell there, for that extinguishes Him. One or the other must depart. And this also is noticed by S. Paul in this very place; "sin dwelleth

[z] [2 Cor. iii. 6—8.]
[a] [Gal. v. 18; Rom. vii. 9.]
[b] [Rom. viii. 13.]
[c] [Rom. vii. 20.]
[d] [John xiv. 23; Rom. viii. 11; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Eph. iii. 17; and ii. 22; 2 Tim. i. 14.]

in me," and "no good thing dwelleth in me[e]." If one does, the other does not; but yet as in the unregenerate there might be some good, such as are good desires, knowledge of good and evil, single actions of virtue, beginnings and dispositions to grace, acknowledging of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, some lightnings and flashes of the Holy Ghost, a knowing of the way of righteousness; but sanctifying, saving good does not dwell, that is, doth not abide with them and rule; so in the regenerate there is sin, but because it does not dwell there, they are under the empire of the Spirit and in Christ's kingdom; or, as S. Paul[f] expresses it, 'Christ liveth in them:' and that cannot be unless 'sin be crucified and dead in them.' The sum of which is thus in S. Paul's[g] words, "Reckon yourselves indeed to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ: let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof; for sin shall not have dominion over you, because we[h] are not under the law, but under grace."

16. η. Lastly, the man whom S. Paul describes is carnal, but the regenerate is never called carnal in the scripture, but is spiritual, opposed to carnal[i]. A man not only in pure naturals, but even placed under the law, is called carnal; that is, until he be redeemed by the Spirit of Christ he cannot be called spiritual, but is yet in the flesh. Now that the regenerate cannot be the carnal man is plain in the words of S. Paul[j], "The carnal mind is enmity against God;" and, "they that are in the flesh cannot please God." To which he adds[k], "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." But the Spirit of God does dwell in all the servants of God, in all the regenerate; for "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His[l]." Now as these are in scripture distinguished in their appellatives and in their character, so also in their operations. "They that are carnal, κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, according to the flesh, do mind or relish the things of the flesh; they that are after the Spirit do mind the things of the Spirit[m];" and, "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts[n]." Now they that have crucified the flesh cannot in any sense of scripture or religion be called carnal. That there is something of carnality in the regenerate is too true, because our regeneration and spirituality in this life is imperfect. But when carnal and spiritual are opposed in scripture, and the question is, whether of these two is to be attributed to the servants and sons of God, to the regenerate; it is certain by the analogy of the thing, and the perpetual manner of speaking in scripture, that by this word carnal the Spirit of God never means the sons of God or the spiritual, that is, the regenerate. "The sons of God are led by the Spirit of God[o];"

[e] [Rom. vii. 17, 8.]
[f] [Gal. ii. 20.]
[g] [Rom. vi. 11, 12, 14.]
[h] ['we,' sic edd.]
[i] Rom. vii. 14.]
[j] [Rom. viii. 7.]
[k] [ver. 8.]
[l] [ver. 9.]
[m] [ver. 5.]
[n] [Gal. v. 24.]
[o] [Rom. viii. 14.]

therefore not by the flesh, which they have crucified. Whatsoever is essential to regeneration, to new birth, to the being the sons of God, all that is in the regenerate; for they cannot be that thing of which they want an essential part: as a thing cannot be a body unless it be divisible, nor a living creature if it have not life. Therefore regeneration is perfect in respect of its essentials or necessary parts of constitution: but in the degrees there is imperfection, and therefore the abatement is made by the intermixture of carnality. For it is in our new and spiritual birth as in our natural. The child is a man in all essential parts, but he is as a beast in some of his operations; he hath all the faculties of a man, but not the strengths of a man, but grows to it by the progression and increase of every day. So is the spiritual man regenerate in his mind, his will, his affections; and therefore when carnal and spiritual are opposed in their whole nature and definitions, the spiritual man is not the carnal, though he still retain some of the weaknesses of the flesh, against which he contends every day. To this purpose are those words of S. Leo[p], *Quamvis spe, salvi facti sumus, et corruptibilem adhuc carnem mortalemque gestemus; recte tamen dicimur in carne non esse, si carnales non dominentur affectus: et merito ejus deponimus nuncupationem, cujus non sequimur voluntatem;* 'we are not to be called carnal, though we bear about us flesh and its infirmities; yet if carnal affections do not rule over us, well are we to quit the name, when we do not obey the thing.' Now if any man shall contend that a man may be called carnal if the flesh strives against the spirit, though sin does not rule, I shall not draw the saw of contention with him, but only say that it is not usually so in scripture; and in this place of which we now dispute the sense and use, it is not so; for by carnal S. Paul means such a person upon whom sin reigns. "I am carnal, sold under sin[q];" therefore this person is not the spiritual, not the regenerate, or the son of God. S. Paul[r] uses the word carnal in a comparative locution; for babes and infants, or unskilful persons in the religion; but then this carnality he proves to be in them wholly by their inordinate walking, by their strifes and contentions, by their being schismatics; and therefore he reproves them, which he had no reason to do if himself also had been carnal in that sense which he reproves.

17. The conclusion from all these premises is, I suppose, sufficiently demonstrated,—That S. Paul does not in the seventh chapter to the Romans describe the state of himself really, or of a regenerate person, neither is this state 'of doing sin frequently, though against our will,' a state of unavoidable infirmity, but a state of death and unregeneration.

[p] De resur. Dom. [serm. ii. p. 69 D.] [q] [Rom. vii. 14.] [r] [1 Cor. iii. 1—3.]

§ 3. S. Augustine's exposition of those words, taken up after his retractation, considered.

18. II. S. AUSTIN did for ever reject that interpretation, and indeed so did the whole primitive church; but yet he having once expounded this chapter[s] of the unregenerate, or a man under the law, not redeemed by the Spirit of Christ from his vain conversation, he retracted this exposition, and construed those words in question thus[t]; *Non ergo quod vult agit apostolus, quia vult non concupiscere, et tamen concupiscit, ideo non quod vult agit,* 'the apostle does not do what he would, because he would fain not desire; but yet because he desires, he does what he would not. Did that desire lead him captive to fornication? God forbid; he did strive, but was not mastered; but because he would not have had that concupiscence left against which he should contend, therefore he said, what I would not, that I do; meaning, I would not lust, but I do lust.' The same also I find in Epiphanius[u], *Nam quod dictum est, Quod operor non cognosco, et facio quod odio habeo, non de eo quod operati sumus ac perfecimus malum accipiendum est, sed de eo quod solum cogitavimus.* Now this interpretation hath in it no impiety as the other hath; for these doctors allow nothing to be unavoidable, or a sin of infirmity, and consistent with the state of grace and regeneration, but the mere ineffective, unprocured, desirings or lustings after evil things, to which no consent is given, and in which no delight is taken; *extraneæ cogitationes quas cogitavimus aliquando, et non volentes et non scientes ex qua causa,* as Epiphanius[x] expresses this article. But S. Austin may be thought to have had some design in choosing this sense, as supposing it would serve for an argument against the Pelagians and their sense of Free-will. For by representing the inevitability of sin, he destroyed their doctrine of the sufficiency of our natural powers in order to heaven, and therefore by granting that S. Paul complains thus of his own infirmity, he believed himself to have concluded firmly for the absolute necessity of God's grace to help us. But by limiting this inevitability of sinning to the matter of desires or concupiscence, he gave no allowance or pretence to any man to speak any evil words, or to delight or consent to any evil thoughts, or to commit any sinful actions, upon the pretence of their being sins of an unavoidable infirmity. So that though he was desirous to serve the ends of his present question, yet he was careful that he did not disserve the interests of religion and a holy life. But besides that the holy scriptures abound in nothing more than in affirming our needs and the excellency of the divine grace, and S. Austin needed not to have been put to his shifts in this question, it is considerable that his first exposition had done his business better. For if these

[s] [ver. 15 and 19.]

[t] Serm. xliii. et xlv. de temp., [al. serm. cli. cap. 6, et cii. in append. § 1.—tom. v. col. 720 D, et append. col. 181 C.]

[u] Hæres. lxiv. contra Origen. [cap. 56. vol. i. p. 583 D.]

[x] [ibid. cap. 57. p. 584 A.]

words of S. Paul be (as indeed they are) to be expounded of an unregenerate man, one under the law, but not under grace; nothing could more have magnified God's grace, than that an unregenerate person could not by all the force of nature, nor the aids of the law, nor the spirit of fear, nor temporal hopes, be redeemed from the slavery and tyranny of sin; and that from this state there is no redemption but by the Spirit of God, and the grace of the Lord Jesus; which is expressly affirmed and proved by S. Paul, if you admit this sense of the words. And therefore Irenæus[y] who did so, cites these words to the same effect, viz., for the magnifying the grace of God; *Ipse Dominus erat qui salvabat eos, quia per semetipsos non habebant salvari. Et propter hoc Paulus infirmitatem hominis annuntians, ait, Scio enim quoniam non habitat in carne mea bonum: significans quoniam non a nobis, sed a Deo est bonum salutis nostræ. Et iterum, Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? Deinde infert liberatorem, Gratia Jesu Christi Domini nostri;* 'S. Paul's complaint shews our own infirmity, and that of ourselves we cannot be saved; but that our salvation is of God, and the grace of our Redeemer Jesus Christ.' But whatever S. Austin's design might be in making the worse choice, it matters not much: only to the interpretation itself I have these considerations to oppose.

πράσσειν, ποιεῖν, κατεργάζεσθαι.

19. *a.* Because the phrase is insolent, and the exposition violent to render πράσσειν[z] by *concupiscere;* to do is more than to desire; *factum, dictum, concupitum,* are the several kinds and degrees of sinning assigned by S. Austin himself, and therefore they cannot be confounded, and one made to expound the other; ποιεῖν is also used here by the apostle, which in scripture signifies sometimes to sin habitually, never less than actually; and the other word is κατεργάζεσθαι, which signifies *perficere, patrare,* to finish the act at least, or to do a sin throughly, and can in no sense be reasonably expounded by natural, ineffective, and unavoidable desires. And it is observable that when S. Austin in prosecution of this device is to expound those words, 'to will is present with me, τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ καλὸν, but to perform what is good, I find not[a],' he makes the word to signify to 'do it perfectly;' which is as much beyond, as the other sense of the same word is short. 'What I do, ὃ κατεργάζομαι, I approve not:' therefore the man does not do his sin perfectly; he does the thing imperfectly, for he does it against his conscience, and with an imperfect choice; but he does the thing however. So κατεργάζεσθαι καλὸν, must signify to do the good imperfectly, the action itself only; for such was this man's impotency, that he could not obtain power to do even imperfectly the good he desired. The evil he did, though against his mind; but the good he could not, because it was against the law of

[y] Lib. iii. cap. 22. [al. cap. 20. § 3. p. 214.]

[z] [Rom. vii. 15.]

[a] [ver. 18.]

sin which reigned in him. But then the same word must not, to serve ends, be brought to signify a perfect work, and yet not to signify so much as a perfect desire.

20. *β.* The sin which S. Paul[b] under another person complains of, is such a sin as did 'first deceive him, and then slew him;' but concupiscence does not kill till it proceeds further, as S. James[c] expressly affirms, that "concupiscence when it hath conceived brings forth sin, and sin when it is finished brings forth death:" which is the just parallel to what S. Paul says in this very chapter[d], "the passions[e] of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death:" *peccatum perpetratum,* when the desires are acted, then sin is deadly; the *παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν,* 'the passions or first motions of sin' which come upon us *nobis non volentibus nec scientibus,* 'whether we will or no,' these are not imputed to us unto death, but are the matter of virtue when they are resisted and contradicted; but when they are consented to and delighted in, then it is *ἁμαρτία συλλαβοῦσα,* 'sin in conception with death,' and will proceed to action, unless it be hindered from without; and therefore it is then the same sin by interpretation: *adulterium cordis,* so our blessed Saviour called it in that instance, 'the adultery of the heart;' but till it be an actual sin some way or other, it does not bring forth death.

21. *γ.* It is an improper and ungrammatical manner of speaking, to say, *Nolo concupiscere,* or *Volo non concupiscere,* 'I will lust,' or 'I will not lust,' i. e., 'I will, or I will not desire or will.' For this lust or first motions of desire are before an act of will; the first act of which is, when these *παθήματα,* these 'motions and passions' are consented to or rejected. These motions are natural and involuntary, and are no way in our power, but when they are occasioned by an act of the will collaterally and indirectly, or by applying the proper incentives to the faculty. *Vellem non concupiscere,* every good man must say, 'I would fain be free from concupiscence;' but because he cannot, it is not subject to his will, and he cannot say, *volo,* 'I will' be free: and therefore S. Paul's *volo* and *nolo* are not intended of concupiscence or desires.

22. *δ.* The good which S. Austin says the apostle fain would, but could not perfect, or do it perfectly, is *non concupiscere,* 'not to have concupiscence.' *Volo, non perficio;* but *concupiscere* is but *velle:* it is not so much, and therefore cannot be more. So that when he says[f], "to will is present with me," he must mean, 'to desire well is present with me, but to do this I find not;' that is, if S. Austin's interpretation be true, 'though I do desire well, yet I do lust, and do not desire well, for still *concupisco;*' 'I lust, and I lust not, I have concupiscence, and I have it not:' which is a contradiction.

23. Many more things might be observed from the words of the

[b] [ver. 11.] [c] [Jam. i. 15.] [d] [ver. 5.] [e] Παθήματα. [f] [ver. 18.]

apostle to overthrow this exposition; but the truth when it is proved will sufficiently reprove what is not true: and therefore I shall apply myself to consider the proper intention and design of the apostle in those so much mistaken periods.

§ 4. The true meaning of that text of the apostle fully decreed and vindicated.

24. CONCERNING which these things are to be cleared, upon which the whole issue will depend.

First, that S. Paul speaks not in his own person, as an apostle, or a Christian, a man who is regenerate; but in the person of a Jew, one under the law, one that is not regenerate.

Secondly, that this state which he describes is the state of a carnal man, under the corruption of his nature, upon whom the law had done some change, but had not cured him.

Thirdly, that from this state of evil we are redeemed by the Spirit of Christ, by the grace of the gospel; and now a child of God cannot complain this complaint.

1°. That S. Paul speaks not in his own person, but of one unregenerate by a προσωποποιία.

25. I. That 'he puts on the person of another,' by a μετασχηματισμὸς, or translation (as was usual with S. Paul in very many places of his epistles[g]) is evident by his affirming that of the man whom he here describes which of himself were not true. "I was alive without the law once." Of S. Paul's own person this was not true; for he was bred and born under the law, "circumcised the eighth day, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the law a pharisee:" he never was alive without the law. But the Israelites were, whom he therefore represents indefinitely under a single person; the whole nation, before and under the law: "I was alive once without the law; but when the commandment came," that is, when the law was given, "sin revived, and I died[h];" that is, by occasion of the law sin grew stronger and prevailed.

But secondly, concerning the Christian and his present condition, he expressly makes it separate from that of being under the law, and consequently under sin. "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." "We are delivered:" it is plain that some sort of men are freed from that sad condition of things of which he there complains; and if any be, it must be the regenerate. And so it is. For the scope of the apostle in this chapter is to represent and prove that salvation is not to be had by the law, but by Jesus Christ; and that by that discipline men cannot be contained in their duty, and therefore that it was necessary to forsake the law and to come to Christ. To this purpose he brings in a person complaining that under the discipline of the law he was

[g] [1 Cor. x. 29, 30; iv. 6; vi. 12; xiii. 2; Gal. ii. 18.] [h] [Rom. vii. 9.]

still under the power of sin. Now if this had been also true of a regenerate person, of a Christian renewed by the spirit of grace, then it had been no advantage to have gone from the law to Christ, as to this argument; for still the Christian would be under the same slavery, which to be the condition of one under the law, S. Paul was to urge as an argument to call them from Moses to Christ.

2°. That the state he describes is the state of a carnal man under the corruption of his nature.

26. II. That 'this state which he now describes is the state of a carnal man, under the corruption of his nature,' appears by his saying[i] that 'sin had wrought in him all manner of concupiscence;' that 'sin revived, and he died;' that 'the motions of sin which were by the law, did work in the members to bring forth fruit unto death;' and that this was 'when we were in the flesh;' that he is 'carnal, sold under sin;' that he is 'carried into captivity to the law of sin;' that 'sin dwells in him;' and is like another person, doing or constraining him to do things against his mind; that it is a state and a government, a law and a tyranny; "For that which I do I allow not[k]:" plainly saying that this doing what we would not, that is, doing against our conscience upon the strength of passion, and in obedience to the law of sin, was the state of them who indeed were under the law, but the effect of carnality, and the viciousness of their natural and ungracious condition. Here then is the description of a natural and carnal man. He sins frequently,—he sins against his conscience,—he is carnal and sold under sin,—sin dwells in him, and gives him laws,—he is a slave to sin, and led into captivity. Now if this could be the complaint of a regenerate man, from what did Christ come to redeem us? how did He 'take away our sins'? did He only take off the punishment, and still leave us to wallow in the impurities and baser pleasures, perpetually to rail upon our sins, and yet perpetually to do them? How did He come to 'bless us in turning every one of us from our iniquity[l]'? How and in what sense could it be true which the apostle[m] affirms, "He did bear our sins in His own body on the tree, that we being dead unto sin should live unto righteousness"? But this proposition I suppose myself to have sufficiently proved in the reproof of the first exposition of these words in question: only I shall in present add the concurrent testimony of some doctors of the primitive church.

Tertullian[n] hath these words: *Nam etsi habitare bonum in carne sua negavit, sed secundum legem literæ in qua fuit; secundum autem legem Spiritus, cui nos adnectit, liberat ab infirmitate carnis. Lex enim, inquit, Spiritus vitæ manumisit te a lege delinquentiæ et mortis. Licet enim ex parte ex Judaismo disputare videatur, sed in nos dirigit integritatem et plenitudinem disciplinarum, propter quos laborantes in*

[i] [Rom. vii. 8, 9, 5, 14.]
[k] [ver. 15.]
[l] [Acts iii. 26.]
[m] [1 Pet. ii. 24.]
[n] Lib. de pudicit. cap. xvii. [p. 569 C.]

lege per carnem miserit Deus Filium suum in similitudinem carnis delinquentiæ, et propter delinquentiam, damnaverit delinquentiam in carne. Plainly he expounds this chapter to be meant of a man 'under the law;' 'according to the law of the letter, under which himself had been, he denied any good to dwell in his flesh; but according to the law of the Spirit under which we are placed, he frees us from the infirmity of the flesh; for he saith, the law of the Spirit of life hath freed us from the law of sin and death.'

Origen[o] affirms, that when S. Paul says, I am carnal, sold under sin, *tanquam doctor ecclesiæ personam in semetipsum suscipit infirmorum*, 'he takes upon him the person of the infirm,' that is, of the carnal, and says those words which themselves by way of excuse or apology use to speak. "But yet," says he, "this person which S. Paul puts on, although Christ does not dwell in him, neither is his body the temple of the Holy Ghost[p], yet he is not wholly a stranger from good, but by his will and by his purpose he begins to look after good things: but he cannot yet obtain to do them; for there is such an infirmity in those who begin to be converted" (that is, whose mind is convinced, but their affections are not mastered) "that when they would presently do all good, yet an effect did not follow their desires."

S. Chrysostom[q] hath a large commentary upon this chapter, and his sense is perfectly the same: *Propterea et subnexuit dicens, Ego vero carnalis sum, hominem describens sub lege et ante legem degentem*, 'S. Paul describes not himself, but a man living under and before the law, and of such an one he says, But I am carnal.'

Who please to see more authorities to the same purpose may find them in S. Basil[r], Theodoret[s], S. Cyril[t], Macarius[u], S. Ambrose[x], S. Hierome[y], and Theophylact[z]. The words of the apostle, the very purpose and design, the whole economy and analogy of the sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters do so plainly manifest it, that the heaping up more testimonies cannot be useful in so clear a case.—The results are these;—

a. The state of men under the law was but a state of carnality, and of nature better instructed, and soundly threatened, and set forward in some instances by the spirit of fear only, but not cured, but in many men made much worse accidentally.

β. That to be pleased in the inner man, that is, in the conscience

[o] In cap. vii. ad Rom. [ver. 9.—tom. iv. p. 584 B.]

[p] ['Dei.']

[q] [In Rom. hom. xiii. § 1.—tom. ix. p. 557 D.]

[r] Lib. i. de bapt. [passim; e. g. cap. 1. § 2.]—Moral. sum. [sive reg.] xxiii. c. 2. [lege 1.] et Quæst. xvi. quæst. expl. compend. [sive reg. brev. tract.—tom. ii. pp. 625 sq., et 255, et 420.]

[s] In hunc locum, et in cap. viii. ad Rom. [tom. iii. pp. 56 et 80 sqq.]

[t] Contra Julian., lib. iii. [tom. vi. p. 90.] et De recta fide ad regin., lib i. [tom. v. part. 2. e. g. p. 103.] et in epist. prior. ad Succèssum [al. 'Succensum;' ibid., p. 138 sqq.]

[u] Homil. i. [§ 7. p. 6.]

[x] In hunc loc. [tom. ii. append. col. 66.]

[y] In cap. ix. Dan. [lege cap. iii.—tom. iii. col. 1085.]

[z] In hunc locum [p. 66.]

to be convinced, and to consent to the excellency of virtue, and yet by the flesh, that is, by the passions of the lower man, or the members of the body to serve sin, is the state of unregeneration.

γ. To do the evil that I would not, and to omit the good that I fain would do, when it is in my hand to do what is in my heart to think, is the property of a carnal, unregenerate man. And this is the state of men in nature, and was the state of men under the law. For to be under the law, and not to be led by the Spirit, are all one in S. Paul's[z] account; "for if ye be led by the Spirit ye are not under the law," saith he. And therefore to be under the law, being a state of not being under the Spirit, must be under the government of the flesh: that is, they were not then sanctified by the Spirit of grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ, they were not yet 'redeemed from their vain conversation[a].' Not that this was the state of all the sons of Israel, of them that lived before the law, or after; but that the law could do no more for them, or upon them; God's spirit did in many of them work His own works, but this was by the grace of Jesus Christ, who was "the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world[b]:" this was not by the works of the law, but by the same instruments and grace by which Abraham, and all they who are his children by promise, were justified.—But this is the consequent of the third proposition which I was to consider;—

3°. From this state we are redeemed by Christ and His grace, which is the second remedy.

27. III. 'From this state of evil we are redeemed by Christ, and by the spirit of His grace.'—"Wretched man that I am, *quis liberabit*, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" He answers, "I thank God through Jesus Christ;" so S. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, S. Hierome, the Greek scholiast, and the ordinary Greek copies do commonly read the words; in which words there is an ἔλλειψις, and they are thus to be supplied, 'I thank God, through Jesus Christ we are delivered,' or 'there is a remedy found out for us.' But Irenæus, Origen, S. Ambrose, S. Austin, and S. Hierome himself at another time, and the vulgar Latin bibles, instead of εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ, read χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ, *gratia Domini Jesu Christi*, 'the grace of God through Jesus Christ.' That is our remedy, He is our deliverer, from Him comes our redemption. For He not only gave us a better law, but also the Spirit of grace; He hath pardoned all our old sins, and by His spirit enables us for the future that we may obey Him in all sincerity, in heartiness of endeavour, and real events.—From hence I draw this argument. That state from which we are redeemed by Jesus Christ, and freed by the Spirit of His grace, is a state of carnality, of unregeneration, that is, of sin and death: but by Jesus Christ we are redeemed from that state in which we were in subjection to sin, commanded by the law of sin,

[z] [Gal. v. 18.] [a] [1 Pet. i. 18.] [b] [Rev. xiii. 8.]

and obeyed it against our reason and against our conscience; therefore this state, which is indeed the state S. Paul here describes, is the state of carnality and unregeneration, and therefore not competent to the servants of Christ, to the elect people of God, to them who are redeemed and sanctified by the Spirit of Christ. The parts of this argument are the words of S. Paul, and proved in the foregoing periods. From hence I shall descend to something that is more immediately practical, and clothed with circumstances,

'How far an unregenerate man may go in the ways of piety and religion.'

§ 5. How far an unregenerate man may go in the ways of piety and religion.

28. To this enquiry it is necessary that this be premised. That between the regenerate and a wicked person there is a middle state: so that it is not presently true that if the man be not wicked he is presently regenerate. Between the two states of so vast a distance it is impossible but there should be many intermedial degrees; between the carnal and spiritual man there is a moral man; not that this man shall have a different event of things if he does abide there, but that he must pass from extreme to extreme by this middle state of participation. The first is a slave of sin; the second is a servant of righteousness; the third is such an one as liveth according to natural reason, so much of it as is left him and is not abused; that is, lives a probable life, but is not renewed by the Spirit of grace: one that does something but not all, not enough for the obtaining salvation. For a man may have gone many steps from his former baseness and degenerous practices, and yet not arrive at godliness or the state of pardon; like the children of Israel, who were not presently in Canaan as soon as they were out of Egypt, but abode long in the wilderness: ἄρχονται παιδεύεσθαι, 'they begin to be instructed,' that is their state. "Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven," said our blessed Saviour[c] to a well-disposed person; but he was not arrived thither: he was not a subject of the kingdom. These are such whom our blessed Lord calls 'the weary and the heavy laden[d],' that is, such who groan under the heavy pressure of their sins, whom therefore He invites to come to Him to be eased. Such are those whom S. Paul here describes to be 'under the law;' convinced of sin, pressed, vexed, troubled with it, complaining of it, desirous to be eased. These the holy scripture[e] calls τεταγμένους εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, 'ordained, disposed to life eternal;' but these were not yet the *fideles* or 'believers,' but from that fair disposition became believers upon the preaching of the apostles.

29. In this third state of men I account those that sin and repent, and yet repent and sin again; for ever troubled when they have sinned, and yet for ever or most frequently sinning, when the temp-

[c] [Mark xii. 34.] [d] [Matt. xi. 28.] [e] [Acts xiii

tation does return; ἁμαρτάνουσι καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐγκαλοῦσι, 'they sin, and accuse and hate themselves for sinning.' Now because these men mean well, and fain would be quit of their sin at their own rate, and are not scandalous and impious, they flatter themselves and think all is well with them, that they are regenerate and in the state of the divine favour, and if they die so their accounts are balanced, and they doubt not but they shall reign as kings for ever.

To reprove this state of folly and danger, we are to observe that there are a great many steps of this progression which are to be passed through, and the end is not yet; the man is not yet arrived at the state of regeneration.

1°. An unregenerate man may be instructed in and convinced of his duty, and approve the law, and confess the obligation.

30. I. An unregenerate man may be convinced and clearly instructed in his duty, and approve the law, and confess the obligation, and consent that it ought to be done: which S. Paul calls 'a consenting to the law that it is good,' and a being 'delighted in it according to the inward man;' even the gentiles[f] which have not the law, yet 'shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their thoughts in the mean time accusing or excusing one another.' The Jews did more, 'they did rest in the law, and glory in God, knowing His will, and approving the things that are more excellent[g].' And there are too many who being called Christians 'know their Master's will and do it not:' and this consenting to the law and approving it is so far from being a sign of regeneration, that the vilest and basest of men are those who sin most against their knowledge and against their consciences. In this world a man may have faith great enough to remove mountains, and yet be without charity: and in the world to come some shall be rejected from the presence of God, though they shall allege for themselves that they have prophesied in the name of Christ. This 'delight in the law' which is in the unregenerate, is only in the understanding. The man considers what an excellent thing it is to be virtuous, the just proportions of duty, the fitness of being subordinate to God, the rectitude of the soul, the acquiescence and appendent peace: and this delight is just like that which is in finding out proportions in arithmetic and geometry, or the rest in discovering the secrets of a mysterious proposition: a man hath great pleasure in satisfactory notices and the end of his disquisition. So also it is in moral things: a good man is beloved by every one; and there is a secret excellency and measure, a music and proportion between a man's mind and wise counsels, which impious and profane persons cannot perceive, because they are so full of false measures and weak discourses, and vile appetites, and a rude inconsideration of the reasonableness and wisdom of sobriety and severe courses. But

——— virtus laudatur et algct[h];

[f] [Rom. ii. 14.] [g] [ver. 17.] [h] [vid. Juv. i. 74.]

this is all that some men do, and there is in them nothing but a preparation of the understanding to the things of God, a faith seated in the rational part, a conviction of the mind; which as it was intended to lead on the will to action, and the other faculties to obedience, so now that the effect is not acquired, it serves only to upbraid the man for a knowing and discerning criminal, he hath not now the excuse of ignorance. He that complies with an usurper[1] out of fear and interest in actions prejudicial to the lawful prince, and tells the honest party that he is right in his heart, though he be forced to comply, helps the other with an argument to convince him that he is a false man. He that does it heartily, and according to a present conscience, hath some excuse; but he that confesses that he is right in his persuasion and wrong in his practice, is αὐτοκατάκριτος, 'condemned by himself,' and professes himself a guilty person, a man whom interest and not conscience governs. Better is it not to know at all, than not to pursue the good we know. They that know not God are infinitely far from Him; but they who know Him and yet do not obey Him, are sometimes the nearer for their knowledge, sometimes the further off, but as yet they are not arrived whither it is intended they should go.

2°. He may in his will delight in goodness, and desire it earnestly.

31. II. An unregenerate man may with his will delight in goodness, and desire it earnestly. For in an unregenerate man there is a double appetite, and there may be the apprehension of two amabilities. The things of the spirit please his mind, and his will may consequently desire that this good were done, because it seems beauteous to the rational part, to his mind: but because he hath also relishes and gusts in the flesh, and they also seem sapid and delightful, he desires them also. So that this man fain would and he would not; and he does sin willingly and unwillingly at the same time. We see by a sad experience some men all their life time stand at gaze, and dare not enter upon that course of life which themselves by a constant sentance judge to be the best, and of the most considerable advantage. But as the boy in the apologue listened to the disputes of labour and idleness, the one persuading him to rise, the other to lie in bed; but while he considered what to do, he still lay in bed and considered: so these men dispute and argue for virtue and the service of God, and stand beholding and admiring it, but they stand on the other side while they behold it. There is a strife between the law of the mind and the law of the members, but this prevails over that.—For the case is thus. There are in men three laws; the law of the members,—the law of the mind,—the law of the spirit. *a*) 'The law of the members,' that is the habit and proneness to sin, the

[1] [Published 1655.—Cf. Sermons on 'The righteous cause oppressed,' &c. Cromwell's government must have been strong, to be able to permit, and to disregard, the pointed allusions to them which were continually proceeding from the pens of the royalist writers.]

dominion of sin, giving a law to the lower man, and reigning there as in its proper seat. This law is also called by S. Paul[k], *φρόνημα* and *νοῦς σαρκὸς*, 'the mind of the flesh[l],' the wisdom, the relish, the gust and savour of the flesh, that is, that deliciousness and comport, that inticing and correspondencies to the appetite by which it tempts and prevails; all its own principles and propositions which minister to sin and folly. This subjects the man to the law of sin, or is that principle of evil by which sin does give us laws. *β*) To this law of the flesh, 'the law of the mind[m]' is opposed, and is in the regenerate and unregenerate indifferently: and it is nothing else but 'the conscience of good and evil,' 'subject to the law of God,' which the other 'cannot be.' This accuses and convinces the unregenerate, it calls upon him to do his duty, it makes him unquiet when he does not; but this alone is so invalidated by the infirmity of the flesh, by the economy of the law, by the disadvantages of the world, that it cannot prevail, or free him from the captivity of sin. But *γ*) 'the law of the spirit' is the grace of Jesus Christ, and this frees the man from the 'law of the members[n],' from the captivity of sin, from the tenure of death.—Here then are three combatants, the flesh,—the conscience,—the spirit; the flesh endeavours to subject the man to the law of sin, the other two endeavour to subject him to the law of God. The flesh, and the conscience or mind, contend; but this contention is no sign of being regenerate, because the flesh prevails most commonly against the mind, where there is nothing else to help it: the man is still a captive to the law of sin. But the mind being worsted, God sends in the auxiliaries of the spirit; and when that enters and possesses, that overcomes the flesh; it rules and gives laws. But as in the unregenerate the mind did strive though it was overpowered, yet still it contended, but ineffectively for the most part: so now when the spirit rules, the flesh strives, but it prevails but seldom, it is overpowered by the spirit. Now this contention is a sign of regeneration, when 'the flesh lusteth against the spirit;' not when the flesh lusteth against the mind or conscience. For the difference is very great, and highly to be remarked: and it is represented in two places of S. Paul's epistles; the one is that which I have already explicated in this chapter[o], "I consent to the law of God according to the inner man, but I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin that is in my members:" where there is a redundancy in the words; but the apostle plainly signifies that the law of sin which is in his members prevails; that is, sin rules the man in despite of all the contention and reluctancy of his conscience or 'the law of his mind.' So that this strife of flesh and conscience is no sign of the regenerate, because the mind of a man is in subordination to the

[k] [Col. ii. 18; Rom. viii. 7.]

[l] Ab Hebr. נֶפֶשׁ, anima sensitiva.

[m] *ἡγεμονικὸν* Græce, Hebræis רוּחַ.

[n] [Rom. viii. 2.]

[o] [Rom. vii. 22, 23.]

flesh of the man, sometimes willingly and perfectly, sometimes unwillingly and imperfectly.

32. I deny not but the 'mind' is sometimes called 'spirit,' and by consequence, improperly it may be said that even in these men 'their spirit lusteth against the flesh:' that is, the more rational faculties contend against the brute parts, reason against passion, law against sin. Thus the word 'spirit' is taken for the ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, 'the inner man,' the whole mind together with its affections, Matt. xxvi. 4, and Acts xix. 21. But in this question the word 'spirit' is distinguished from 'mind[p];' and is taken for the mind renewed by the Spirit of God: and as these words are distinguished, so must their several contentions be remarked. For when the mind or conscience, and the flesh, fight, the flesh prevails; but when the spirit and the flesh fight, the spirit prevails. And by that we shall best know who are the litigants that like the two sons of Rebecca strive within us. If the flesh prevails, then there was in us nothing but the law of the mind, nothing but the conscience of an unregenerate person: I mean, if the flesh prevails frequently or habitually. But if the Spirit of God did rule us, if that principle had possession of us, then the flesh is crucified, it is mortified, it is killed, and prevails not at all but when we will not use the force and arms of the Spirit, but it does not prevail habitually, not frequently or regularly, or by observation. This is clearly taught by those excellent words of S. Paul[q], which, as many other periods of his epistles, have had the ill luck to be very much misunderstood; "This I say then, walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, so that ye cannot"—that ye do not, or may not do, ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε—"the things that ye would. But if ye be led by the Spirit ye are not under the law." The word in the Greek may either signify duty, or event. "Walk in the Spirit, and fulfil not," or, ye shall not fulfil "the lusts of the flesh." If we understand it in the imperative sense, then it is exegetical of the former words, 'He that walks in the Spirit, *hoc ipso*, does not fulfil the lusts of the flesh.' To do one is not to do the other; whoever fulfils the lusts of the flesh, and is ruled by that law, he is not ruled by the grace of Christ, he is not regenerate by the Spirit. But the other sense is the best reddition[r] of the word; τελέσητε, as if he had said, 'Walk in the Spirit, and then the event will be that the flesh shall not prevail over you or give you laws; you shall not then fulfil the lusts thereof.' And this is best agreeable to the purpose of the apostle. For having exhorted the Galatians that they should not 'make their christian liberty a pretence to the flesh[s],' as the best remedy against their enemy the flesh, he prescribes this 'walking in the Spirit,' which is a certain deletery and prevalency over the flesh. And

[p] [Rom. vii. 22, 3; viii. 5, 7, 9.]
[q] [Gal. v. 16—8.]
[r] ['Non perficietis,' recte ed. vulg.]
[s] [Gal. v. 13.]

the reason follows, "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would;" that is, though ye be inclined to and desirous of satisfying your carnal desires, yet being under the empire and conduct of the Spirit ye cannot do those desires; the Spirit overrules you, and you must, you will contradict your carnal appetites. For else this could not be (as the apostle designs it) a reason of his exhortation. For if he had meant that in this contention of flesh and Spirit we could not do the good things that we would, then the reason had contradicted the proposition. For suppose it thus, 'walk in the Spirit, and fulfil not the lusts of the flesh; for the flesh and the Spirit lust against each other, so that ye cannot do the good ye would;' this, I say, is not sense, for the latter part contradicts the former. For this thing, that 'the flesh hinders us from doing the things of the Spirit,' is so far from being a reason why we should 'walk in the Spirit,' that it perfectly discourages that design; and it is to little purpose to 'walk in the Spirit,' if this will not secure us against the domineering and tyranny of the flesh. But the contrary is most clear and consequent; "If ye walk in the Spirit, ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh;" for though "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit," and would fain prevail, yet it cannot; for "the Spirit also lusteth against the flesh," and is stronger, 'so that ye may not, or that ye do not, or that ye cannot' (for any of these readings as it may properly render the words of ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε, so are not against the design of the apostle) 'do what ye otherwise would fain do; and therefore if ye will walk in the Spirit ye are secured against the flesh.'

33. The result is this. *α*) An impious, profane person sins without any contention; that is, with a clear, ready, and a prepared will, he dies and disputes not. *β*) An animal man, or a mere moral man, that is, one under the law, one instructed and convinced by the letter, but not sanctified by the Spirit, he sins willingly, because he considers and chooses it; but he also sins unwillingly, that is, his inclinations to vice and his first choices are abated, and the pleasures allayed, and his peace disturbed, and his sleeps broken; but for all that he sins on when the next violent temptation comes: the contention in him is between reason and passion, the law of the mind and the law of the members, between conscience and sin, that weak, this prevailing. *γ*) But the regenerate hath the same contention within him, and the temptation is sometimes strong within him, yet he overcomes it, and seldom fails in any material and considerable instances; because the Spirit is the prevailing ingredient in the new creature, in the constitution of the regenerate, and will prevail. For "whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith[t];" that is, by the faith of Jesus Christ, by Him you shall have victory and redemption; and again[u], "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you;" "for He

[t] [1 John v. 4, 5.] [u] [James iv. 7.]

that is within you is stronger than he that is in the world[v];" and, "Put on the whole armour of God[x], that ye may stand against the snares of the devil, that ye may resist in the evil day, and having done all, to stand;" for "all things are possible to him that believes[y];" and "through Christ that strengthens me I can do all things[z];" and therefore "in all these things we are more than conquerors[a];" for God "is able to do above all that we can ask or think[b];" He can "keep us from all sin, and present us unblamable in the sight of His glory[c]." So that to deny the power of the Spirit in breaking the tyranny and subduing the lusts of the flesh, besides that it contradicts all these and divers other scriptures, it denies the omnipotency[d] of God, and of the Spirit of His grace, making sin to be stronger than it, and if 'grace abound' to make 'sin superabound:' but to deny the willingness of the Spirit to redeem us from the captivity of sin, is to lessen the reputation of His goodness, and to destroy the possibility, and consequently the necessity, of living holily.

34. But how happens it then that even the regenerate sins often, and the flesh prevails upon the ruin, or the declensions, of the Spirit? —I answer, It is not because that holy principle which is in the regenerate cannot or will not secure him, but because the man is either prepossessed with the temptation, and overcome before he begins to oppose the arms of the Spirit, that is, because he is surprised; or incogitant; or it may be, careless; the good man is 'asleep,' and then the 'enemy' takes his advantage and 'sows tares;' for if he were awake and considering, and would make use of the strengths of the Spirit, he would not be overcome by sin. For there are powers enough, that is, arguments and endearments, helps and sufficient motives to enable us to resist the strongest temptation in the world; and this one alone, of 'resurrection to eternal life,' which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ, and ministered in the gospel, is an argument greater than all the promises and enticements of sin, if we will attend to its efficacy and consequence. But if we throw away our arms, and begin a fight in the Spirit, and end it in the flesh, the ill success of the day is to be imputed to us, not to the Spirit of God, to whom if we had attended we should certainly have prevailed. The relics and remains of sin are in the regenerate; but that is a sign that sin is overcome, and the kingdom of it broken; and that is a demonstration, that whenever sin does prevail in any single instances, it is not for want of power, but of using that power; for since the Spirit hath prevailed upon the flesh in its strengths, and hath crucified it, there is no question but it can also prevail upon all its weaknesses.

35. For we must be curious to avoid a mistake here: the dominion of the Spirit and the remains of the flesh may consist together

[v] [1 John iv. 4.]
[x] [Eph. vi. 11—3.]
[y] [Mark ix. 23.]
[z] [Phil. iv. 13.]
[a] [Rom. viii. 37.]
[b] [Eph. iii. 20.]
[c] [Col. i. 22.]
[d] [Jude 24.]

in the regenerate; as some remains of cold with the prevailing heat; but the dominion of one and the other are in every degree inconsistent; as both cold and heat cannot in any sense be both said to be the prevailing ingredient. A man cannot be said to be both free from sin and a slave to sin; if he hath prevailed in any degree upon sin, then he is not at all a servant of that portion from whence he is set free; but if he be a captive of any one sin, or regular degree of it, he is not God's freed-man; for the Spirit prevails upon all as well as upon one, and that is not an infinite power that cannot redeem us from all our slavery: but to be a slave of sin, and at the same time to be a servant of righteousness, is not only against the analogy of scripture and the express signification of so many excellent periods, but against common sense; it is as if one should say that a man hath more heat than cold in his hand, and yet that the cold should prevail upon and be stronger than the heat; that is, that the weaker should overcome the stronger, and the less should be greater than that which is bigger than it.

36. But as the choice of virtue is abated, and (as the temptation grows more violent and urges more vehemently) is made less pleasant in the regenerate person; so is the choice of vice in the moral, or animal man. The contention abates the pleasure in both their choices; but in the one it ends in sin, in the other it ends in victory. So that there is an unwillingness to sin in all but in the impious and profane person, in the far distant stranger. But the unwillingness to sin that is in the animal, or moral man, is nothing else but a serving sin like a grumbling servant, or like the younger son of the farmer in the gospel; he said he would not, but did it for all his angry words. And therefore that the unregenerate man acts the sin against his mind, and after a long contention against it, does not in all cases lessen it, but sometimes increases it. *Nec levigat crimen eorum, magis vero auget, quod eos diu restitisse dixistis,* said pope Pelagius[e]. To resist long and then to consent[f], hath in it some aggravations of the crime, as being a conviction of the man's baseness, a violence to reason, a breach of former resolutions, a recession from fair beginnings, and wholly without excuse.

But if ever it comes to pass that in the contention of flesh and spirit the regenerate man does sin, he does it unwillingly, that is, by ignorance or inadvertency: the unregenerate sins unwillingly too, but it is by reason of the dominion and rule that sin bears over him: but still this difference distinguishes them in the event of things, that when it comes to the question whether sin shall be done or no, the one wills and the other wills not, though it may happen that the consent or dissent respectively may be with the same unwillingness by reason of the contention and strife from the adverse, though

[e] [Gratian. decret.] caus. 24. q. 1. c. 'Schisma.' [scil. cap. 34. col. 1527.]
[f] [Cf. Aristot. eth. nicom. vii. 10.]

weaker party. The unregenerate man may be unwilling to obey sin, but he obeys it for all that; and the unwillingness is a sign of the greater slavery; but there can be no sign of his regeneration, but by not obeying the sin in the day of its own power and temptation. A servant is still a servant, whether he obeys with or against his will. "His servants we are to whom we obey," saith S. Paul[g]; all therefore that is to be considered in the question of regeneration, is, whether the man obeys, or not obeys? for whether he be willing or unwilling is not here considerable. Let no man therefore flatter himself that he is a regenerate person because though he is a servant to sin, and acts at the command of his lust, and cannot resist in the evil day, or stand the shock of a temptation, yet he finds an unwillingness within him, and a strife against sin. Hugo de S. Victore, or else S. Austin, in the book *De continentia*[h], gave beginning or countenance to this error. *Hanc pugnam non experiuntur in semetipsis nisi bellatores virtutum, debellatoresque vitiorum,* 'this fight none find in themselves but they that fight on virtue's side, and destroy vice.' Which words, though something crudely set down, and so not true, yet are explicable by the following period, *Non expugnat concupiscentiæ malum nisi continentiæ bonum,* 'only holy and continent persons do overcome their concupiscence;' and in that sense it is true; only the regenerate feel this fight which ends in victory. But he whose contention ends in sin, and after a brave onset yields basely, frequently I mean, or habitually, every such person is a servant of sin, and therefore not a servant of the spirit, but free from, that is, not ruled by the law of righteousness. And this is so certain, that this unwillingness to sin, which ends in obeying it, is so far from being a note of a regenerate person, that it is evidently true that no man can come from the servitude or slavery of sin, but the first step of his going from it is the sense and hatred of his fetters, and then his desire of being freed: but therefore he is not free, because he complains of his bands, and finds them heavy and intolerable, and therefore seeks for remedy. For if an unregenerate person did always sin willingly, that is, without this reluctancy and strife within; and the regenerate did sin as infallibly, but yet sore against his will; then the regenerate person were the verier slave of the two: for he that obeys willingly is less a slave than he that obeys in spite of his heart.

——— Libertatis[i] servaveris umbram
Si quicquid jubeare velis;—

He that delights in his fetters hath at least the shadow and some of the pleasure of liberty; but he hath nothing of it who is kept fast, and groans because 'his feet are hurt in the stocks, and the iron

[g] [Rom. vi. 16.] [h] [cap. iii.—tom. vi. col. 300 fin.]

[i] [Libertas, inquit, populi, quem regna coercent,
Libertate perit; cujus servaveris umbram, &c.—Lucan. iii. 146.]

entereth into his soul.' It was the sad state and complaint of the Romans, when by the iniquity of war and the evil success of their armies, they were forced to entertain their bondage.

——— tot rebus iniquis
Paruimus victi, venia est hæo sola pudoris
Degenerisque metus, nil jam potuisse negari[j].

It was a conquest that gave them laws, and their ineffective struggling and daily murmurs were but ill arguments of their liberty, which were so great demonstrations of their servitude.

3°. He may not only desire to do natural or morally good things, but even spiritual.

37. III. An unregenerate man may not only will and desire to do natural or moral good things, but even spiritual and evangelical; that is, not only that good which he is taught by natural reason, or by civil sanctions, or by use and experience of things, but even that also which is only taught us by the Spirit of grace. For if he can desire the first, much more may he desire the latter when he once comes to know it: because there is in spiritual good things much more amability; they are more perfective of our mind, and a greater advancer of our hopes, and a security to our greatest interest. Neither can this be prejudiced by those words of S. Paul[k], "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." For the natural man S. Paul speaks of is one unconverted to christianity, the gentile philosophers, who relied upon such principles of nature as they understood; but studied not the prophets, knew not of the miracles of Christ and His apostles, nor of those excellent verifications of the things of the Spirit; and therefore these men could not arrive at spiritual notices, because they did not go that way which was the only competent and proper instrument of finding them.

Scio incapacem te sacramenti, impie,
Non posse cæcis mentibus mysterium
Haurire nostrum[l]. ———

They that are impious, and they that go upon distinct principles, neither obeying the proposition nor loving the commandment, they indeed, viz., remaining in that indisposition, cannot receive, that is, entertain Him. And this is also the sense of the words of our blessed Saviour[m], 'the world cannot receive Him;' that is, the unbelievers, such who will not be persuaded by arguments evangelical. But a man may be a spiritual man in his notices, and yet be carnal in his affections, and still under the bondage of sin. Such are they of whom S. Peter[n] affirms it is 'better they had never known the way of righteousness, than having known it to fall away:' such are they of

[j] [Lucan. ubi supra.]
[k] [1 Cor. ii. 14.]
[l] Prudent. [peristeph. hymn. x. lin. 588.]
[m] [John xiv. 17.]
[n] [2 Pet. ii. 21.]

whom S. Paul[o] says, 'they detain the truth in unrighteousness.' Now concerning this man it is that I affirm, that upon the same account as any vicious man can commend virtue, this man also may commend holiness, and desire to be a holy man, and wishes it with all his heart, there being the same proportion between his mind and the things of the Spirit, as between a Jew and the moral law, or a gentile and moral virtue; that is, he may desire it with passion and great wishings. But here is the difference,—A regenerate man does what the unregenerate man does but desire.

4°. He may leave many sins which he is commanded to forsake.

38. IV. An unregenerate man may leave many sins which he is commanded to forsake. For it is not ordinarily possible that so perfect a conviction as such men may have of the excellency of religion should be in all instances and periods totally ineffective. Something they will give to reputation, something to fancy, something to fame, something to peace, something to their own deception, that by quitting one or two lusts, they may have some kind of peace in all the rest, and think all is well. These men sometimes would fain obey the law, but they will not crucify the flesh; any thing that does not smart. Their temper and constitution will allow them easily to quit such superinduced follies which out of a gay or an impertinent spirit they have contracted, or which came to them by company or by chance, or confidence, or violence; but if they must mortify the flesh to quit a lust, that's too hard and beyond their powers, which are in captivity to the law of sin. Some men will commute a duty; and if you will allow them covetousness they will quit their lust or their intemperance, according as it happens. Herod did many things at the preaching of John the baptist, and heard him gladly. Balaam did some things handsomely; though he was covetous and ambitious, yet he had a limit; he would obey the voice of the angel, and could not be tempted to speak a curse when God spake a blessing. Ahab was an imperfect penitent; he did some things, but not enough. And if there be any 'root of bitterness,' there is no regeneration; *coloquintida* and 'death is in the pot.'

5°. He may leave some sins not only for temporal interest, but out of fear of God and regard to His law.

39. V. An unregenerate man may leave some sins not only for temporal interest, but out of reverence of the divine law, out of fear and reverence. Under the law there were many such: and there is no peradventure but that many men who like Felix have trembled at a sermon, have with such a shaking fit left off something that was fit to be laid aside. To leave a sin out of fear of the divine judgment is not sinful, or totally unacceptable. All that left sin in obedience and reverence to the law, did it in fear of punishment, because fear was the sanction of the law: and even

[o] [Rom. i. 18.]

under the gospel, to obey out of fear of punishment, though it be less perfect, yet it is not criminal, nay, rather on the other side; the worse that men are, so much the less they are afraid of the divine anger and judgments. To abstain out of fear, is to abstain out of a very proper motive: and God, when He sends a judgment with a design of emendation, or threatens a criminal, or denounces woes and cursings, intends that fear should be the beginning of wisdom. "Knowing therefore the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men," saith S. Paul [o]. And the whole design of delivering criminals over to Satan, was but a pursuance of this argument of fear; that by feeling something they might fear a worse, and for the present be affrighted from their sin. And this was no other than the argument which our blessed Saviour [p] used to the poor paralytic, "Go, and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen to thee." But besides that this good fear may work much in an unregenerate person, or a man under the law, such a person may do some things in obedience to God, or thankfulness, and perfect, mere choice. So Jehu obeyed God a great way; but there was a turning, and a high stile, beyond which he would not go, and his principles could not carry him through. Few women can accuse themselves of adultery; in the great lines of chastity they choose to obey God, and the voice of honour; but can they say that their eye is not wanton, that they do not spend great portions of their time in vanity, that they are not idle, and useless, or busy-bodies, that they do not make it much of their employment to talk of fashions and trifles, or that they do make it their business to practise religion, to hear and attend to severe and sober counsels? If they be under the conduct of the Spirit, He hath certainly carried them into all the regions of duty. But to go a great way, and not to finish the journey, is the imperfection of the unregenerate. For in some persons, fear or love of God is not of itself strong enough to weigh down the scales; but there must be thrown in something from without, some generosity of spirit, or revenge, or gloriousness and bravery, or natural pity, or interest; and so far as these or any of them go along with the better principle, this will prevail; but when it must go alone it is not strong enough. But this is a great way off from the state of sanctification or a new birth.

6°. He may besides abstinence from evil, do many good things.

40. VI. An unregenerate man, besides the abstinence from much evil, may also do many good things for heaven, and yet never come thither. He may be sensible of his danger and sad condition, and pray to be delivered from it; and his prayers shall not be heard, because he does not reduce his prayers to action and endeavour to be what he desires to be. Almost every man desires to be saved: but this desire is not with every one of that persuasion and effect as to make them willing to want the pleasures of the world for it, or to

[o] [2 Cor. v. 11.] [p] [John v. 14.]

perform the labours of charity and repentance. A man may strive and contend in or towards the ways of godliness, and yet fall short. Many men pray often, and fast much, and pay tithes, and do justice, and keep the commandments of the second table with great integrity; and so are good moral men, as the word is used in opposition to, or rather in destitution of religion. Some are religious and not just: some want sincerity in both: and of this the pharisees were a great example. But the words of our blessed Saviour[q] are the greatest testimony in this article, "Many shall strive to enter in, and shall not be able." Either they shall contend too late, like the five foolish virgins, and as they whom S. Paul by way of caution likens to Esau; or else they contend with incompetent and insufficient strengths: they strive, but put not force enough to the work. An unregenerate man hath not strengths enough; that is, he wants the spirit and activity and perfectness of resolution. Not that he wants such aids as are necessary and sufficient, but that himself hath not purposes pertinacious and resolutions strong enough. All that is necessary to his assistance from without, all that he hath or may have; but that which is necessary on his own part he hath not: but that's his own fault; that he might also have: and it is in his duty, and therefore certainly in his power to have it. For a man is not capable of a law which he hath not powers sufficient to obey: he must be free and quit from all its contraries, from the power and dominion of them; or at least must be so free that he may be quit of them if he please. For there can be no liberty, but where all the impediments are removed, or may be if the man will.

7°. He may have received the Spirit of God, and yet be in a state of distance from God.

41. VII. An unregenerate man may have received the Spirit of God, and yet be in a state of distance from God. For to have received the holy Ghost, is not an inseparable propriety of the regenerate. The Spirit of God is an internal agent; that is, the effects and graces of the Spirit by which we are assisted are within us before they operate. For although all assistances from without are graces of God, the effects of Christ's passion, purchased for us by His blood and by His intercession; and all good company, wise counsels, apt notices, prevailing arguments, moving objects, and opportunities and endearments of virtue, 'are from above, from the Father of lights[r]:' yet the Spirit of God does also work more inwardly, and creates in us aptnesses and inclinations, consentings, and the acts of conviction and adherence, 'working in us to will and to do according to our desire[s],' or according to God's good pleasure. Yet this holy Spirit is oftentimes grieved, sometimes provoked, and at last extinguished; which because it is done only by them who are enemies of the Spirit,

[q] [Luke xiii. 24.]
[r] [James i. 17.]
[s] [ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας, Phil. ii. 13.—Non male illi qui exponunt, 'pro desiderio nostro;' Grotius ad locum.—Vid. p. 330, not. y, supra.]

and not the servants of God, it follows that the Spirit of God by His aids and assistances is in them that are not so, with a design to make them so: and if the holy Spirit were not in any degree or sense in the unregenerate, how could 'a man be born again' by the Spirit? For since no man can be regenerate by his own strengths, his new birth must be wrought by the Spirit of God; and especially in the beginnings of our conversion is His assistance necessary: which assistance, because it works within as well and rather than without, must needs be in a man before He operates within. And therefore to have received the holy Spirit, is not the propriety of the regenerate; but to be led by Him, to be conducted by the Spirit in all our ways and counsels, to obey His motions, to entertain His doctrine, to do His pleasure; this is that which gives the distinction and the denomination. And this is called by S. Paul[t] 'the inhabitation of the Spirit of God in us;' in opposition to the *inhabitans peccatum*, 'the sin that dwelleth' in the unregenerate. The Spirit may be in us, calling and urging us to holiness; but unless the Spirit of God dwell in us, and abide in us, and love to do so, and rule, and give us laws, and be not grieved and cast out, but entertained, and cherished, and obeyed; unless (I say) the Spirit of God be thus in us, Christ is not in us; and if Christ be not in us, we are none of His.

§ 6. The character of the regenerate estate, or person.

42. FROM hence it is not hard to describe what are the proper indications of the regenerate.

α. A regenerate person is convinced of the goodness of the law, and meditates in it day and night. His delight is in God's law[u], not only with his mind approving, but with his will choosing the duties and significations of the law.

β. The regenerate not only wishes that the good were done which God commands, but heartily sets about the doing of it.

γ. He sometimes feels the rebellions of the flesh, but he fights against them always; and if he receive a fall, he rises instantly, and fights the more fiercely, and watches the more cautelously, and prays the more passionately, and arms himself more strongly, and prevails more prosperously. In a regenerate person there is flesh and spirit, but the spirit only rules. There is an outward and an inward man, but both of them are subject to the spirit. There was a 'law of the members,' but it is abrogated and cancelled; the law is repealed, and does not any more enslave him to the 'law of sin.' *Nunc quamdiu concupiscit caro adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem, sat est nobis non consentire malis quæ sentimus in nobis*[v]. Every good man shall always feel the flesh lusting against the spirit; that contention he shall never be quit of, but it is enough for us if we never consent to the suggested evils.

[t] [Rom. viii. 9.]
[u] [Psalm i. 2; cxix. 77, 103.]
[v] S. August., lib. de continentia, cap. ii. [tom. vi. col. 300.]

δ. A regenerate person does not only approve that which is best, and desire to do it, but he does it actually, and delights to do it; he continues and abides in it, which the scripture calls a 'walking in the spirit,' and a living after it: for he does his duty by the strengths of the spirit; that is, upon considerations evangelical, in the love of God, in obedience to Christ, and by the aids he hath received from above, beyond the powers of nature and education; and therefore he does his duty upon such considerations as are apt to make it integral and persevering. For,

ε. A regenerate man does not only leave some sins, but all, and willingly entertains none. He does not only quit a lust that is against his disposition, but that which he is most inclined to he is most severe against, and most watchful to destroy it; he plucks out his right eye, and cuts off his right hand, and parts with his biggest interest rather than keep a lust: and therefore consequently chooses virtue by the same method by which he abstains from vice. *Nam ipsa continentia cum frænat cohibetque libidines, simul et appetit bonum ad cujus immortalitatem tendimus, et respuit malum cum quo in hac mortalitate contendimus*[x]; that is, 'he pursues all virtue, as he refuses all vice; for he tends to the immortality of good, as he strives against evil in all the days of his mortality.' And therefore he does not choose to exercise that virtue only that will do him reputation, or consist with his interest, or please his humour, but entertains all virtue, whether it be with him or against him, pleasing or displeasing; he chooses all that God hath commanded him, because he does it for that reason.

ζ. A regenerate person doth not only contradict his appetite in single instances, but endeavours to destroy the whole body of sin; he does not only displease his fond appetite, but he mortifies it, and never entertains conditions of peace with it. For it is a dangerous mistake if we shall presume all is well because we do some acts of spite to our dearest lust, and sometimes cross the most pleasing temptation, and oppose ourselves in single instances against every sin. This is not it; the regenerate man endeavours to destroy the whole body of sin, and having had an opportunity to contest his sin, and to contradict it this day, is glad he hath done something of his duty, and does so again to-morrow and ever, till he hath quite killed it; and never entertains conditions of peace with it, nor ever is at rest till the flesh be quiet and obedient. For sometimes it comes to pass that the old man being used to obey, at last obeys willingly, and takes the conditions of the Gibeonites[y]; it is content to do drudgery and the inferior ministries, if it may be suffered to abide in the land.

43. So that here is a new account upon which the former proposition is verifiable; viz. It is not the propriety of the regenerate to feel a contention within him concerning doing good or bad. For it

[x] S. August. ibid. [cap. iii. ibid.]

[y] [Josh. ix.]

is not only true that the unregenerate oftentimes feel the fight and never see the triumph; but it is also true that sometimes the regenerate do not feel this contention. They did once with great violence and trouble; but when they have gotten a clear victory they have also great measures of peace. But this is but seldom, to few persons, and in them but in rare instances, in carnal sins and temptations: for in spiritual they will never have an entire rest till they come into their country. It is angelical perfection to have no flesh at all, but it is the perfection of a Christian to have the flesh obedient to the spirit always, and in all things. But if this contention be not a sign of regeneration, but is common to good and bad, that which can only distinguish them is victory and perseverance; and those sins which are committed at the end of such contentions are not sins of a pitiable and excusable infirmity, but the issues of death, and direct emanations from an unregenerate estate. Therefore,

44. η. Lastly, the regenerate not only hath received the Spirit of God, but is wholly led by Him, he attends His motions, he obeys His counsels, he delights in His commandments, and accepts His testimony, and consents to His truth, and rejoices in His comforts, and is nourished by His hopes up to a perfect man in Christ Jesus. This is the only condition of being the sons of God, and being saved. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God;" none else. And therefore "if ye live after the flesh ye shall die, but if through the spirit ye do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." This is your characteristic note. Our obedience to the Spirit, our walking by His light and by His conduct, this is 'the Spirit that witnesseth to our spirit that we are the sons of God.' That is, if the spirit be obeyed, if it reigns in us, if we live in it, if we walk after it, if it dwells in us, then we are sure that we are the sons of God. There is no other testimony to be expected but the doing of our duty. All things else (unless an extra-regular light spring from heaven and tell us of it) are but fancies and deceptions, or uncertainties at the best.

§ 7. What are properly and truly sins of infirmity, and how far they can consist with the regenerate estate.

45. WE usually reckon ourselves too soon to be in God's favour. While the war lasts, it is hard telling who shall be the prince. When one part hath fought prosperously, there is hopes of his side: and yet, if the adversary hath reserves of a vigorous force, or can raise new, and not only pretends his title, but makes great inroads into the country, and forages, and does mischief, and fights often, and prevails sometimes, the inheritance is still doubtful as the success. But if the usurper be beaten, and driven out, and his forces quite broken, and the lawful prince is proclaimed, and rules, and gives laws, though the other rails in prison, or should by a sudden fury kill a single person, or plot an ineffective treason, no man then doubts concerning the present possession.

46. But men usually think their case is good so long as they are fighting, so long as they are not quite conquered, and every step towards grace they call it pardon and salvation presently. As soon as ever a man begins heartily to mortify his sins his hopes begin, and if he proceeds they are certain. But if in this fight he be overcome, he is not to ask whether that ill day, and that deadly blow, can consist with the state of life? He that fights, and conquers not, but sins frequently, and to yield or be killed is the end of the long contentions, this man is not yet alive. But when he prevails regularly and daily over his sin, then he is in a state of regeneration; but let him take heed, for every voluntary or chosen sin is a mortal wound.

47. But because no man in this world hath so conquered but he may be smitten, and is sometimes struck at; and most good men have cause to complain of their calamity, that in their understandings there are doubtings, and strange mistakes, which because after a great confidence they are sometimes discovered, there is cause to suspect there are some there still which are not discovered; that there are in the will evil inclinations to forbidden instances; that in the appetite there are carnal desires; that in their natural actions there are sometimes too sensual applications; that in their good actions there are mighty imperfections: it will be of use that we separate the certain from the uncertain, security from danger, the apology from the accusation, and the excuse from the crime, by describing what are, and what are not, sins of infirmity.

48. For most men are pleased to call their debaucheries sins of infirmity, if they be done against their reason and the actual murmur of their consciences, and against their trifling resolutions and ineffective purposes to the contrary. Now although all sins are the effects of infirmity natural or moral, yet because I am to cure a popular mistake, I am also to understand the word as men do commonly, and by sins of infirmity to mean,

49. 'Such sins which in the whole, and upon the matter, are unavoidable, and therefore excusable: such which can consist with the state of grace, that is, such which have so much irregularity in them as to be sins, and yet so much excuse and pity as that by the covenant and mercies of the gospel they shall not be exacted in the worst of punishments, or punished with eternal pains, because they cannot with the greatest moral diligence wholly be avoided.'—Concerning these so described, we are to take accounts by the following measures;—

50. *a*. Natural imperfections and evil inclinations, when they are not consented to or delighted in, either are no sins at all, or if they be, they are but sins of infirmity. That in some things our nature is cross to the divine commandment, is not always imputable to us, because our natures were before the commandment; and God hath therefore commanded us to do violence to our nature, that by such

preternatural contentions we should offer to God a service that costs us something. But that in some things we are inclined otherwise than we are suffered to act, is so far from offending God, that it is that opportunity of serving Him by which we can most endear Him. To be inclined to that whither nature bends, is of itself indifferent, but to love, to entertain, to act our inclinations, when the commandment is put between, that is the sin; and therefore if we resist them, and master them, that is our obedience. For it is equally certain; no man can be esteemed spiritual for his good wishes and desires of holiness, but for his actual and habitual obedience: so no man is to be esteemed carnal or criminal for his natural inclinations to what is forbidden. But that good men complain of their strange propensities to sin, it is a declaration of their fears, of their natural weakness, of the needs of grace, and the aids of God's spirit. But because these desires, even when they are much restrained, do yet sometimes insensibly go too far; therefore it is that such are sins of infirmity, because they are almost unavoidable. This remain is like the image of the ape which Theophilus[c] bishop of Alexandria left after the breaking of the other idols; a testimony of their folly; but as that was left for no other purpose but to reprove them, so is this to humble us, that we may not rely upon flesh and blood, but make God to be our confidence.

51. β. Sins of infirmity are rather observed in the imperfection of our duty, than in the commission of any criminal action. For in this it was that our blessed Saviour[d] instanced these words, "The spirit truly is willing, but the flesh is weak;" the body is weary, the eyes heavy, the fancy restless, diversions many, businesses perpetually intervene, and all the powers of discourse and observation cannot hinder our mind from wandering in our prayers;

> —— Odi artus, fragilemque hunc corporis usum
> Desertorem animi[e]. ——

But this being in the whole unavoidable, is therefore in many of its parts and instances very excusable, if we do not indulge to it; if we pray and strive against it; that is, so long as it is a natural infirmity. For although we cannot avoid wandering thoughts, yet we can avoid delighting in them, or a careless and negligent increasing them. For if they once seize upon the will, they are sins of choice and malice, and not of infirmity. So that the great scene of sins of infirmity is in omission of degrees and portions of that excellency of duty which is required of us. We are imperfect, and we do imperfectly, and if we strive towards perfection, God will pity our imperfection. There is no other help for us; but blessed be God, that is sufficient for our need, and proportionable to our present state.

52. γ. But in actions and matters of commission, the case is dif-

[c] [Socr., hist. eccles. v. 16.] [d] [Matt. xxvi. 41.] [e] [Stat. Theb. viii. 738.]

ferent. For though a man may forget himself against his will, or sleep, or fall, yet without his will he cannot throw himself down, or rise again. Every action is more or less voluntary, but every omission is not. A thing may be let alone upon a dead stock, or a negative principle, or an unavoidable defect, but an action cannot be done without some command or action of the will; therefore although sins of defect are in many cases pitied and not exacted, yet sinful actions have not so easy a sentence; but they also have some abatements. Therefore,

53. δ. Imperfect actions, such which are incomplete in their whole capacity, are sins of infirmity, and ready and prepared for pity: of this sort are rash or ignorant actions, done by surprise, by inconsideration and inadvertency; by a sudden and great fear, in which the reason is in very many degrees made useless, and the action cannot be considered duly. In these there is some little mixture of choice, so much as to make the action imputable, if God should deal severely with us; but yet so little that it shall not be imputed under the mercies of the gospel; although the man that does them cannot pretend he is innocent, yet he can pretend that he does stand fair in the eye of mercy. A good man may sometimes be unwary, or he may speak, or be put to it to resolve or do before he can well consider. If he does a thing rashly when he can consider and deliberate, he is not excused: but if he does it indiscreetly when he must do it suddenly, it is his infirmity, and he shall be relieved at the chancery of the throne of grace. For it is remarkable that God's justice is in some cases *ἀκριβὴς*, exact, full, and severe: in other cases it is *ἐπιεικὴς*, full of equity, gentleness, and wisdom, making abatement for infirmities, performing promises, interpreting things to the most equal and favourable purposes. So 'justice' is taken in S. John[f], "If we confess our sins, He is righteous or just to forgive our sins;" that is, God's justice is such as to be content with what we can do, and not to exact all that is possible to be imposed. He is as just in forgiving the penitent as in punishing the refractory: as just in abating reasonably as in weighing scrupulously: such a justice it is which in the same case David[g] calls mercy, "For Thou, Lord, art merciful, for Thou rewardest every man according to his works." And if this were not so no man could be saved. *Mortalis enim conditio non patitur esse hominem ab omni macula purum*, said Lactantius[h]. For in many things we offend all: and our present state of imperfection will not suffer it to be otherwise. *Χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ τοὺς δρομεῖς ἀρξαμένους ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἀπταίστως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ διευθῦναι τὸν δρόμον, ἐπειδὴ μυρία ἐμποδὼν παντὶ τῷ γενομένῳ*, said Philo[i]. For as a runner of races at his first setting forth rids[j] his way briskly, and in a breath measures out many spaces; but

[f] [1 John i. 9.]
[g] [Psalm lxii. 12.]
[h] Lib. vi. cap. 13. [tom i. p. 472.]
[i] De agricultura, [tom. iii. p. 80.]
[j] [i. e. 'dispatches.']

by and by his spirit is faint and his body is breathless, and he stumbles at every thing that lies in his way: so is the course of a Christian; fierce in the beginnings of repentance, and active in his purposes; but in his progress remiss and hindered, and starts at every accident, and stumbles at every scandal and stone of offence, and is sometimes listless, and without observation at other times, and a bird out of a bush that was not looked for makes him to start aside, and decline from the path and method of his journey. But then if he that stumbles mends his pace, and runs more warily, and goes on vigorously, his error or misfortune shall not be imputed; for here God's justice is equity, it is the justice of the chancery; we are not judged by the covenant of works, that is, of exact measures, but by the covenant of faith and remission, or repentance. But if he that falls lies down despairingly or wilfully, or if he rises, goes back or goes aside, not only his declination from his way, but every error or fall, every stumbling and startling in that way shall be accounted for. For here God's justice is ἀκριβὴς, 'exact and severe;' it is the justice of the law, because he refused the method and conditions of the gospel.

54. ϵ. Every sinful action that can pretend to pardon by being a sin of infirmity must be in a small matter. The imperfect way of operating alone, is not sufficient for excuse and pardon, unless the matter also be little and contemptible; because if the matter be great, it cannot ordinarily be but it must be considered and chosen. He that in a sudden anger strikes his friend to the heart, whom he had loved as passionately as now he smote him, is guilty of murder, and cannot pretend infirmity for his excuse; because in an action of so great consequence and effect, it is supposed he had time to deliberate all the fore-going parts of his life, whether such an action ought to be done or not; or the very horror of the action was enough to arrest his spirit, as a great danger, or falling into a river, will make a drunken man sober; and by all the laws of God and man, he was immured from the probability of all transports into such violences; and the man must needs be a slave of passion who could by it be brought to go so far from reason, and do so great evil. If a man in the careless time of the day, when his spirit is loose, with a less severe employment, or his heart made more open with an innocent refreshment, spies a sudden beauty that unluckily strikes his fancy; it is possible that he may be too ready to entertain a wanton thought, and to suffer it to stand at the doors of his first consent; but if the sin passes no further, the man enters not into the regions of death; because the devil entered on a sudden, and is as suddenly cast forth. But if from the first arrest of concupiscence he pass on to an imperfect consent, from an imperfect consent to a perfect and deliberate, and from thence to an act, and so to a habit, he ends in death; because long before it is come thus far, 'the salt water is taken in.' The first concupiscence is but like rain water, it

discolours the pure springs, but makes them not deadly. But when in the progression the will mingles with it, it is like the βόρβορος or waters of brimstone, and the current for ever after is unwholesome, and carries you forth into the dead sea, the lake of Sodom, which is to 'suffer the vengeance of eternal fire:' but then the matter may be supposed little till the will comes. For though a man may be surprised with a wanton eye, yet he cannot fight a duel against his knowledge, or commit adultery against his will. A man cannot against his will contrive the death of a man; but he may speak a rash word, or be suddenly angry, or triflingly peevish, and yet all this notwithstanding, be a good man still. These may be sins of infirmity, because they are imperfect actions in the whole; and such in which as the man is for the present surprised, so they are such against which no watchfulness was a sufficient guard, as it ought to have been in any great matter, and might have been in sudden murders. A wise and a good man may easily be mistaken in a nice question, but can never suspect an article of his creed to be false; a good man may have many fears and doubtings in matters of smaller moment, but he never doubts of God's goodness, of His truth, of His mercy, or of any of His communicated perfections: he may fall into melancholy, and may suffer indefinite fears, of he knows not what himself, yet he can never explicitly doubt of any thing which God hath clearly revealed, and in which he is sufficiently instructed. A weak eye may at a distance mistake a man for a tree; but he who sailing in a storm, takes the sea for dry land, or a mushroom for an oak, is stark blind. And so is he who can think adultery to be excusable, or that treason can be duty, or that by persecuting God's prophets he does God good service, or that he propagates religion by making the ministers of the altar poor, and robbing the churches. A good man so remaining cannot suffer infirmity in the plain and legible lines of duty, where he can see, and reason, and consider.

I have now told which are sins of infirmity; and I have told all their measures. For as for those other false opinions by which men flatter themselves into hell by a pretence of sins of infirmity, they are as unreasonable as they are dangerous; and they are easily reproved upon the stock of the former truths. Therefore,

55. ζ. Although our mere natural inclination to things forbidden be of itself a natural and unavoidable infirmity, and such which cannot be cured by all the precepts and endeavours of perfection; yet this very inclination, if it be heightened by carelessness or evil customs, is not a sin of infirmity. Tiberius the emperor being troubled with a fellow that wittily and boldly pretended himself to be a prince, at last, when he could not by questions, he discovered him to be a mean person by the rusticity and hardness of his body: not by a callousness of his feet, or a wart upon a finger, but ὅλον τὸ σῶμα σκληρότερόν τε καὶ δουλοφανὲς καταμαθὼν ἐνόησε πᾶν τὸ σύνταγμα, 'his whole body was hard and servile;' and so he was discovered. The

natural superfluities and accrescencies[j] that inevitably adhere to our natures are not sufficient indications of a servile person, or a slave to sin; but when our natures are abused by choice and custom, when the callousness is spread by evil and hard usages, when the arms are brawny by the services of Egypt, then it is no longer infirmity, but a superinduced viciousness and a direct hostility. When nature rules, grace does not. When the flesh is in power, the spirit is not. Therefore it matters not from what corner the blasting wind does come; from whence soever it is, it is deadly. Most of our sins are from natural inclinations, and the negative precepts of God are for the most part restraints upon them. Therefore to pretend nature, when ourselves have spoiled it, is no excuse, but that state of evil from whence the Spirit of God is to rescue and redeem us.

56. η. Yea, but although it be thus in nature, yet it is hoped by too many that it shall be allowed to be infirmity when the violence of our passions or desires overcomes our resolutions. Against this I oppose this proposition,—When violence of desire or passion engages us in a sin, whither we see and observe ourselves entering, that violence or transportation is not our excuse, but our disease: and that resolution is not accepted for innocence or repentance: but the not performing what we did resolve, is our sin, and the violence of passion was the accursed[k] principle.

57. For to resolve is a relative and imperfect duty; in order to something else. It had not been necessary to resolve, if it had not been necessary to do it: and if it be necessary to do it, it is not sufficient to resolve it. And for the understanding of this the better, we must observe, that to resolve and to endeavour are several things. To resolve is to purpose to do what we may if we will; some way or other the thing is in our power; either we are able of ourselves, or we are helped. No man resolves to carry an elephant, or to be as wise as Solomon, or to destroy a vast army with his own hands. He may endeavour this; for to endeavour sometimes supposes a state of excellency beyond our power, but not beyond our aims. Thus we must endeavour to avoid all sin, and to master all our infirmities; because to do so is the nobleness of a christian courage, and that design which is the proper effect of charity, which is the best of christian graces. But we cannot resolve to do it, because it is beyond all our powers; but may endeavour it, and resolve to endeavour it, but that's all we can do. But if to resolve be a duty, then to perform it is a greater; and if a man cannot be the child of God without resolving against all the habits of sin, then neither can he be His child unless he actually quit them all.

58. But then if from acting our resolution we be hindered by passion and violent desires, we are plainly in the state of immortification. Passion is the ruler: and as the first step of victory is to keep

[j] ['excrescencies' B.] [k] [vol. v. p. 217, note e; and p. 181, note s, above.]

those passions and appetites from doing any criminal action abroad, so the worst they can do is to engage and force the man to sin, and that against his will, even whether he list or no. But concerning this article we are entirely determined by the words of S. Paul[l], "He that is in Christ hath crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts;" that is, the passions and desires of the flesh are mortified in all the regenerate: and therefore a state of passion is a state of death. But whatever the principle be, yet we must be infinitely careful we do not mistake a broken resolution for an entire piety. He that perpetually resolves, and yet perpetually breaks his resolution, does all the way sin against his conscience and against his reason, against his experience and against his observation; and it will be a strange offer at an excuse, for a man to hope for or to pretend to pardon, because he sinned against his conscience.

59. There is in this article some little difference in the case of young persons, the violence of whose passions as it transports them infallibly to evil, so it helps to excuse some of it; but this is upon a double account; first, because part of it is natural, *naturale vitium ætatis*, 'the defect and inherent inclinations of their age;' and secondly, because their passions being ever strongest when their reason is weakest, the actions of young men are imperfect and incomplete. For deliberation being nothing else but an alternate succession of appetites, it is an unequal entercourse that a possessing, natural, promoted passion should contest against a weak, overborne, beginning, unexperienced, uninstructed reason: this alternation of appetites is like the dust of a balance weighing against a rock; the deliberation itself must needs be imperfect, because there is no equality. And therefore the Roman lawyers did not easily upon a man under twenty-five years of age inflict punishment, at least not extreme. They are the words of Tryphonius[m]; *In delictis autem minor annis xxv. non meretur in integrum restitutionem, utique atrocioribus; nisi quatenus interdum miseratio ætatis ad mediocrem pœnam judicem produxerit.* This I say is only a lessening of their fault, not imputing it. God is ready to pity every thing that is pitiable, and therefore is apt to instruct them more, and to forbear them longer, and to expect and to assist their return, and strikes them not so soon nor so severely; but what other degrees of pardon God will allow to their infirmities He hath no where told us. For as to the whole, it is true in all laws, divine and human, *In criminibus quidem ætatis suffragio minores non juvantur; etenim malorum mores infirmitas animi non excusat*[n], 'Infirmity of mind does not excuse evil manners, and therefore in criminal actions young persons are not excused by their age.' *In delictis ætate neminem excusari constat,* said Diocletian and Maximianus[o],

[l] [Gal. v. 24.]

[m] L. 'Auxil.' § 'In delictis.' ff. 'De minoribus.' [Digest., lib. iv. tit. 4. c. 37.]

[n] L. 'Unica.' cod. 'Si adver. us delictum.' [cod. Justinian., lib. ii. tit. 35. cap. 1. col. 165, ed. Gothofred. 4to. Francof. 1688.]

[o] [ibid., cap. 2.]

'the age excuses not;' well may it lessen, but it does not quite extinguish the guilt.

60. *θ.* The greatness or violence of a temptation does not excuse our sin, or reconcile it to the state of grace and an actual consistence with God's favour. The man that is highly tempted and so falls, cannot say it was by an unavoidable infirmity. For God never suffers any man to be tempted above his strength; and therefore when He suffers him to fall into a great trial, He hath beforehand prepared him with great aids: and a temptation is not such a formidable thing to a considering Christian. All that it can say is nothing, but that sin is pleasant: and suppose that true; yet so is drink to an hydropic person, and salt meats to a fantastic stomach, and yet they that are concerned do easily abstain from these temptations, and remember that it is a greater pleasure to be in health, than with a little cold water or a broiled fish to please their palate: and therefore a temptation which can be overcome by an argument from so small an interest, cannot stand the shock of a noble and a christian resolution and discourse. But every temptation puts on its strength as the man is. Sometimes a full meal will not prejudice our health; and at another time half so much would be a surfeit: and some men take cold with leaving off a half shirt, who at another time might leave off half their clothes. The indisposition is within: and if men did not love to be tempted, it would not prevail at all. Wine is no temptation to an abstemious man, nor all the beauties of Potiphar's wife to Joseph, the devil could not prevail with such trifles; but half such an offer would overthrow all the trifling purposes of the effeminate. To say that such a temptation is great, is to say that you love the sin too well to which you are tempted. For temptations prevail only by our passions and our appetites: leave to love the sin, and the temptation is answered; but if you love it, then complain of nothing but thyself, for thou makest the temptation great, by being in love with life and sin, by preferring vanity before eternal pleasures. In the apophthegms of the Egyptian anachorets[p], I read of one who had an apparition in the likeness of Christ. A vain and a proud person would have hugged himself, and entertained the illusion. But he shutting his eyes, said, "I shall see Christ in heaven, it is enough for me to hope and to believe while I am on earth." This or the like did and did not prevail by our weaknesses, not by their own strength: and to pretend the strength of a temptation, is to say we are to be excused because we love sin too well, and are too much delighted with baser objects, and we cannot help it, because we love to die.

61. *ι.* The smallest instance, if it be observed, ceases to be a sin of infirmity, because by being observed, it loses its pretence and

[p] [lib xvi. cap. 70, in] Bibl. pp., tom. ix. p. 286. [De la Bigne, tom. viii. col. 903. fol. Par. 1610.]

excuse, for then it is done upon the account of the will. For here the rule is general, and it sums up this whole question.

62. κ. A man's will hath no infirmity, but when it wants the grace of God; that is, whatsoever the will chooses is imputed to it for good or bad. For the will can suffer no violence; it is subject to nothing, and to no person, but to God and His laws, and therefore whenever it does amiss, it sins directly against Him. The will hath no necessity but what God and herself imposes; for it can choose in despite of all arguments and notices from the understanding. For if it can despise an argument from reason, it can also despise an argument from sense: if it can refuse a good argument, it can also refuse a foolish one: if it can choose and not yield to religion, it can also choose and not yield to interest. If it can reject profit, it can reject pleasure; if it can refuse every argument it can refuse all, and will because it will; it can as well be malicious as do unreasonably: and there could be no sin at all if the will never did amiss but when it were deceived: and even when the will chooses pleasure before heaven, it is not because that seems better, but because it will choose against all reason, only upon its own account. For it is certain, he that chooses any thing upon that which he knows is but a seeming and a fallacious reason, may if he please do it without all reason: and so the will can do, against reason, in despite of powers, and hopes, and interest, and threatening. And therefore whatsoever is voluntarily chosen, let it be taken care of that it be good; for if it be not, there can no excuse come from thence.

63. The will is the only fountain and proper principle of sin, insomuch as the fact is no sin, if it be involuntary; but the willing is a sin, though no act follows. *Latro est etiam antequam inquinet manus*, said Seneca[q]; *fecit enim quisquam quantum voluit*[r], 'if he hath willed it, he hath done it before God.' To this purpose is that saying of Tertullian[s], *Voluntas facti origo est, quæ ne tunc quidem liberatur cum aliqua difficultas perpetrationem ejus intercepit. Ipsa enim sibi imputatur, nec excusari poterit per illam perficiendi infelicitatem, operata quod suum fuerat.* Want of power excuses every thing but the will, because this always hath power to do its own work, and what cannot be done besides, as it is nothing to the will, so it is nothing to its excuse. To will, is the formality of sin, and therefore whatever action had its commission from thence, is not a sin of infirmity. For nothing is a sin of infirmity, but what is in some sense involuntary.

64. The sum is this. Sin puts on its excuse, and becomes a sin of infirmity, upon no account but upon the account of ignorance, or something analogical to it, such as are inadvertency, or surprise, which are to ignorance as acts are to habits. The 'weak brother,'

[q] [De benef., lib. v. cap. 14. tom. i. p. 762.]

[r] [vid. ibid., cap. 19. p. 772.]

[s] [De pœnit., cap. iii. p. 122.]

in S. Paul's[t] dialect, is 'he that hath no knowledge.' For since nothing leads the will, but the understanding, unless it goes alone, and moves by its own act or principle; if the understanding be inculpably misled, the will may be in error, but not in sin, it is abused, but shall not be condemned. For no man can be tied to do more or better than he understands, for that would be to do more than he can. If the understanding abuse the will, there is evil in it, but no sin: but if the will abuse the understanding, then it is criminal. That is, where the man understands not, or cannot consider, or deliberate, all his actions by being less human are less imputable,

Δύναται γὰρ ἴσον τῷ δρᾶν τὸ νοεῖν[u].

But where there is no knowledge, there is no power, and no choice, and no sin. They increase and decrease by each other's measures. S. James[x] his rule is the full measure of this discourse, "To him that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin." The same with that of Philo[y], Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει, προεαλωκὼς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συνειδότος δικαστηρίῳ; 'to him that sins ignorantly pardon is given; that is easily: but he who sins knowingly hath no excuse.' And therefore the Hebrews use to oppose חֵטְא 'sin,' to שְׁגָגָה 'ignorance;' that is, the issues of a wicked from the issues of a weak mind; according to that saying of our blessed Saviour[z], 'If ye were blind, ye should have no sin,' that is, no great or very unpardonable sin. Ignorance where of itself it is no sin, keeps the action innocent; but as the principle is polluted, so also is the emanation.

§ 6. Practical advices to be added to the foregoing considerations.

65. *a.* SINCE our weak nature is the original of our imperfections and sinful infirmities, it is of great concernment that we treat our natures so as to make them aptly to minister to religion, but not to vice. Nature must be preserved as a servant, but not indulged to as a mistress; for she is apt to be petulant, and after the manner of women,

——— quæ faciunt graviora coactæ
Imperio sexus[a];———

she will insult impotently, and rule tyrannically. Nature's provisions of meat and drink are to be retrenched and moderate, that she may not be luxuriant and irregular: but yet she ought to be refreshed so as to be useful, and healthful, and cheerful, even in the days of expiation and sorrow. For he that fasts to kill his lust, and by fasting grows peevish, which to very many men is a natural effect of fasting,

[t] [Rom. xiv. 1; 1 Cor. viii. 7.]
[u] Comœd. vet. Gr. [scil. Aristoph. apud Clem. Alex., strom. vi. 2. p. 749.]
[x] [James iv. 17.]
[y] [Adversus Flaccum, tom. ii. p. 518. ed. Mangey, fol. Lond. 1742.]
[z] [John ix. 41.]
[a] [vid. Juv. sat. vi. 133.]

and was sadly experimented in S. Hierome, hath only altered the signification of his evil: and it is not easily known whether the beast that is wanton or the beast that is curst[b] be aptest to gore; and if in such cases the first evil should be cured, yet the man is not.

66. But there are in nature some things which are the instruments of virtue and vice too: some things which of themselves indeed are culpable, but yet such which do minister to glorious events, and such which as they are not easily corrigible, so they are not safe to be done away. *Dabo maximæ famæ virō, et inter admiranda prōpositos, quos si quis corrigit delet; sic enim vitia virtutibus immixta sunt, ut illas secum tractura sint*[c]. If the natural anger of some men be taken off, you will also extinguish their courage, or make them unfit for government. Vice and virtue sometimes go together: in these cases that which we call vicious is in many degrees of it a natural infirmity, and must be tempered as well as it can: but it neither can, nor indeed ought to be extinguished: and therefore as we must take care that nature run not into extravagancies, so for the unalterable portions of infirmity, they ought to be the matter of humility and watchfulness, but not of scruple and vexation. However, we must be careful that nature be not God's enemy; for if a vice be incorporated into our nature, that is, if our natural imperfections be changed into evil customs, it is a threefold cord that is not easily broken[d]: it is a legion of devils, and not to be cast out without a mighty labour, and all the arts and contentions of the Spirit of God.

67. *β.* In prosecution of this, propound to thyself as the great business of thy life, to fight against the passions. We see that sin is almost unavoidable to young men, because passion seizes upon their first years. The days of our youth is the reign of passion; and sin rides in triumph upon the wheels of desire, which run infinitely when the boy drives the chariot. But the religion of a Christian is an

[b] ['Curst,' in some of its applications in old authors, appears to be the Dutch *korst*, 'crust,' and to signify 'crusty,' crabbed, surly; says Webster.—Others derive it from 'crossed,' i. e. vexed; hence, ill-tempered. 'Cross' in the northern languages is *kors*; from which would be derived in one line 'curse,' 'cursed:' in another the adjective 'curst.'—Richardson on the contrary makes it the same word with 'cursed,' not noticing any other derivation; and in Chaucer, (as printed by Wynkyn de Worde) 'cursednes' is a trisyllable. 'Chanons Yeomans Tale.' And 'Prologe of the Marchauntis Tale,' line 27;—

A good syre hoost I have wedded be
Thyse monethes two and more not parde
And yet I trowe he that all his lyf
Hath wedded be though men him ryf
In to the herte ne cowde in no manere
Telle so moche sorowe as I now here
Cowde telle of my wyves cursydnes.

The later writers certainly understood the word as derived in this last manner; or they would not have admitted 'accursed' (see vol. v. p. 217, note e, and p. 181, note s, above) as one form of it.]

[c] [Cf.] Aulum Gellium, lib. xix. cap. 12, et xvii. 15. [pp. 856 et 783.]

[d] [Eccl. iv. 12.]

[e] ['thy' B.]

open war against passion, and,—by the grace of meekness, if we list to study and to acquire that,—hath placed us in the regions of safety.

68. γ. Be not uncertain in thy resolutions, or in choosing thy state of life; because all uncertainties of mind and vagabond resolutions leave a man in the tyranny of all his follies and infirmities: every thing can transport him, and he can be forced by every temptation, and every fancy or new accident can ruin him. He that is not resolved and constant, is yet in a state of deliberation, and that supposes contrary appetites to be yet in the balance, and sin to be as strong as grace. But besides this, there are in every state of life many little things to be overcome, and objections to be mastered, and proper infirmities adherent, which are to be cured in the progression and growth of a man, and after experiment had of that state of life in which we are engaged; but therefore it is necessary that we begin speedily, lest we have no time to begin that work which ought in some measure to be finished before we die.

Dum quid sis dubitas, jam potes esse nihil[e].

He that is uncertain what to do, shall never do any thing well; and there is no infirmity greater than that a man shall not be able to determine himself what he ought to do.

69. δ. In contentions against sin and infirmities, let your force and your care be applied to that part of the wall that is weakest, and where it is most likely the enemy will assault thee, and if he does, that he will prevail. If a lustful person should bend all his prayers and his observations against envy, he hath cured nothing of his nature and infirmity. Some lusts our temper or our interest will part withal; but our infirmities are in those desires which are hardest to be mastered: that is, when after a long dispute and perpetual contention, still there will abide some pertinacious string of an evil root; when the lust will be apt upon all occasions to revert, when every thing can give fire to it, and every heat can make it stir; that is the scene of our danger, and ought to be of greatest warfare and observation.

70. ε. He that fights against that lust which is the evil spring of his proper infirmities, must not do it by single instances, but by a constant and universal, mortal fight. He that does single spites to a lust, as he that opposes now and then a fasting day against carnality, or some few alms against oppression or covetousness, will find that these single acts (if nothing else be done) can do nothing but cozen[f] him: they are apt to persuade easy people that they have done what is in them to cure their infirmity, and that their condition is good; but it will not do any thing of that work whither they are designed. We must remember that infirmities are but the relics and remains of an old lust, and are not cured but at the end of a lasting war. They abide even after the conquest, after their main body is

[e] [Martial., lib. ii. ep. 64.]

[f] ['Cousen,' ed.—See p. 3, note a, above.]

broken, and therefore cannot at all be cured by those light velitations[g] and picqueerings[h] of single actions of hostility.

71. ζ. When a violent temptation assaults thee, remember that this violence is not without, but within. Thou art weak, and that makes the burden great. Therefore whatever advices thou art pleased to follow in opposition to the temptation without, be sure that thou place the strongest guards within, and take care of thyself. And if thou dost die, or fall foully, seek not an excuse from the greatness of the temptation; for that accuses thee most of all: the bigger the temptation is, it is true that oftentimes thou art the more to blame; but at the best, it is a reproof of thy imperfect piety. He whose religion is greater than the temptation of a hundred pounds, and yet falls in the temptation of a thousand pounds, sets a price upon God and upon heaven; and though he will not sell heaven for a hundred pounds, yet a thousand pounds he thinks is a worthy purchase.

72. η. Never think that a temptation is too strong for thee, if thou givest over fighting against it: for as long as thou didst continue thy contention, so long it prevailed not: but when thou yieldedst basely, or threwest away thy arms, then it foraged and did mischief, and slew thee or wounded thee dangerously. No man knows but if he had stood one assault more the temptation would have left him. Be not therefore pusillanimous in a great trial: it is certain thou canst do all that which God requires of thee, if thou wilt but do all that thou canst do.

73. θ. Contend every day against that which troubles thee every day. For there is no peace in this war: and there are not many infirmities or principles of failing greater than weariness of well doing; for besides that it proclaims the weakness of thy resolution, and the infancy of thy piety, and thy undervaluing religion, and thy want of love, it is also a direct yielding to the enemy: for since the greatest scene of infirmities lies in the manner of our piety, he that is religious only by uncertain periods, and is weary of his duty, is not arrived so far as to plead the infirmities of willing people; for he is in the state of death and enmity.

74. ι. He that would master his infirmities must do it at God's rate, and not at his own: he must not start back when the burden pinches him; nor refuse his repentances because they smart, nor omit his alms because they are expensive: for it is vain to propound to ourselves any end, and yet to decline the use of those means and instruments without which it is not to be obtained. He that will buy must take it at the seller's price; and if God will not give thee safety or immunity but upon the exchange of labour, and contradictions, fierce contentions, and mortification of our appetites, we must go to the cost or quit the purchase.

[g] [Velitatio, lat., 'skirmishing.'] to make a flying skirmish.'—Todd's Johnson.]

[h] [Pickeer, (*piccare*, Ital.) 'to pillage,

75. κ. He that will be strong in grace, and triumph in good measures over his infirmities, must attempt his remedy by an active prayer. For prayer without labour is like faith without charity, dead and ineffective. A working faith and a working prayer are the great instruments, and the great exercise, and the great demonstration of holiness and christian perfection. Children can sit down in a storm, or in a danger, and weep and die: but men can labour against it, and struggle with the danger, and labour for that blessing which they beg. Thou dost not desire it, unless thou wilt labour for it. He that sits still and wishes, had rather have that thing than be without it; but if he will not use the means, he had rather lose his desire than lose his ease. That is scarce worth having that is not worth labouring.

76. λ. In all contentions against sin and infirmity, remember that what was done yesterday may be done to-day, and by the same instruments by which then you were conqueror you may also be so in every day of temptation. The Italian general that quitted his vanity and his employment upon the sight of one[i] that died suddenly, might upon the same consideration actually applied and fitted to the fancy, at any time resist his lust. And therefore Epictetus[k] gives it in rule, *Θάνατος . . πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔστω σοι καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε ταπεινὸν ἐνθυμηθήσῃ, οὔτε ἄγαν ἐπιθυμήσεις τινός*, 'let death be always before thy eyes, and then thou shalt never desire any base or low thing, nor desire any thing too much.' That is, the perpetual application of so great a consideration as is death, is certainly the greatest endearment of holiness and severity. And certain it is that at some time or other the greatest part of Christians have had some horrible apprehensions of hell, of death, and consequent damnation; and it hath put into them holy thoughts and resolutions of piety: and if ever they were in a severe sickness, and did really fear death, they may remember with how great a regret they did then look upon their sins; and then they thought heaven a considerable interest, and hell a formidable state, and would not then have committed a sin for the purchase of the world. Now every man hath always the same arguments and endearments of piety and religion: heaven and hell are always the same considerable things; and the truth is the same still: but then they are considered most, and therefore they prevail most; and this is a demonstration that the arguments themselves are sufficient, and would always do the work of grace for us, if we were not wanting to ourselves. It is impossible that any man can be moved by any argument in the world, or any interest, any hope or any fear, who cannot be moved by the consideration of heaven and hell. But that which I observe is this; that the argument that

[i] [Viz. of Alphonsus of Ferrara; see vol. ii. p. 683.]

[k] Enchir., c. 28. [p. 13.—But the original is more powerful, *Θάνατος, καὶ φυγὴ, καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ φαινόμενα, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔστω σοι καθ' ἡμέραν· μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ὁ Θάνατος· καὶ οὐδὲν, κ.τ.λ.*]

wisely and reasonably prevailed yesterday, can prevail to-day, unless thou thyself beest foolish and unreasonable.

77. μ. If a wicked man sins, it is never by a pitiable or pardonable infirmity, but from a state of death that it proceeds, or will be so imputed, and it is all one as if it did. But if a good man sins, he hath the least reason to pretend infirmity for his excuse, because he hath the strengths of the Spirit, and did master sin in its strengths, and in despite of all its vigorousness and habit; and therefore certainly can do so much rather when sin is weak and grace is strong. The result of which consideration is this, that no man should please himself in his sin because it is a sin of infirmity. He that is pleased with it because he thinks it is indulged to him, sins with pleasure, and therefore not of infirmity; for that is ever against our will, and besides our observation. No sin is a sin of infirmity unless we hate it, and strive against it. He that hath gotten some strength, may pretend some infirmity; but he that hath none, is dead.

78. ν. Let no man think that the proper evil of his age or state, or of his nation, is in the latitude and nature of it a sin of a pardonable infirmity. The lusts of youth, and the covetousness or pride of old age, and the peevishness of the afflicted, are states of evil, not sins of infirmity. For it is highly considerable, that sins of infirmity are but single ones: there is no such thing as a state of a pardonable infirmity. If by distemper of the body, or the vanity of years, or the evil customs of a nation, a vice does creep upon and seize on the man, it is that against which the man ought to watch, and pray, and labour; it is a state of danger and temptation: but that must not be called infirmity which corrupts nations and states of life, but that only which in single instances surprises even a watchful person, when his guards are most remiss.

79. ξ. Whatsoever sin comes regularly, or by observation, is not to be excused upon the pretence of infirmity; but is the indication of an evil habit. Therefore never admit a sin upon hopes of excuse; for it is certain, no evil that a man chooses is excusable: no man sins with a pardon about his neck. But if the sin comes at a certain time, it comes from a certain cause; and then it cannot be infirmity: for all sins of infirmity are sins of chance, irregular and accidental.

80. o. Be curious to avoid all proverbs and propositions, or odd sayings, by which evil life is encouraged, and the hands of the spirit weakened. It is strange to consider what a prejudice to a man's understanding of things is a contrary proverb. "Can any good thing come out of Galilee?" And, "When Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is." Two or three proverbs did in despite of all the miracles, and holy doctrines, and rare example of Christ, hinder many of the Jews from believing in Him. The words of S. Paul misunderstood, and worse applied, have been so often abused to evil purposes, that they have almost passed into a proverbial excuse, "The evil that I would not, that I do." Such sayings as these are to be

tried by the severest measures, and all such senses of them which are enemies to holiness of life are to be rejected, because they are against the whole economy and design of the gospel, of the life and death of Christ. But a proverb, being used by every man, is supposed to contain the opinion and belief, or experience of mankind: and then that evil sense that we are pleased to put to them, will be thought to be of the same authority. I have heard of divers persons who have been strangely enticed on to finish their revellings and drunken conventicles by a catch or a piece of a song, by a humour and a word, by a bold saying or a common proverb: and whoever take any measures of good or evil, but the severest discourses of reason and religion, will be like a ship turned every way by a little piece of wood; by chance, and by half a sentence; because they dwell upon the water, and a wave of the sea is their foundation.

81. π. Let every man take heed of a servile will, and a commanding lust: for he that is so miserable is in a state of infirmity and death, and will have a perpetual need of something to hide his folly, or to excuse it, but shall find nothing. He shall be forced to break his resolution, to sin against his conscience, to do after the manner of fools, who promise and pay not, who resolve and do not, who speak and remember not, who are fierce in their pretences and designs, but act them as dead men do their own wills. They make their will, but die and do nothing themselves.

82. ρ. Endeavour to do what can never be done: that is, to cure all thy infirmities. For this is thy victory, for ever to contend; and although God will leave a remnant of Canaanites in the land to be thy daily exercise, and endearment of care and of devotion; yet you must not let them alone, or entertain a treaty of peace with them; but when you have done something, go on to finish it. It is infinite pity that any good thing should be spent or thrown away upon a lust: but if we sincerely endeavour to be masters of every action, we shall be of most of them; and for the rest, they shall trouble thee, but do thee no other mischief. We must keep the banks, that the sea break not in upon us; but no man can be secure against the drops of rain that fall upon the heads of all mankind: but yet every man must get as good shelter as he can.

THE PRAYER.

I.

O ALMIGHTY God, the Father of mercy and holiness, Thou art the fountain of grace and strength, and Thou blessest the sons of men by turning them from their iniquities; shew the mightiness of Thy power and the glories of Thy grace, by giving me strength against all my enemies, and victory in all temptations, and watchfulness against all dangers, and caution in all difficulties, and hope in all my fears, and recollection of mind in all distractions of spirit and fancy: that I may not be a servant of chance or violence, of interest or passion, of fear or desire, but that my will may rule the lower man, and my understanding may guide my will, and Thy holy spirit may conduct my understanding, that in all contentions Thy spirit may prevail, and in all doubts I may choose the better part, and in the midst of all contradictions and temptations and infelicities, I may be Thy servant infallibly and unalterably. Amen.

II.

Blessed Jesus, Thou art our high-priest, and encompassed with infirmities, but always without sin; relieve and pity me, O my gracious Lord, who am encompassed with infirmities, but seldom or never without sin. O my God, my ignorances are many, my passions violent, my temptations ensnaring and deceitful, my observation little, my inadvertencies innumerable, my resolutions weak, my dangers round about me, my duty and obligations full of variety, and the instances very numerous; O be Thou unto me wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. Thou hast promised Thy holy spirit to them that ask Him, let Thy spirit help my infirmities, give to me His strengths, instruct me with His notices, encourage me with His promises, affright me with His terrors, confirm me with His courage, that I being readily prepared and furnished for every good work, may grow with the increase of God to the full measure of the stature and fulness of Thee my Saviour; that 'though my outward man decay and decrease, yet my inner man may be renewed day by day;' that my infirmities may be weaker, and Thy grace stronger, and at last may triumph over the decays of the old man. O be Thou pleased to pity my infirmities, and pardon all those actions which proceed from weak principles; that when I do what I can, I may be accepted, and when I fail of that, I may be pitied and pardoned, and in all my fights and necessities may be defended and secured, prospered and conducted to the regions of victory and triumph, of strength and glory, through the mercies of God, and the grace of our Lord Jesus, and the blessed communication of the Spirit of God and our Lord Jesus. Amen.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE EFFECT OF REPENTANCE, VIZ. REMISSION OF SINS.

§ 1. That there is no sin but with repentance may be pardoned.

1. THE 'law written in the heart of man' is a law of obedience, which because we prevaricated, we are taught another, which (S. Austin[a] says) is written in the heart of angels, *Ut nulla sit iniquitas impunita, nisi quam sanguis Mediatoris expiaverit.* For God the Father spares no sinner but while He looks upon the face of His Son: but that in Him our sins should be pardoned and our persons spared, is as necessary a consideration as any. *Nemo enim potest bene agere pœnitentiam, nisi qui speraverit indulgentiam*[b]. To what purpose does God call us to repentance, if at the same time He does not invite us to pardon? It is the state and misery of the damned, to repent without hope; and if this also could be the state of the penitent in this life, the sermons of repentance were useless and comfortless, God's mercies were none at all to sinners, the institution and office of preaching and reconciling penitents were impertinent, and man should die by the laws of angels, who never was enabled to live by their strength and measures, and consequently all mankind were infinitely and eternally miserable, lost irrecoverably, perishing without a Saviour, tied to a law too hard for him, and condemned by unequal and intolerable sentences.

2. Tertullian[c], considering that God threatens all impenitent sinners, argues demonstratively, *Neque enim comminaretur non pœnitenti, si non ignosceret delinquenti.* If men repent not, God will be severely angry; it will be infinitely the worse for us if we do not, and shall it be so too if we do repent? God forbid. *Frustra mortuus est Christus, si aliquos vivificare non potest; mentitur Joannes baptista, et digito Christum et voce demonstrans, Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, si sunt adhuc in sæculo quorum Christus peccata non tulerit*[d], 'in vain did Christ die, if He cannot give life to all; and the Baptist deceived us when he pointed out Christ unto us, saying, Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, if there were any in the world whose sins Christ hath not borne.'

3. But God by the old prophets[e] called upon them who were under

[a] Lib. vi. cont. Julian., c. 9. [leg. 19.—tom. x. col. 698.]

[b] S. Ambros. de pœnit., lib. i. cap. 2. [al. cap. 1.—tom. ii. col. 390 C.]

[c] Lib. ii. de pœnit. [al. lib. de pœnit., cap. viii. p. 126 C.]

[d] S. Hieron. epist. ad Ocean. [ep. lxxxii. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 646.]

[e] [Exod. xxxiv. 6; Ps. ciii. per totum, et cxxviii. [?]; Isa. lv. 7, 8; Jer. xviii. 7, 8; Ezek. xviii. 21, 2; xxxiii. 11; Dan. iv. 27; Mal. iii. 7; Joel ii. 13; Jonah iv. 2; iii. 9.]

the covenant of works in open appearance, that they also should repent, and by antedating the mercies of the gospel, promised pardon to the penitent; He promised mercy by Moses and the prophets; He proclaimed His name to be mercy and forgiveness; He did solemnly swear He 'did not desire the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and live;' and the holy Spirit of God hath respersed every book of holy scripture with great and legible lines of mercy, and sermons of repentance. In short, it was the sum of all the sermons which were made by those whom God sent with His word in their mouths that they should live innocently, or when they had sinned they should repent and be saved from their calamity.

4. But when Christ came into the world, He opened the fountains of mercy, and broke down all the banks of restraint, He preached repentance, offered health, gave life, called all wearied and burdened persons to come to Him for ease and remedy, He glorified His Father's mercies, and Himself became the great instrument and channel of its emanation. He preached and commanded mercy by the example of God; He made His religion that He taught to be wholly made up of doing and receiving good, this by faith, that by charity. He commanded an indefinite and unlimited forgiveness of our brother repenting after injuries done to us seventy times seven times: and though there could be little question of that, yet He was pleased to signify to us, that as we needed more, so we should have and find more mercy at the hands of God. And therefore He hath appointed a whole order of men, whom He maintains at His own charges[f], and furnishes with especial commissions[g], and endues with a lasting power, and employs on His own errand, and instructs with His own spirit, whose business is to remit and retain, to exhort and to restore sinners by the means of repentance, and the word of their proper ministry. "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted;" that's their authority: and their office is, to 'pray all men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God.' And after all this, Christ himself labours to bring it to effect; not only assisting His ministers with the gifts of an excellent spirit, and exacting of them 'the account of souls,' but that it may be prosperous and effectual, Himself intercedes in heaven before the throne of grace, doing for sinners the office of an advocate and a reconciler. "If any man sins, we have an Advocate with the Father, and He is the propitiation for all our sins, and for the sins of the whole world[h];" and therefore it is not only the matter of our hopes, but an article of our creed, that we may have forgiveness of our sins by the blood of Jesus. *Qui nullum excepit, in Christo donavit omnia,* 'God hath excepted none, and therefore in Christ pardons all.'

5. For there is not in scripture any catalogue of sins set down

[f] [See vol. iv. p. 357.]

[g] [Matt. xviii. 15, 16 [?]; John xx. 23; 2 Cor. vii. 10; Gal. vi. 1; James i. 15, 16, 19, 20; 1 John i. 9; ii. 11 [?]; Rev. ii. 5; iii. 1—3, 19, 20.]

[h] [1 John ii. 1, 2.]

for which Christ died, and others excluded from that state of mercy. All that believe and repent shall be pardoned, if they 'go and sin no more.' *Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam sacerdotibus suis sine ulla exceptione concessit,* said S. Ambrose[l], 'God excepts none, but hath given power to His ministers to release all, absolutely all.' And S. Bernard[j] argues this article upon the account of those excellent examples which the Spirit of God hath consigned to us in holy scripture, "If Peter after so great a fall did arrive to such an eminence of sanctity, hereafter who shall despair, provided that he will depart from his sins?" For that God is ready to forgive the greatest criminals if they repent, appears in the instances of Ahab and Manasses, of Mary Magdalen and S. Paul, of the thief on the cross and the deprehended adulteress, and of the Jews themselves, who after they had 'crucified the Lord of life,' were by messengers of His own invited, passionately invited to repent, and be purified with that blood which they had sacrilegiously and impiously spilt. But concerning this, who please may read S. Austin[k] discoursing upon those words, *Mittet crystallum suum sicut buccellas*[1]; which, saith he, mystically represent the readiness of God to break and make contrite even the hearts of them that have been hardened in impiety. *Quo loco consistent pœnitentiam agentes, ibi justi non poterunt stare*[m], said the doctors of the Jews, 'the just and innocent persons shall not be able to stand in the same place where the penitent shall be.' *Pacem, pacem remoto et propinquo, ait Dominus, ut sanem eum,* 'peace to him that is afar off, and to him that is near, saith the Lord, that I may heal him.' *Præponit remotum,* that's their observation, 'he that is afar off is set before the other;' that is, he that is at great distance from God; as if God did use the greater earnestness to reduce him: upon which place their gloss adds, *Magna est virtus eorum qui pœnitentiam agunt, ita ut nulla creatura in septo illorum consistere queat,* 'so great is the virtue of them that are true penitents, that no creature can stand within their inclosure.' And all this is far better expressed by those excellent words of our blessed Saviour[n], "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety-nine just persons that need no repentance."

6. I have been the longer in establishing and declaring the proper foundation of this article,—upon which every one can declaim, but every one cannot believe it in the day of temptation,—because I guess what an intolerable evil it is to despair of pardon, by having felt the trouble of some very great fears. And this were the less necessary, but that it is too commonly true that they who repent least are most

[l] Lib. i. de pœnit., c. 2. [al. cap. 3.—tom. ii. col. 393 C.]

[j] In solenni Petri et Pauli, ser. iii. [col. 225 D.]

[k] [In ps. cxlvii.—tom. iv. col. 1669.]

[1] [Sic ed. vulg. hod.; 'sicut frusta panis,' S. August.]

[m] Gemara de synedrio, c. 11. [In Talmud Babylon., tract. 'Sanhedrin,' fo. 99a.]

[n] [Luke xv. 7.]

confident of their pardon, or rather least consider any reasons against their security: but when a man truly apprehends the vileness of his sin he ought also to consider the state of his danger, which is wholly upon the stock of what is past; that is, his danger is this, that he knows not when or whether, or upon what terms God will pardon him in particular. But of this I shall have a more apt occasion to speak in the following periods. For the present, the article in general is established upon the testimonies of the greatest certainty.

§ 2. Of pardon of sins committed after baptism.

7. But it may be our easiness of life, and want of discipline, and our desires to reconcile our pleasures and temporal satisfactions with the hopes of heaven, hath made us apt to swallow all that seems to favour our hopes. But it is certain that some christian doctors have taught the doctrine of repentance with greater severity than is intimated in the premises. For all the examples of pardon consigned to us in the Old testament are nothing to us who live under the New, and are to be judged by other measures. And as for those instances which are recorded in the New testament, and all the promises and affirmations of pardon, they are sufficiently verified in that pardon of sins which is first given to us in baptism, and at our first conversion to christianity. Thus when S. Stephen prayed for his persecutors, and our blessed Lord himself, on His uneasy death-bed of the cross, prayed for them that crucified Him, it can only prove that these great sins are pardonable in our first access to Christ, because they for whom Christ and His martyr S. Stephen prayed were not yet converted, and so were to be saved by baptismal repentance. Then the power of the keys is exercised, and the gates of the kingdom are opened, then we enter into the covenant of mercy and pardon, and promise faith and perpetual obedience to the laws of Jesus; and upon that condition forgiveness is promised and exhibited, offered and consigned, but never after. For it is in christianity for all great sins as in the civil law for theft, *Qui ea mente alienum quid contrectavit, ut lucrifaceret, tametsi mutato consilio id domino postea reddidit, fur est; nemo enim tali peccato pœnitentia sua nocens esse desiit,* said Ulpian and Gaius[o]. Repentance does not here take off the punishment, nor the stain. And so it seems to be in christianity, in which every baptized person having stipulated for obedience, is upon those terms admitted to pardon, and consequently if he fails of his duty he shall fail of the grace.

8. But that this objection may proceed no further, it is certain that it is an infinite lessening of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ to confine pardon of sins only to the font. For that even lapsed Christians may be restored by repentance, and be pardoned, appears in the story

[o] Lib. lxv. D. de furtis. [Digest., lib. xlvii. p. 1466.] et lib. i. D. de ædilitio edicto. [lib. xxi. p. 508.—Sed minus ad rem videtur esse hæc lex.]

of the incestuous Corinthian, and the precept of S. Paul[p] to the spiritual man, or the curate of souls, "If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a man in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself lest thou also be tempted." The Christian might fall, and the Corinthian did so, and the minister himself, he who had the ministry of restitution and reconciliation, was also in danger: and yet they all might be restored. To the same sense is that of S. James[q], "Is any man sick among you? Let him send for the presbyters of the church, and let them pray over him, κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκὼς, although he was a doer of sins, they shall be forgiven him." For there is an ἀδικία, 'a sin,' that is 'not unto death.' And therefore when S. Austin in his first book *De sermone Dei*[r], had said that there is some sin so great that it cannot be remitted, he retracts[s] his words with this clause, *addendum fuit, &c.* 'I should have added, If in so great perverseness of mind he ends his life.' For we must not despair of the worst sinner; we may not despair of any, since we ought to pray for all.

9. For it is beyond exception or doubt that it was the great work of the apostles, and of the whole New testament, to engage men in a perpetual repentance. For since all men do sin, all men must repent, or all men must perish. And very many periods of scripture are directed to lapsed Christians, baptized persons fallen into grievous crimes, calling them to repentance. So Simon Peter[t] to Simon Magus, μετανόησον ἀπὸ κακίας, 'repent of thy wickedness;' and to the Corinthian Christians S. Paul urges the purpose of his legation, 'We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." The Spirit of God reproved some of the Asian churches for foul misdemeanours, and even some of the angels, the Asian bishops, calling upon them[u] to 'return to their first love,' and 'to repent and to do their first works;' and to the very Gnostics, and filthiest heretics, he gave 'space to repent,' and threatened extermination to them if they did not do it speedily. For,

10. Baptism is εἰς μετάνοιαν, 'the admission of us to the covenant of faith and repentance,' or as Mark the anchoret[x] called it, πρόφασίς ἐστι τῆς μετανοίας, 'the introduction to repentance,' or that state of life that is full of labour and care, and amendment of our faults; for that is the best life that any man can live: and therefore repentance hath its progress after baptism, as it hath its beginning before: for first repentance is unto baptism, and then baptism unto repentance. And if it were otherwise, the church had but ill provided for the state of her sons and daughters by commanding the baptism of infants. For if repentance were not allowed after, then their early

[p] [Gal. vi. 1.]
[q] [James v. 14.]
[r] [al. De serm. Domini, lib. i. cap. 22. —tom. iii. part. 2. col. 197 C.]
[s] [Retract., lib. i. cap. 19. § 7.—tom. i. col. 30 F.]
[t] [Acts viii. 22.]
[u] [Apoc. ii. 4, 5, 21.]
[x] [De pœnitentia, cap. viii.—Sed vide locum.]

baptism would take from them all hopes of repentance, and destroy the mercies of the gospel, and make it now to all christendom a law of works in the greater instances; because since in our infancy we neither need nor can perform repentance[y], if to them that sin after baptism repentance be denied, it is in the whole denied to them for ever to repent. But God hath provided better things for us, and such which accompany salvation.

11. For besides those many things which have been already considered, our admission to the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper is a perpetual entertainment of our hopes: because then and there is really exhibited to us the 'body that was broken, and the blood that was shed for remission of sins:' still it is applied, and that application could not be necessary to be done anew, if there were not new necessities; and still we are invited to do actions of repentance, 'to examine ourselves and so to eat:' all which (as things are ordered) would be infinitely useless to mankind, if it did not mean pardon to Christians falling into foul sins even after baptism.

12. I shall add no more but the words of S. Paul[z] to the Corinthians, "Lest when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many who have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed." Here is a fierce accusation of some of them, for the foulest and the basest crimes; and a reproof of their not repenting, and a threatening them with censures ecclesiastical. I suppose this article to be sufficiently concluded from the premises. The necessity of which proof they only will best believe, who are severely penitent, and full of apprehension and fear of the divine anger, because they have highly deserved it. However, I have served my own needs in it, and the need of those whose consciences have been or shall be so timorous as mine hath deserved to be.

But against the universality of this doctrine there are two grand objections: the one is, the severer practice and doctrine of the primitive church, denying repentance to some kind of sinners after baptism; the other, the usual discourses and opinions concerning the sin against the holy Ghost. Of these I shall give account in the two following sections.

§ 3. Of the difficulty of obtaining pardon r the doctrine and practice of the primitive church in this article.

13. NOVATIANUS and Novatus said, that the church had not power to minister pardon of sins except only in baptism: which proposition when they had well digested and considered, they did thus explicate,—That there are some capital sins, crying and clamorous, into which if a Christian did fall after baptism, the church had nothing to do with him, she could not absolve him.

y Vide Great Exemplar, part i. Disc. of Baptism, p. 175, &c. [vol. ii. p. 237 sqq.]

z [2 Cor. xii. 21.]

14. This opinion of theirs was a branch of the elder heresy of Montanus, which had abused Tertullian, who fiercely declaims[a] against the decree of pope Zephyrinus, because against the custom of his decessors he admitted adulterers to repentance, while at the same time he refused idolaters and murderers. And this their severity did not seem to be put upon the account of a present necessity, or their own zeal, or for the avoiding scandal, or their love of holiness; but upon the nature of the thing itself, and the sentences of scripture. An old man of whom Irenæus[b] makes mention, said, *Non debemus superbi esse, neque reprehendere veteres, ne*[c] *forte post agnitionem Christi agentes aliquid quod non placeat Deo, remissionem ultra non habeamus delictorum, sed excludamur a regno ejus,* 'we must not be proud and reprove our fathers, lest after the knowledge of God, we doing something that does not please God, we may no more have remission of our sins, but be excluded from His kingdom.' To the same purpose is that canon[d] made by the Gallic bishops against the false accusers of their brethren, *ut ad exitum ne communicent,* 'that they should not be admitted to the communion or peace of the church, no not at their death. And Pacianus[e] bishop of Barcinona gives a severe account of the doctrine of the Spanish churches even in his time, and of their refusing to admit idolaters, murderers, and adulterers to repentance; "Other sins may be cured by the exercise of good works, but these three kill like the breath of a basilisk, and are to be feared like a deadly arrow: . . They that were guilty of such crimes did despair[f]. What have I done to you? was it not in your power to have let it alone? did no man admonish you? did none foretel the event? was the church silent? did the gospels say nothing? did the apostles threaten nothing? did the priest intreat nothing of you? why do you seek for late comforts? Then you might[g] have sought for them, when they were to be had; . . but they that pronounce such men happy do but abuse you."

15. This opinion and the consequent practice had its fate in several places to live longer or die sooner. And in Africa[h] the decree of Zephyrinus for the admission of penitent adulterers was not admitted even by the orthodox and catholics; but they dissented placidly and modestly, and governed their own churches by the old severity. For there was then no thought of any necessity that other churches should obey the sanctions of the pope, or the decrees of Rome, but they retained the old discipline. But yet the piety and the reasonableness of the decree of Zephyrinus prevailed by little and little, and adulterers were admitted; but the severity stuck

[a] De pudicitia, capp. v. et ix. [pp. 557, 61 sqq.]
[b] Lib. iv. c. 45. [al. 27. § 2. p. 264.]
[c] ['sed ipsi timere ne' &c.]
[d] [Concil. Arelat. i. can. 14.—tom. i. col. 265.]
[e] Parænesis ad pœnitentiam [cap. iv. p. 270.—Cf. p. 146, not. b, supra.]
[f] [ibid., cap. v.]
[g] ['Tunc decuit, cum licebat.']
[h] S. Cyprian. ep. lii. [al. lv. p. 110.]

longer upon idolaters or apostates: for they were not to be admitted to the peace of the church, although they should afterwards suffer martyrdom for the name of Christ: and for this they pretended the words of S. Paul[i], *Non possunt admitti secundum apostolum*, as S. Cyprian[k] expressly affirms; and the same is the sentence of the first canon of the council of Eliberis[l].

16. When they began to remit of this rigour (which they did in or about S. Cyprian's time) they did admit these great criminals to repentance: once, but no more; as appears in Tertullian[m], the council of Eliberis[n], the synod at Side in Pamphylia against the Messalians[o], S. Ambrose[p], S. Austin[q], and Macedonius[r]; which makes it suspicious that the words of Origen[s] are interpolated[t], saying, *In gravioribus criminibus semel tantum vel raro pœnitentiæ conceditur locus.* 'But once or but seldom;' so the words are now; but the practice of that age was not so remiss, for they gave once and no more: as appears in the foregoing authors, and in the eleventh canon of the third council of Toledo[u]. For as S. Clemens of Alexandria[x] affirms, *Apparet sed non est pœnitentia, sæpe petere de iis quæ sæpe peccantur*, 'it is but a seeming repentance that falls often after a frequent return.'

17. But this gentleness (for it was the greatest they then had) they ministered to such only as desired it in their health, and in the days in which they could live the lives of penitents, and make amends for their folly. For if men had lived wickedly, and on their deathbed desired to be admitted to repentance and pardon, they refused them utterly; as appears in that excellent epistle of S. Cyprian[y] to Antonianus, *Prohibendos omnino censuimus a spe communionis et pacis, si in infirmitate atque periculo cœperint deprecari*, 'at no hand are those to be admitted to church communion, who repent only in their danger and weakness, because not repentance of their fault, but the hasty warning of instant or approaching death, compelled them: neither is he worthy in death to receive the comfort, who did not think he was to die.' And consequently to this severity, in his sermon *De lapsis*[z], he advises that "every man should confess his sin, while his confession can be admitted, while his satisfaction may be acceptable, and his pardon ratified by God." The same was decreed by the fathers in the synod of Arles[a].

18. This was severe, if we judge of it by the manners and pro-

[i] [Heb. vi. 4—6.]
[k] Ubi supra. [ad fin. epist., p. 114.]
[l] [tom. i. col. 249.]
[m] De pœnit. [cap. v. sqq. p. 123.]
[n] Can. vii. [tom. i. col. 250.]
[o] [Phot. biblioth., cod. lii. p. 12.]
[p] De pœnit., lib. ii. cap. 10. [tom. ii. col. 436 D.]
[q] Ep. liv. [al. cliii.—tom. ii. col. 524 sqq.]
[r] Ep. liii. [al. ep. clii. inter epistt. S. August., tom. ii. col. 523.]
[s] Hom. xv. in cap. xxv. Levit. [§ 2.—tom. ii. p. 262 C.]
[t] [viz. by Scotus; see note in ed. Ben.]
[u] [tom. iii. col. 481.]
[x] Stromat., lib. ii. [cap. 13. p. 460.]
[y] Epist. lii. [al. lv. p. 111.]
[z] [p. 134.]
[a] Concil. Arelat. i. c. 23. [al. 22.—tom. i. col. 266.]

positions of the present age. But iniquity did so abound, and was so far from being cured by this severe discipline, that it made this discipline to be intolerable and useless. And therefore even from this also they did quickly retire. For in the time of Innocentius[c] and S. Austin they began not only to impose penances on dying penitents, but even after a wicked life to reconcile them. They then first began to do it; but as it usually happens in first attempts, and insolent actions, they were fearful, and knew not the event, and would warrant nothing. 'To hinder them that are in peril of death from the use of the last remedy, is hard and impious; but to promise any thing in so late a cure, is temerarious;" so Salvian[d]: and S. Chrysostom[e] to Theodorus would not have such persons despaired, so neither nourished up by hope; only it is better *nihil inexpertum relinquere quam morientem nolle curare*, 'to try every way, rather than that the dying penitent should fail for want of help.' But Isidore[f] said plainly, "He who living wickedly, repents in the time of his death, as his damnation is uncertain, so his pardon is doubtful."

19. This was the most dangerous indulgence and easiness of doctrine that had as yet entered into the church; but now it was tumbling, and therefore could not stop here, but presently down went all severity. All sinners,—and at all times,—and as often as they would,—might be admitted to repentance and pardon, whether they could or could not perform the stations and injunctions of the penitents; and this took off the edge of public and ecclesiastical repentance: and to this succeeded private repentance, where none but God and the priest were witnesses; and because this was a recession from the old discipline, and of itself an abuse, or but the relics of discipline at the best, and therefore not necessary because it was but an imperfect supply of something that was better, this also is in some places laid aside, in others too much abused. But of that in its place.

20. But now that I may give an account concerning the first severity. Concerning their not admitting those three sorts of criminals to repentance, but denying it to none else, I consider, α) That there is no place of scripture that was pretended to exclude those three capital sins from hopes of pardon. For one of them there was, of which I shall give account in the following periods[g]; but for murder and adultery there were very many authorities of scripture to prove them pardonable, but none to prove them unpardonable. β) What can be pretended why idolatry, murder, and adultery, should be less pardonable (if repented of) than incest, treason, heresy, sodomy, or sacrilege? These were not denied; and yet some of them are greater criminals than some that were: but the value is set upon

[c] Innocent. [i.] epist. ad Exuper. [cap. p. 20.]
[d] [Adv. avaritiam, lib. i. p. 204.]
[e] [vid. lib. i. §§ 3—6.—tom. i. p. 4 sqq.]
[f] [Sentent., lib. ii. cap. 13. § 15.—tom. vi. p. 211.]
[g] Sect. 4. [p. 406, below.]

crimes as men please. γ) That even in these three cases the church did allow repentance in the very beginning, appears beyond exception in Irenæus[h], who writes concerning the women seduced by the heretic Mark, and so guilty of both adulteries, carnal and spiritual, that they were admitted to repentance. δ) S. Clemens of Alexandria[i] affirms indefinitely, concerning all persons lapsed after baptism, that they may be restored and pardoned, Ἰστέον μέν τοι τοὺς μετὰ τὸ λουτρὸν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι περιπίπτοντας, τούτους εἶναι τοὺς παιδευομένους· τὰ μὲν γὰρ προενεργηθέντα ἀφείθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐκκαθαίρεται· 'they that fall into sins after baptism, must be chastened; for those things which were committed before baptism are pardoned, but they which are committed afterwards are to be purged.' For it is certain that God did not shut up the fountain which He opened in baptism. Then He smote the rock, and the stream flowed out, and it became a river, and ran in dry places. ε) It is more than probable that in Egypt it was very ordinary to admit lapsed persons, and even idolaters, to repentance, because of the strange levity of the nation, and that even the bishops did at the coming of Hadrianus the emperor devote themselves to Serapis. *Illi qui Serapim colunt christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopos dicunt;* so the emperor testifies in his letters to Servianus[k]. For it is not to be supposed that it was part of their persuasion that they might lawfully do it, or that it was solemn and usual so to do; but that to avoid persecution they did choose rather to seem unconstant and changeable than to be killed, especially in that nation, which was *tota levis et pendula, et ad omnia famæ momenta volans,* as these letters say; 'light and inconstant, tossed about with every noise of fame and variety.' These bishops after the departure of Cæsar without peradventure did many of them return to their charges, and they and their priests pardoned each other; just as the *libellatici* and the *thurificati* did in Carthage and all Africa, as S. Cyprian[l] relates. ζ) In Ephrem Syrus[m] there is a form of confession and of prayer for the pardon of foul sins, Σπλαγχνίσθητι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου, ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ταῖς πλεονεξίαις, ταῖς καταλαλίαις, ταῖς αἰσχρολογίαις, 'have mercy on my sins, my injustices, my covetousness' (which some render 'unnatural lusts') 'my adulteries and fornications, my idle and filthy speakings.' If these after baptism are pardonable, *Quid non speremus?* The former severity must be understood not to be their doctrine but their discipline.

21. And the same is to be said concerning their giving repentance but to those whom they did admit after baptism; we find it expressly affirmed by the next ages, that the purpose of their fathers was only

[h] Lib. i. c. 9. [al. c. 13. § 5. p. 63.] Hæ sæpissime conversæ ad ecclesiam Dei confessæ sunt, et secundum corpus exterminatas se ab eo, velut cupidine, &c..

[i] Strom. iv. [cap. 24. p. 634.]

[k] Apud Spartian. [in Saturnino, p. 233.]

[l] [vid. ep. lv. p. 101 sqq.]

[m] [vid. precationes Sti Ephrem, passim.—tom. iii. p. 482 sqq.]

for discipline and caution. So S. Austin[n], "The church did cautiously and healthfully provide that penitents should but once be admitted, lest a frequent remedy should become contemptible; yet who dares say, Why do ye again spare this man, who after his first repentance is again entangled in the snares of sin?"

22. So that whereas some of them use to say of certain sins that after baptism, or after the first relapse, they are unpardonable, we must know, that in the style of the church, 'unpardonable' signified such to which by the discipline and customs of the church pardon was not ministered. They were called 'unpardonable,' not because God would not pardon them, but because He alone could: this we learn from those words of Tertullian[o], *Salva illa pœnitentiæ specie post fidem quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit, aut majoribus et irremissibilibus a Deo solo.* The lighter or lesser sins might obtain pardon from the ministry of the bishop.

Hoc satis est, ipsi cætera mando Deo;

the greatest and the unpardonable could obtain it of God alone. So that when they did deny to absolve some certain criminals after baptism or after a relapse, they did not affirm the sins to be unpardonable, as we understand the word. Novatus himself did not, for (as Socrates[p] reports) he wrote to all the churches every where, that they should not admit them that had sacrificed, to the mysteries, ἀλλὰ προτρέπειν μὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν, τὴν δὲ συγχώρησιν ἐπιτρέπειν Θεῷ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἁμαρτήματα, 'but to exhort them to repentance, and yet to leave their pardon and absolution to Him who is able and hath authority to forgive sins.' And the same also was the doctrine of Acesius his great disciple, for which Constantine in Eusebius[q] reproved him. Some single men have despaired, but there was never any sect of men that sealed up the divine mercy by the locks and bars of despair, much less did any good Christians ever do it.

23. And this we find expressly verified by the French bishops in a synod[r] there held about the time of pope Zephyrinus[s], *Pœnitentia ab his qui dæmonibus sanctificant*[t] *agenda ad diem mortis, non sine spe tamen remissionis, quam ab eo plane*[u] *sperare debebunt qui ejus largitatem et solus obtinet, et tam dives misericordiæ est ut nemo desperet;* 'although the criminal must do penance to his dying day, that is, the church will not absolve or admit him to her communion, yet he must not be without hope of pardon, which yet is not to be hoped for from the church, but from Him who is so rich in mercy that no man may despair.' And not long after this S. Cyprian[v] said, "Though we

[n] Epist. liv. [al. cliii. § 7.—tom. ii. col. 526 F.]

[o] [De pudicitia, cap. xviii. p. 581.]

[p] Lib. iv. cap. 14 [al. 28. p. 249.]

[q] [Lege, Socr., hist. eccl. i. 10, et ab illo Sozom. i. 22.]

[r] [Concil. Valentin. i. A.D. 374.—tom. i. col. 796.]

[s] [leg. 'Damasus.']

[t] 'Sacrificant,' potius legendum.

[u] [al. 'plene.']

[v] Epist. xxxi. [leg. iii. al. viii. p. 17.] Quos separatos a nobis derelinquimus, &c. [lege, 'non derelinquimus.']

leave them in their separation from us, yet we have and do exhort them to repent, if by any means they can receive indulgence from him who can perform it."

24. Now if it be enquired what real effect this had upon the persons or souls of the offending, relapsing persons, the consideration is weighty and material. For to say the church could not absolve such persons, in plain speaking seems to mean that since the church ministers nothing of her own, but is the minister of the divine mercy, she had no commission to promise pardon to such persons. If God had promised pardon to such criminals it is certain the church was bound to preach it; but if she could not declare, preach, or exhibit any such promise, then there was no such promise; and therefore their sending them to God was but a put off, or a civil answer, saying that God might do it if He please, but He had not signified His pleasure concerning them, and whether they who sinned so foully after baptism were pardonable was no where revealed; and therefore all the ministers of religion were bound to say they were unpardonable, that is, God never said He would pardon them, which is the full sense of the word 'unpardonable.' For he that says any sin is unpardonable does not mean that God cannot pardon it, but that He will not, or that He hath not said He will.

25. And upon the same account it seemed unreasonable to S. Ambrose[1] that the church should impose penances, and not release the penitents. He complained of the Novatians for so doing, *Cum utique veniam negando incentivum auferant pœnitentiæ*, the penitents could have little encouragement to perform the injunctions of their confessors, when after they had done them they should not be admitted to the church's communion. And indeed the case was hard, when it should be remembered that whatsoever the church did bind on earth was bound in heaven, and if they retained them below God would do so above; and therefore we find in scripture that δοῦναι μετάνοιαν, 'to give repentance,' being the purpose of Christ's coming and the grace of the gospel, does mean to give the effect of repentance, that is, pardon. And since God's method is such,—by giving the grace, and admitting us to do the duty, He consequently brings to that mercy which is the end of that duty,—it is fit that should also be the method of the church.

26. For the balancing of this consideration we are further to consider, that though the church had power to pardon in all things where God had declared He would, yet because in some sins the malice was so great, the scandal so intolerable, the effect so mischievous, the nature of them so contradictory to the excellent laws of christianity, the church many times could not give a competent judgment whether any man that had committed great sins had made his amends, and done a sufficient penance: and the church not knowing whether their repentance was worthy and acceptable to God, she

[1] Lib. i. de pœnit., cap. 2. [al. cap. i.—tom. ii. col. 390 C.]

could not pronounce their pardon, that is, she could not tell them whether upon those terms God had or would pardon them in the present disposition.

27. For after great crimes, the state of a sinner is very deplorable by reason of his uncertain pardon; not that it is uncertain whether God will pardon the truly penitent, but that it is uncertain who is so; and all the ingredients into the judgment that is to be made, are such things which men cannot well discern, they cannot tell in what measures God will exact the repentance, what sorrow is sufficient, what fruits acceptable, what is expiatory, and what rejected; according to the saying of Solomon[u], "Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?" They cannot tell how long God will forbear, at what time His anger is final, and when He will refuse to hear, or what aggravations of the crime God looks on; nor can they make an estimate which is greater, the example of the sin, or the example of the punishment. And therefore in such great cases the church had reason to refuse to give pardon, which she could minister neither certainly, nor prudently, nor (as the case then stood) safely or piously.

28. But yet she enjoined penances, that is, all the solemnities of repentance, and to them the sinners stood bound in earth, and consequently in heaven (according to the words of our blessed Saviour) but she bound them no further. She intended charity and relief to them, not ruin and death eternal. On this she had no direct power, and if the penitents were obedient to her discipline, then neither could they be prejudiced by her indirect power, she sent them to God for pardon, and made them to prepare themselves accordingly. Her injunction of penances was medicinal, and her refusing to admit them to the communion was an act of caution fitted to the present necessities of the church. *Nonnulli ideo poscunt pœnitentiam ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint; hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quam sacerdotem ligare*[x]; 'some demand penances that they may have speedy communion; these do not so much desire themselves to be loosed, as to have the priest bound;' that is, such hasty proceedings do not any good to the penitent, but much hurt to him that ministers. This the primitive church avoided; and this was the whole effect which that discipline had upon the souls of the penitents. But for their doctrine S. Austin[y] is a sufficient witness, *Sed neque de ipsis criminibus quantilibet magnis remittendis in sancta ecclesia Dei misericordia desperanda est agentibus pœnitentiam secundum modum sui cujusque peccati*, 'they ought not to despair of God's mercy even to the greatest sinners, if they be the greatest penitents, that is, if they repent according to the measure of their sins.' Only in the making their judgments concerning the measures of repentance

[u] [Prov. xx. 9.]
[x] S. Ambros., lib. ii. de pœnit., c. 9. [tom. ii. col. 434 F.]
[y] Enchir. 6. [leg. 65.—tom. vi. col. 220.]

they differed from our practices: ecclesiastical repentance and absolution was not only an exercise of the duty, and an assisting of the penitent in his return, but it was also a warranting or ensuring the pardon; which because in many cases the church could not so well do, she did better in not undertaking it; that is, in not pronouncing absolution.

29. For the pardon of sins committed after baptism not being described in full measures; and though it be sufficiently signified that any sin may be pardoned, yet it not being told upon what conditions this or that great one shall, the church did well and warily not to be too forward. For as S. Paul[x] said, "I am conscious to myself in nothing, yet I am not hereby justified:" so we may say in repentance, 'I have repented, and do so, but I am not hereby justified;' because that is a secret which until the day of judgment we shall not understand: for every repenting is not sufficient. He that repents worthily, let his sin be what it will, shall certainly be pardoned; but after great crimes who does repent worthily, is a matter of harder judgment than the manners of the present age will allow us to make; and so secret, that they thought it not amiss very often to be backward in pronouncing the criminal absolved.

30. But then all this whole affair must needs be a mighty arrest to the gaieties of this sinful age. For although Christ's blood can expiate all sins, and His spirit can sanctify all sinners, and His church can restore all that are capable; yet if we consider that the particulars of every naughty man's case are infinitely uncertain; that there are no minute measures of repentance set down after baptism; that there are some states of sinners which God does reject; that the arrival to this state is by parts, and undetermined steps of progression; that no man can tell when any sin begins to be unpardonable to such a person; and that if we be careless of ourselves, and easy in our judgments, and comply with the false measures of any age, we may be in before we are aware, and cannot come out so soon as we expect; and lastly, if we consider that the primitive and apostolical churches, who best knew how to estimate the mercies of the gospel, and the requisites of repentance, and the malignity and dangers of sin, did not promise pardon so easily, so readily, so quickly as we do: we may think it fit to be more afraid and more contrite, more watchful and more severe.

31. I end this with the words of S. Hierome[a], *Quum beatus Daniel præscius futurorum de sententia Dei dubitet, rem temerariam faciunt qui audacter peccatoribus indulgentiam pollicentur*, 'though Daniel could foretel future things, yet he durst not pronounce concerning the king, whether God would pardon him or no; it is therefore a great rashness boldly to promise pardon to them that have sinned.' That is, it is not to be done suddenly, according to the caution[b] which

[x] [1 Cor. iv. 4.] [a] Ad Dan. [cap. iv.—tom. iii. col. 1090.] [b] [1 Tim. v. 22.]

S. Paul gave to the bishop of Ephesus, "Lay hands suddenly on no man," that is, absolve him not[c] without great trial and just dispositions.

32. For though this be not at all to be wrested to a suspicion that the sins in their kind are not pardonable, yet thus far I shall make use of it; that God who only hath the power, He only can make the judgment whether the sinner be a worthy penitent or not. For there being no express stipulation made concerning the degrees of repentance, no *taxa pœnitentiaria*, 'penitential tables and canons' consigned by God, it cannot be told by man when after great sins and a long iniquity the unhappy man shall be restored, because it wholly depends upon the divine acceptance.

33. In smaller offences, and the seldom returns of sin intervening in a good or a probable life, the curates of souls may make safe and prudent judgments. But when the case is high, and the sin is clamorous, or scandalous, or habitual, they ought not to be too easy in speaking peace to such persons to whom God hath so fiercely threatened death eternal; but to hold their hands, may possibly increase the sorrow, and contrition, and fear, of the penitent and returning man, and by that means make him the surer of it: but it is too great a confidence and presumption to dispense God's pardon, or the king's, upon easy terms, and without their commission.

34. For since all the rule and measures of dispensing it, is by analogies and proportions, by some reason, and much conjecture; it were better by being restrained in the ministries of favour to produce fears and watchfulness, carefulness and godly sorrow, than by an open hand to make sinners bold and many, confident and easy. Those holy and wise men who were our fathers in Christ did well weigh the dangers into which a sinning man had entered, and did dreadfully fear the issues of the divine anger; and therefore although they openly taught that God hath set open the gates of mercy to all worthy penitents, yet concerning repentance they had other thoughts than we have; and that in the pardon of sinners there are many more things to be considered besides the possibility of having the sin pardoned.

§ 4. Of the sin against the holy Ghost; and in what sense it is or may be unpardonable.

35. Upon what account the primitive church did refuse to admit certain criminals to repentance, I have already discoursed; but because there are some places of scripture which seem to have encouraged such severity by denying repentance also to some sinners, it is necessary that they be considered also, lest by being misunderstood some persons in the days of their sorrow be tempted to despair.

36. The Novatians denying repentance to lapsed Christians, pre-

[c] [So Hammond, on this verse; and he adds that S. Cyprian and Pacianus (Paræn. ad pœnit.) understood it in the same manner.]

tended for their warrant those words of S. Paul[d], "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame;" and parallel to this are those other words[e], "For if we sin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall consume the adversaries." The sense of which words will be clear upon the explicating what is meant by *παραπεσόντες*,—what by *ἀνακαινίζειν*,—and what by *ἀδύνατον*.

Παραπεσόντας.

37. "If they shall fall away," viz., from that state of excellent things in which they had received all the present endearments of the gospel, a full conviction, pardon of sins, the earnest of the Spirit, the comfort of the promises, an antepast of heaven itself; if these men shall fall away from all this, it cannot be by infirmity, by ignorance, by surprise; this is that which S. Paul calls *ἑκουσίως ἁμαρτάνειν*, 'to sin wilfully after they have received the knowledge of the truth.' Malicious sinners these are, who sin against the holy Spirit, whose influences they throw away, whose counsels they despise, whose comforts they refuse, whose doctrine they scorn, and from thence fall, not only into one single wasting sin, but *παραπίπτουσι*, they 'fall away,' into a contrary state; into heathenism, or the heresy of the Gnostics, or to any state of despising and hating Christ; expressed here by 'crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting Him to an open shame;' these are they here meant; such who after they had worshipped Jesus, and given up their names to Him, and had been blessed by Him, and felt it, and acknowledged it, and rejoiced in it, these men afterwards without cause or excuse, without error or infirmity, choosingly, willingly, knowingly, called Christ an impostor, and would have crucified Him again if He had been alive, that is, they consented to His death by believing that He suffered justly. This is the case here described, and cannot be drawn to any thing else but its parallel, that is, a malicious renouncing charity or holy life, as these men did the faith, to both which they had made their solemn vows in baptism; but this can no way be drawn to the condemnation and final excision of such persons who after baptism fall into any great sin of which they are willing to repent.

Ἀνακαινίζειν.

38. There is also something peculiar in *ἀνακαινίζειν*, 'renewing' such men to repentance: that is, these men are not to be redintegrate and put into the former condition; they cannot be restored to any other gracious covenant of

[d] [Heb. vi. 4—6.] [e] [Heb. x. 26 sq.]

repentance, since they have despised this. Other persons who 'hold fast their profession,' and 'forget not that they were cleansed in baptism,' they, in case they do fall into sin, may proceed in the same method, in their first 'renovation to repentance,' that is, in their being solemnly admitted to the method and state of repentance for all sins known and unknown. But when this renovation is renounced, when they despise the whole economy, when they reject this grace, and throw away the covenant, there is 'nothing left for such but a fearful looking for of judgment:' for these persons are incapable of the mercies of the gospel, they are out of the way. For there being but one way of salvation, viz., by Jesus Christ whom they renounce, neither Moses, nor nature, nor any other name can restore them. And secondly, their case is so bad, and they so impious and malicious, that no man hath power to persuade such men to accept of pardon by those means which they so disown. For there is no means of salvation but this one, and this one they hate, and will not have; they will not return to the old, and there is none left by which they can be *ἀνακαινιζόμενοι*, 'renewed,' and therefore their condition is desperate.

'Αδύνατον.

39. But the word *ἀδύνατον*, or 'impossible,' is also of special importance and consideration; 'it is impossible to renew such.' For 'impossible' is not to be understood in the natural sense, but in the legal and moral. There are degrees of impossibility, and therefore they are not all absolute and supreme. So when the law hath condemned a criminal, we usually say it is 'impossible' for him to escape, meaning that the law is clearly against him.

> Magnus ab infernis revocetur Tullius umbris,
> Et te defendat Regulus ipse licet,
> Non potes absolvi[f]:———

that is, 'your cause is lost, you are inexcusable, there is no apology, no pleading for you.' And that the same is here meant, we understand by those parallel words, *οὐκ ἔτι ἀπολείπεται θυσία*[g], 'there is left no sacrifice' for him; alluding to Moses' law, in which for them that sinned *ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερηφανίας*, 'with a high hand,' for 'them that despised Moses' law,' there was no sacrifice appointed; which Ben Maimon[h] expounds, saying, that for apostates there was no sacrifice in the law. So that, 'It is impossible to renew such,' means that it is 'ordinarily impossible,' we have in the discipline of the church no door of reconciliation. If he repents of this, he is not the same man, but if he remains so, the church hath no promise to be heard if she prays for him; which is the last thing that the church can do. To absolve him, is to warrant him; that in this case is absolutely impossible: but to pray for him is to put him into some hopes, and

[f] Martial. epigr., lib. iv. [ep. 16.]
[g] [Heb. x. 26.]
[h] [Maimonides, Jad Hazakah, lib. viii. tract. 5, de oblatione sacrificiorum, § 3.]

for that she hath in this case no commission. For this is the 'sin unto death' of which S. John speaks, and gives no encouragement to pray. So that impossible does signify *in sensu forensi*, a state of sin which is sentenced by the law to be capital and damning; but here it signifies the highest degree of that deadliness and impossibility, as there are degrees of malignity and desperation in mortal diseases: for of all evils this state here described is the worst. And therefore here is an impossibility.

40. But besides all other senses of this word, it is certain, by the whole frame of the place, and the very analogy of the gospel, that this impossibility here mentioned, is not an impossibility of the thing, but only relative to the person. It is impossible to restore him whose state of evil is contrary to pardon and restitution, as being a renouncing the gospel, that is the whole covenant of pardon and repentance. Such is that parallel expression used by S. John[1], "He that is born of God sinneth not, neither indeed can he;" that is, 'it is impossible, he cannot sin, for the seed of God remaineth in him.' Now this does not signify that a good man cannot possibly sin if he would; that is, it does not signify a natural, or an absolute impossibility, but such as relates to the present state and condition of the person, being contrary to sin: the same with that of S. Paul[k], 'Be ye led by the Spirit; for the Spirit lusteth against the flesh, . . so that ye cannot do the things which ye would,' viz., which the flesh would fain tempt you to. A good man cannot sin, that is, very hardly can he be brought to choose or to delight in it; he cannot sin without a horrible trouble and uneasiness to himself: so on the other side such apostates as the apostle speaks of 'cannot be renewed;' that is, without extreme difficulty, and a perfect contradiction to that state in which they are for the present lost. But if this man will repent with a repentance proportioned to that evil which he hath committed, that he ought not to despair of pardon in the court of heaven, we have the affirmation of Justin Martyr[l], Τοὺς δὲ ὁμολογήσαντας καὶ ἐπιγνόντας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἠτινιοῦν αἰτίᾳ μεταβάντας καὶ τὴν ἔννομον πολιτείαν, ἀρνησαμένους ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ πρὶν τελευτῆς μὴ μεταγνόντας, οὐδόλως σωθήσεσθαι ἀποφαίνομαι, 'they that confess and acknowledge Him to be Christ, and for whatsoever cause go from Him to the secular conversation,' viz., to heathenism or judaism, &c., 'denying that He is Christ, and not confessing Him again before their death, they can never be saved.' So that this impossibility concerns not those that return and do confess Him, but those that wilfully and maliciously reject this only way of salvation as false and deceitful, and never return to the confession of it again; which is the greatest sin against the holy Ghost, of which I am in the next place to give a more particular account.

[1] [1 John iii. 9.] [k] [Gal. v. 17.] [l] Dial. cont. Tryph. [§ 47. p. 143 C.]

§ 5. What sin is spoken of by our Lord, Matt. xii. 32, and that final impenitence is not it.

41. "He that speaketh against the holy Ghost, it shall never be forgiven him in this world, nor in the world to come;" so said our blessed Saviour[m]. Origen and the Novatians after him, when the scholars of Novatus, to justify their master's schism from the church, had changed the good old discipline into a new and evil doctrine, said that all the sins of Christians committed after baptism are sins against the holy Ghost, by whom in baptism they have been illuminated, and by Him they were taught in the gospel, and by Him they were consigned in confirmation, and promoted in all the assistances and conduct of grace. And they gave this reason for it,—Because the Father is in all creatures, the Son only in the reasonable, and the holy Spirit in Christians; against which if they prevaricate they shall not be pardoned, while the sins of heathens, as being only against the Son, are easily pardoned in baptism. I shall not need to refute this fond opinion, as being already done by S. Athanasius[n] in a book purposely written on this subject; and it falls alone; for that to sin against the holy Ghost is not proper to Christians appears in this, that Christ charged it upon the pharisees: and that every sin of Christians is not this sin against the holy Ghost appears, because Christians are perpetually called upon to repent: for to what purpose should any man be called from his sin, if by returning he shall not escape damnation? or if he shall, then that sin is not against the holy Ghost, or if it be, that sin is not unpardonable; either of which destroys their fond affirmative.

42. S. Austin[o] makes final impenitence to be it; against which opinion though many things may be opposed, yet it is openly confuted in being charged upon the pharisees, who were not then guilty of final impenitence. But the instance clears the article. The pharisees saw the light of God's spirit manifestly shining in the miracles which Christ did, and they did not only despise His person and persecute it, which is 'speaking against the Son of man,' that is, sinning against Him, (for speaking against is sinning or doing against it in the Jews' manner of expression,) but they also spitefully and maliciously blasphemed that Spirit, and that power of God, by which they were convinced, and by which such miracles are done. And this was that ῥῆμα ἀργὸν[p], that 'idle and unprofitable word' spoken of in the following verses, by which Christ said they should be judged at the last day; such which whosoever should speak he should give account thereof in that day.

43. Now this was ever esteemed a high and an intolerable crime; for it was not new, but an old crime; only it was manifested by an appellative relating to a power and a name now more used than for-

[m] [Matt. xii. 32.]

[n] [In illud, 'Quicunque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis;' quæ est pars epistolæ iv. ad Serapionem, ed. Ben. tom. i. p. 701 sqq.]

[o] [Expos. epist. ad Rom., § 14. (tom. iii. part. 2. col. 933 B.) et passim.]

[p] [ver. 36.]

merly. This was the sin for which Corah and his company died, who did despise and reproach the works of God, His power and the mightiness of His hand manifested in His servant Moses. It is called 'sinning with a high hand,' that is, with a hand lift up on high against God. Corah and his company committed the sin against the holy Spirit, for they spake against that Spirit and power which God had put into Moses, and proved by the demonstration of mighty effects: it is a denying that great argument of credibility, by which God goes about to verify any mission of His, to prove by mighty effects of God's spirit, that God hath sent such a man. When God manifests His holy spirit by signs and wonders extraordinary, not to revere this good Spirit, not to confess Him, but to revile Him, or to reproach the power, is that which God ever did highly punish.

44. Thus it happened to Pharaoh; he also sinned against the holy Ghost, the good Spirit of God: for when his magicians told him that the finger of God was there, yet he hardened his heart against it, and then God went on to harden it more till He overthrew him; for then his sin became unpardonable in the sense I shall hereafter explicate. And this passed into a law to the children of Israel, and they were warned of it with the highest threatening, that is, of a capital punishment, "The soul that doeth ought presumptuously" or with a high hand, "the same reproacheth the Lord, that soul shall be cut off from among his people[q]:" and this is translated into the New testament[r], "They that do despite to the Spirit of grace shall fall into the hands of the living God." That's the sin against the holy Ghost.

45. Now this sin must in all reason be very much greater under the gospel than under the law. For when Christ came, He did such miracles which never any man did, and preached a better law; and with mighty demonstrations of the Spirit, that is, of the power and Spirit of God, proved Himself to have come from God, and therefore men were more convinced; and he that was so, and yet would oppose the Spirit, that is, defy all His proofs, and hear none of His words, and obey none of His laws, and at last revile Him too, he had done the great sin; for this is to do the worst thing we can, we dishonour God in that in which He intended most to glorify Himself.

46. Two instances of this we find in the New testament, though not of the highest degree, yet because done directly against the Spirit of God, that is, in despite or in disparagement of that Spirit by which so great things were wrought, it grew intolerable. Ananias did not revere the Spirit of God, so mightily appearing in S. Peter and the other apostles, and he was smitten and died. Simon Magus took the Spirit of God for a vendible commodity, for a thing less than money, and fit to serve secular ends; and he instantly fell into the gall of bitterness, that is, a sad bitter calamity; and S. Peter knew not whether God would forgive him or no.

[q] [Numb. xv. 30.] [r] [Heb. x. 29 and 31.]

47. But it is remarkable, that the holy scriptures note various degrees of this malignity; 'grieving the holy Spirit,' 'resisting' Him, 'quenching' Him, 'doing despite' to Him: all sin against the holy Ghost, but yet they that had done so were all called to repentance. S. Stephen's sermon was an instance of it, and so was S. Peter's, and so was the prayer of Christ upon the cross, for the malicious Jews, the pharisees, His 'betrayers and murderers.' But the sin itself is of an indefinite progression, and hath not physical limits and a certain constitution, as is observable in carnal crimes, theft, murder, or adultery: for though even these are increased by circumstances and an inward consent and degrees of love and adhesion; yet of the crime itself we can say, this is murder, and this is adultery, and therefore the punishment is proper and certain. But since there are so many degrees of the sin against the holy Ghost, and it consists not in an indivisible point, but according to the nature of internal and spiritual sins, it is like time or numbers, of a moveable being, of a flux, unstable, immense[a] constitution, and may be always growing; not only by the repetition of acts, but by its proper essential increment; and since in the particular case the measures are uncertain, the nature secret, the definition disputable, and so many sins are like it, or reducible to it, apt to produce despair in timorous consciences, and to discourage repentance in lapsed persons, it will be an intolerable proposition that affirms the sin against the holy Ghost to be absolutely unpardonable.

48. That the sin against the holy Ghost is pardonable, appears in the instance of the pharisees; to whom, even after they had committed the sin, God was pleased to afford preaching, signs and miracles, and Christ upon the cross prayed for them; but in what sense also it was unpardonable, appears in their case; for they were so far gone, that they would not return, and God did not, and at last would not pardon them. For this appellative is not properly subjected nor attributed to the sin itself, but it is according as the man is. The sin may be, and is at some time unpardonable, yet not in all its measures and parts of progression; as appears in the case of Pharaoh, who all the way from the first miracle to the tenth, sinned against the holy Ghost, but at last he was so bad that God would not pardon him. Some men are come to the greatness of the sin, or to that state and grandeur of impiety, that their estate is desperate, that is, though the nature of their sins is such as God is extremely angry with them, and would destroy them utterly were He not restrained by an infinite mercy, yet it shall not be thus for ever; for in some state of circumstances and degrees, God is finally angry with the man, and will never return to him.

49. Until things be come to this height, whatsoever the sin be it is pardonable. For if there were any one sin distinguishable in its whole nature and instance from others, which in every of its periods

[a] [i. e. 'unmeasured.']

were unpardonable, it is most certain it would have been described in scripture with clear characters and cautions, that a man might know when he is in and when he is out. 'Speaking a word against the holy Spirit' is by our blessed Saviour called this great sin; but it is certain that every word spoken against Him is not unpardonable. Simon Magus spoke a foul word against Him, but S. Peter did not say it was unpardonable, but when he bid him pray, he consequently bid him hope; but because he would not warrant him, that is, durst not absolve him, he sufficiently declared that this sin is of an indefinite nature, and by growth would arrive at the unpardonable state; the state and fulness of it is unpardonable, that is, God will to some men, and in some times and stages of their evil life, be so angry, that He will give them over, and leave them in their reprobate mind. But no man knows when that time is; God only knows, and the event must declare it.

50. But for the thing itself, that it is pardonable is very certain, because it may be pardoned in baptism. The Novatians denied not to baptism a power of pardoning any sin; and in this sense it is without doubt true what Zosimus[t] by way of reproach objected to christian religion, it is δόξα πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετικὴ, 'a deletery and purgative for every sin whatsoever.' And since the unconverted pharisees were guilty of this sin, and it was a sin forbidden, and punished capitally in the law of Moses, either to these Christ could not have been preached, and for them Christ did not die, or else it is certain that the sin against the holy Spirit of God is pardonable.

51. Now whereas our B. Lord affirmed of this sin, it shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come; we may best understand the meaning of it by the parallel words of old Eli[u] to his sons, "If a man sin against another, the judge shall judge him;" *placari ei potest Deus*, so the vulgar latin reads it, 'God may be appeased,' that is, "it shall be forgiven him." That is, a word spoken against the Son of man, which relates to Christ only upon the account of His human nature, that may be forgiven him, it shall (that is) upon easier terms, as upon a temporal judgment, called in this place, 'a being judged by the judge.' "But if a man sin against the Lord, who shall intreat for him?" that is, 'if he sin with a high hand, presumptuously, against the Lord, against His power, and His spirit, who shall intreat for him? It shall never be pardoned;' never so as the other, never upon a temporal judgment: that cannot expiate this great sin, as it could take off a sin against a man, or the Son of man: for though it be punished here, it shall be punished hereafter. But secondly,

52. "It shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come," that is, neither to the Jews nor to the gentiles. For *sæculum*

[t] [Zosimus records that a person represented the christian religion to Constantine in this light.—Hist. ii. 29.]

[u] [1 Sam. ii. 25.]

hoc, 'this world,' in scripture, is the period of the Jews' synagogue, and *μέλλων αἰων*, 'the world to come,' is taken for the gospel[x], or the age of the Messias, frequently among the Jews: and it is not unlikely Christ might mean it in that sense which was used amongst them by whom He would be understood. But because the word was also as commonly used in that sense in which it is understood at this day, viz., for the world after this life, I shall therefore propound another exposition which seems to me more probable. Though remission of sins is more plentiful in the gospel than under the law, yet because the sin is bigger under the gospel, there is not here any ordinary way of pardoning it, no ministry established to warrant or absolve such sinners, but it must be referred to God himself. And yet that's not all: for if a man perseveres in this sin, he shall neither be forgiven here nor hereafter; that is, neither can he be absolved in this world by the ministry of the church, nor in the world to come by the sentence of Christ; and this I take to be the full meaning of this so difficult place.

53. For in this world, properly so speaking, there is no forgiveness of sins but what is by the ministry of the church. For then a sin is forgiven when it is pardoned in the day of sentence or execution; that is, when those evils are removed which are usually inflicted, or which are proper to that day. Now then for the final punishment, that is not till the day of judgment, and if God then gives us a 'mercy in that day,' then is the day of our pardon from Him; in the mean time, if He be gracious to us here, He either forbears to smite us, or smites us to bring us to repentance, and all the way continues to us the use of the word and sacraments; that is, if He does in any sense pardon us here, if He does not give us over to a 'reprobate mind,' He continues us under the means of salvation, which is the ministry of the church, for that's the way of pardon in this world[y], as the blessed sentence of the right hand is the way of pardon in the world to come. So that when our great Lord and Master threatens to this sin, 'It shall not be pardoned in this world, nor in the world to come,' He means that neither shall the ministers of the church pronounce his pardon, or comfort his sorrows, or restore him after his fall, or warrant his condition, or pray for him publicly, or give him the peace and communion of the church: neither will God pardon him in the day of judgment.

54. But all this fearful denunciation of the divine judgment is only upon supposition the man does not repent. *Οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς*[z], *Τῷ βλασφημήσαντι καὶ μετανοήσαντι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται, ἀλλὰ, Τῷ βλασφημοῦντι, ἤγουν τῷ ἐν τῇ βλασφημίᾳ ἐπιμένοντι· ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔστιν ἁμαρτία ἀσυγχώρητος παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς ὁσίως καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν μετανοοῦσιν*, said S. Athanasius[a], 'God did not say, To him that

[x] [So Hammond on Heb. vi. 6; and he refers to Is. ix. 6, LXX.]

[y] Vide infra num. 65.

[z] [al. *ὁ Χριστὸς*.]

[a] Quæst. lxxi. [leg. lxxii.] tom. ii. [p. 285 F.]

blasphemes and repents it shall not be forgiven, but, To him that blasphemes and remains in his blasphemy; for there is no sin which God will not pardon to them that holily and worthily repent.' Οὐτε τὸ τρωθῆναι οὕτω δεινὸν ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βούλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι[b], 'to be wounded is not so grievous, but it is intolerable when the wounded man refuses to be cured.' For it is considerable,

55. Whoever can repent may hope for pardon, else he could not be invited to repentance. I do not say, whoever can be sorrowful may hope for pardon; for there is a sorrow too late, then commencing when there is no time left to begin, much less to finish, ὁσιῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν μετάνοιαν, as Athanasius calls it, 'a holy and a worthy repentance:' and of such Philo[c] affirmed, Πολλαῖς γὰρ ψυχαῖς μετανοίᾳ χρῆσθαι βουληθείσαις οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ παλιρρόίας εἰς τοὔμπαλιν ἀνεχώρησαν, 'some unhappy souls would fain be admitted to repentance, but God permits them not,' that is, their time is past, and either they die before they can perform it, or if they live they return to their old impieties like water from a rock. But whoever can repent worthily, and leave their sin, and mortify it, and make such amends as is required, these men ought not to despair of pardon: they may hope for mercy: and if they may hope they must hope, for not to do it were the greatest crime of despair, For despair is no sin, but where to hope is a duty.

56. But if this be all, then the sin against the holy Ghost hath no more said against it than any other sin; for if we repent not of theft or adultery, it shall neither be forgiven us in this world nor in the world to come; and if we do repent of the sin against the holy Ghost, it shall not be exacted of us, but shall be pardoned: so that to say it is unpardonable without repentance, is to say nothing peculiar of this.

57. To this I answer, that 'pardonable' and 'unpardonable' have no definite signification, but have a latitude and increment, and a various sense; but seldom signify in the absolute supreme sense. Sins of infirmity, such I mean which in any sense can properly be called sins, must in some sense or other be repented of, and they are unpardonable without repentance, that is, without such a repentance as does disallow them and contend against them. But these are also pardonable without repentance by some degrees of pardon, that is, God pities our sins of ignorance and winks at them, and upon the only account of His own pity does bring such persons to better notices of things. And they are pardonable without repentance, if by repentance we mean an absolute dereliction of them, for we shall never be able to leave them quite; and therefore either they shall never be pardoned, or else they are pardoned without such a repentance as signifies dereliction or entire mastery over them.

[b] S. Chrysost. in 1 Cor., hom. viii. [tom. x. p. 71 C.]
[c] In allegor. [lib. iii. tom. i. p. 368.]

58. But secondly, sins which are wilfully and knowingly committed, as theft, adultery, murder, are unpardonable without repentance, that is, without such a repentance as forsakes them actually and entirely, and produces such acts of grace as are proper for their expiation: but yet even these sins require not such a repentance as sins against the holy Ghost do. These must have a greater sorrow, and a greater shame, and a more severe amends, and a more passionate lasting prayer, and a bigger fear, and a more public amends, and a sharper infliction, and greater excellency of grace than is necessary in lesser sins. But in this difference of sins it is usual to promise pardon to the less and not to the greater, when the meaning is, that the smaller sins are only pardoned upon easier terms: an example of this we have in Clemens Alexandrinus[e], Τὰ μὲν γὰρ προενεργηθέντα ἀφείθη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐκκαθαίρεται, 'sins committed before baptism are pardoned, but sins after it must be purged,' that is, by a severe repentance, which the others needed not; and yet without repentance baptism would nothing avail vicious persons. So we say concerning those sins which we have forgotten, they may be pardoned without repentance, meaning without a special repentance, but yet not without a general. Thus we find it in the imperial law, that they that had fallen into heresy or strange superstitions, they were to be pardoned if they did repent: but if they did relapse they should not be pardoned; but they mean, *Venia eodem modo præstari non potest*[f]; so Gratian, Valens, and Valentinian expressed it. So that by denying pardon they only mean that it shall be harder with such persons, their pardon shall not be so easily obtained; but as they repeat their sins so their punishment shall increase, and at last if no warning will serve, it shall destroy them.

59. For it is remarkable that in scripture 'pardonable' and 'unpardonable' signifies no more than 'mortal' and 'venial' in the writings of the church; of which I have given accounts in its proper place[g]. But when a sin is declared deadly or killing, and damnation threatened to such persons, we are not therefore, if we have committed any such, to lie down under the load and die; but with the more earnestness depart from it, lest that which is of a killing, damning nature, prove so to us in the event. For the sin of adultery is a damning sin, and murder is a killing sin, and the sin against the holy Ghost is worse; and they are all unpardonable, that is, condemning; they are such in their cause or in themselves, but if they prove so to us in the event or effect, it is because we will not repent. 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh damnation to himself[h];' that's as high an expression as any; and yet there are several degrees and kinds of eating and drinking unworthily, and

[e] [vid. p. 399, not. i, supra.]—Vid. etiam Cæsar. Arelat. hom. xlii. quædam ad hanc rem spectantia. [vid. p. 135, not. y, supra.]

[f] Lib. iv. cod. Theod. 'Ne sacrum baptisma iteretur.' [lib. xvi. tit. 6.]

[g] [Cap. iii. p. 83 sqq., supra.]

[h] [1 Cor. xi. 27.]

some are more unpardonable than others; but yet the Corinthians who did eat unworthily, some of them coming to the holy supper drunk, and others schismatically, were by S. Paul admitted to repentance. Some sins are like deadly potions, they kill the man, unless he speedily take an antidote, or unless by strength of nature he work out the poison and overcome it; and others are like a desperate disease or a deadly wound, the iliacal passions, the physicians give him over, it is a *Miserere mei Deus;* of which though men despair, yet some have been cured. Thus also in the capital and great sins many of them are such which the church will not absolve, or dare not promise cure.

Non est in medico semper relevetur ut æger;
Interdum docta plus valet arte malum [i].

But then these persons are sent to God, and are bid to hope for favour from thence, and may find it. But others there are whom the church will not meddle withal, and sends them to God, and God will not absolve them, that is, they shall be pardoned neither by God nor the church, 'neither in this world nor in the world to come.' But the reason is not because their sin is in all its periods of an unpardonable nature, but because they have persisted in it too long, and God in the secret economy of His mercies hath shut the everlasting doors; the olive doors of mercy shall not be opened to them. And this is the case of too many miserable persons. They who repent timely and holily, are not in this number, whatsoever sins they be which they have committed. But this is the case of them whom God hath given over to a reprobate mind, and of them who sin against God's holy spirit, when their sin is grown to its full measure. So we find it expressed in the Proverbs[k], "Turn ye at My reproof, I will pour out My spirit unto you;" and then it follows, "Because I have called and ye refused, I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh." But this is not in all the periods of our refusing to hear God calling by His spirit; but when the sin of the Amalekites is full, then it is unpardonable, not in the thing, but to that man, at that time. And besides all the promises, this is highly verified in the words of our blessed Saviour[l] taken out of the prophet Isaiah; where it is affirmed, that when people are so obstinate and wilfully blind, that God then leaves to give them clearer testimony and a mighty grace, 'lest they should hear and see and understand;' it follows, "and should be converted, and I should heal them;" plainly telling us that if even then they should repent, God could not but forgive them; and therefore because He hath now no love left to them by reason of their former obstinacy, yet wherever you can suppose repentance, there you may more than suppose a pardon. But if a man cannot,

[i] [Ovid., epistt. ex Ponto, lib. i. ep. 3. lin. 17.]

[k] [Prov. i. 23, 6, 8.]

[l] [Matt. xiii. 15.]

or will not repent, then it is another consideration: in the mean time, nothing hinders but that every sin is pardonable to him that repents.

60. But thus we find that the style of scripture and the expressions of holy persons, is otherwise in the threatening and the edict, otherwise in the accidents of persons and practice. It is necessary that it be severe when duty is demanded; but of lapsed persons it uses not to be exacted in the same dialect. It is as all laws are. In the general they are decretory, in the use and application they are easier. In the sanction they are absolute and infinite, but yet capable of interpretations, of dispensations and relaxation in particular cases. And so it is in the present article; 'impossible,' and 'unpardonable,' and 'damnation,' and 'shall be cut off,' and 'nothing remains but fearful expectation of judgment,' are exterminating words and phrases in the law, but they do not effect all that they there signify, to any but the impenitent; according to the saying of Mark the hermit[m], Οὐδεὶς κατεκρίθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης[n] κατεφρόνησε, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης ἐπιμελῇ, 'no man is ever justified but he that carefully repents, and no man is condemned but he that despises repentance.' Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίουσαν αἰδεῖται μετάνοιαν, said S. Basil[o], 'the eye of God, who is so great a lover of souls, cannot deny the intercessions and litanies of repentance.'

§ 6. The former doctrines reduced to practice.

61. First, although the doors of repentance open to them that sin after baptism, and to them that sin after repentance, yet every relapse does increase the danger, and make the sin to be less pardonable than before. For,

62. *a.* A good man falling into sin does it without all necessity: he hath assistances great enough to make him conqueror, he hath reason enough to dissuade him, he hath sharp senses of the filthiness of sin, his spirit is tender, and is crushed with the uneasy load, he sighs and wakes, and is troubled and distracted; and if he sins, he sins with pain and shame and smart; and the less of mistake there is in his case, the more of malice is ingredient, and greater anger is like to be his portion.

63. *β.* It is a particular unthankfulness when a man that was once pardoned shall relapse. And when obliged persons prove enemies, they are ever the most malicious; as having nothing to protect or cover their shame, but impudence.

Ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῆς Ἀγαμέμνονα τίσαν Ἀχαῖοι[p],

So did the Greeks treat Agamemnon ill, because he used them but too well. Such persons are like travellers who in a storm running

[m] [De pœnitentia, cap. xi.]

[n] [sc. μετανοίας,]

[o] [Sc. Basil. Seleuc. episc., orat. xii. in Jonam. p. 106. 8vo. ap. Commelin. 1596.]

[p] ['Η παροιμία κατὰ τῶν τοὺς εὐεργέτας προπηλακιζόντων, ἤγουν ὑβριζόντων. —Suidas, col. 385 C.

—δῆσαν Ἀχαῖοι, is another reading: Parœmiogr. ed. Gaisford; in proverbiis e cod. Bodl. 143, et Diogen. i. 99.]

to a fig-tree, when the storm is over they beat the branches and pluck the fruit, and having run to an altar for sanctuary, they steal the chalice from the holy place, and rob the temple that secured them. And God does more resent it that the lambs which He feeds at His own table, which are as so many sons and daughters to Him, that daily suck plenty from His two breasts of mercy and providence, that they should in His own house make a mutiny, and put on the fierceness of wolves, and rise up against their Lord and Shepherd.

64. γ. Every relapse after repentance, is directly and in its proper principle a greater sin. Our first faults are pitiable, and we do *pati humanum*, we 'do after the manner of men;' but when we are recovered, and then die again, we do *facere diabolicum*, we do after the manner of devils. For from ignorance to sin, from passion and youthful appetites to sin, from violent temptations and little strengths to fall into sin, is no very great change; it is from a corrupted nature to corrupted manners: but from grace to return to sin, from knowledge and experience, and delight in goodness and wise notices, from God and His Christ to return to sin, to foolish actions, and nonsense principles, is a change great as was the fall of the morning stars when they descended cheaply and foolishly into darkness. Well therefore may it be pitied in a child to choose a bright dagger before a warm coat, but when he hath been refreshed by this and smarted by that, if he chooses again, he will choose better. But men that have tried both states, that have rejoiced for their deliverance from temptation, men that have given thanks to God for their safety and innocence, men that have been wearied and ashamed of the follies of sin, that have weighed both sides and have given wise sentence for God and for religion, if they shall choose again, and choose amiss, it must be by something by which Lucifer did in the face of God choose to defy Him, and desire to turn devil, and be miserable and wicked for ever and ever.

65. δ. If a man repents of his repentances and returns to his sins, all his intermedial repentance shall stand for nothing: the sins which were marked for pardon shall break out in guilt, and be exacted of him in fearful punishments, as if he never had repented. For if good works crucified by sins are made alive by repentance, by the same reason those sins also will live again, if the repentance dies; it being equally just that if the man repents of his repentance, God also should repent of His pardon.

66. For we must observe carefully that there is a pardon of sins proper to this life, and another proper to the world to come. "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted," and "what ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven[p]." That is, there are two remissions[q], one here, the other hereafter; that here is wrought by the ministry of the word and sacraments, by faith and obedience, by

[p] [John xx. 23; Matt. xviii. 18.]

[q] Vid. supra, num. 53.

moral instruments and the divine grace; all which are divisible and gradual, and grow or diminish, ebb or flow, change or persist, and consequently grow on to effect, or else fail of the grace of God, that final grace which alone is effective of that benefit which we here contend for. Here in proper speaking our pardon is but a disposition towards the great and final pardon; a possibility and ability to pursue that interest, to contend for that absolution: and accordingly, it is wrought by parts, and is signified and promoted by every act of grace that puts us in order to heaven, or the state of final pardon. God gives us one degree of pardon when He forbears to kill us in the act of sin; when He admits, when He calls, when He smites us into repentance, when He invites us by mercies and promises, when He abates or defers His anger, when He sweetly engages us in the ways of holiness, these are several parts and steps of pardon; for if God were extremely angry with us as we deserve, nothing of all this would be done unto us: and still God's favours increase, and the degrees of pardon multiply, as our endeavours are prosperous, as we apply ourselves to religion and holiness, and make use of the benefits of the church, the ministry of the word and sacraments, and as our resolutions pass into acts and habits of virtue. But then in this world we are to expect no other pardon, but a fluctuating, alterable, uncertain pardon, as our duty is uncertain. Hereafter it shall be finished, if here we persevere in the parts and progressions of our repentance: but as yet it is an embryo, in a state of conduct and imperfection; here we always pray for it, always hope it, always labour for it; but we are not fully and finally absolved till the day of sentence and judgment; until that day we hope and labour.

The purpose of this discourse is to represent in what state of things our pardon stands here; and that it is not only conditional, but of itself a mutable effect, a disposition towards the great pardon, and therefore if it be not nursed and maintained by the proper instruments of its progression, it dies like an abortive conception, and shall not have that immortality whither it was designed.

Οὐκ ἄρα τοῦτο μάταιον ἔπος μερόπων τινὶ λέχθη,
Ῥήγνυσθαι σοφίης τόξον ἀνιέμενον[r].

'for it was not ill said of old, He that remits of his severity and interrupts his course, does also break it,' and then he breaks his hopes, and dissolves the golden chain which reached up to the foot of the throne of grace.

67. Secondly, here therefore the advice is reasonable and necessary, —He that would ensure his pardon must persevere in duty; and to that purpose must make a full and perfect work in his mortifications and fights against sin; he must not suffer any thing to remain behind which may ever spring up and bear the apples of Sodom[s]. It is

[r] [Diog. Laert. de Theophrasto, in vita ejus, cap. xi. tom. i. p. 341.]
[s] [For the origin of this expression, see vol. iv. p. 539, note k.]

the advice of Dion Prusæensis[t], "He that goes to cleanse his soul from lusts like a wild desert from beasts of prey, unless he do it thoroughly, in a short time will be destroyed by the remaining portions of his concupiscence." For as a fever whose violence is abated and the malignity lessened, and the man returns to temper and reason, to quiet nights and cheerful days, if yet there remains any of the unconquered humour, it is apt to be set on work again by every cold, or little violence of chance, and the same disease returns with a bigger violence and danger: so it is in the eradication of our sins; that which remains behind, is of too great power to effect all the purposes of our death, and to make us to have fought in vain, and lose all our labours and all our hopes, and the intermedial piety being lost, will exasperate us the more, and kill us more certainly than our former vices; as cold water taken to cool the body inflames it more, and makes cold to be the kindler of a greater fire.

68. Thirdly, let no man be too forward in saying his sin is pardoned, for our present persuasions are too gay and confident; and that which is not repentance sufficient for a lustful thought, or one single act of uncleanness or intemperance, we usually reckon to be the very porch of heaven, and expiatory of the vilest and most habitual crimes. It were well if the spiritual[u] and the curates of souls were not the authors or encouragers of this looseness of confidence and credulity. To confess and to absolve is all the method of our modern repentance, even when it is the most severe. Indeed in the church of England I cannot so easily blame that proceeding; because there are so few that use the proper and secret ministry of a spiritual guide, that it is to be supposed he that does so hath long repented and done some violence to himself and more to his sins, before he can master himself so much as to bring himself to submit to that ministry. But there where the practice is common, and the shame is taken off, and the duty returns at certain festivals, and is frequently performed, to absolve as soon as the sinner confesses, and leave him to amend afterwards if he please, is to give him confidence and carelessness, but not absolution[x].

69. Fourthly, do not judge of the pardon of thy sins by light and trifling significations, but by long, lasting, and material events. If God continues to call thee to repentance, there is hopes that He is ready to pardon thee; and if thou dost obey the heavenly calling, and dost not defer to begin, nor stop in thy course, nor retire to thy 'vain conversation,' thou art in the sure way of pardon, and mayest also finish it. But if thou dost believe that thy sins are pardoned, remember the words of our Lord concerning Mary Magdalen, 'Much is forgiven her, and she loved much.' If thou fearest thy sins are

[t] [al. Dio Chrysostom., orat. v., tom. i. p. 195.]

[u] [See p. 394, line 1, above.]

[x] Vide Cyprian., lib. iii. epp. 14, 15, et 16. [al. epp. 16, 15, et 17, p. 33 sqq.] et De lapsis, [p. 121 sqq.]

not pardoned, pray the more earnestly, and mortify thy sin with the more severity; and be no more troubled concerning the event of it, but let thy whole care and applications be concerning thy duty. I have read[y] of one that was much afflicted with fear concerning his final state; and not knowing whether he should persevere in grace, and obtain a glorious pardon at last, cried out, *O si scirem, &c.*, 'Would to God I might but know whether I should persevere or no!' He was answered, 'What wouldest thou do if thou wert sure? wouldest thou be careless, or more curious of thy duty? If that knowledge would make thee careless, desire it not; but if it would improve thy diligence, then what thou wouldest do in case thou didst know, do that now thou dost not know; and whatever thy notice or persuasion be, the thing in itself will be more secure, and thou shalt find it in the end.' But if any man is curious of the event, and would fain know of the event of his soul, let him reveal the state of his soul to a godly and a prudent spiritual guide; and he, when he hath searched diligently, and observed him curiously, can tell him all that is to be told, and give him all the assurance that is to be given, and warrant him, as much as himself hath received a warrant to do it. Unless God be pleased to draw the curtains of His sanctuary, and open the secrets of His eternal counsel, there is no other certainty of an actual pardon but what the church does minister, and what can be prudently derived from ourselves. For to every such curious person this only is to be said, Do you believe the promises, that if we confess our sins and forsake them, if we believe and obey, we shall be pardoned and saved? If so, then enquire whether or no thou dost perform the conditions of thy pardon. 'How shall I know?' Examine thyself, try thy own spirit, and use the help of a holy and a wise guide; he will teach thee to know thyself. If after all this thou answerest that thou canst not tell whether thy heart be right and thy duty acceptable, then sit down and hope the best, and work in as much light and hope as thou hast; but never enquire after the secret of God, when thou doest not so much as know thyself; and how canst thou hope to espy the most private counsels of heaven, when thou canst not certainly perceive what is in thy own hand and heart. But if thou canst know thyself, you need not enquire any further; if thy duty be performed, you may be secure of all that is on God's part.

70. Fifthly, whenever repentance begins, know that from thenceforward the sinner begins to live; but then never let that repentance die. Do not at any time say, I have repented of such a sin, and am at peace for that; for a man ought never to be at peace with sin, nor think that any thing we can do is too much. Our repentance for sin is never to be at an end till faith itself shall be no more; for faith and repentance are but the same covenant; and so long as the

[y] [The original is a beautiful passage in Th. à Kempis, de imit. Christi, i. 25. 2.]

just does live by faith in the Son of God, so long he lives by repentance; for by that faith in Him our sins are pardoned, that is, by becoming His disciples we enter into the covenant of repentance. And he undervalues his sin, and overvalues his sorrow, who at any time fears he shall do too much, or make his pardon too secure, and therefore sets him down and says, Now I have repented.

71. Sixthly, let no man ever say he hath committed the sin against the holy Ghost, or the unpardonable sin; for there are but few that do that, and he can best confute himself if he can but tell that he is sorrowful for it, and begs for pardon and hopes for it, and desires to make amends: this man hath already obtained some degrees of pardon: and S. Paul's[z] argument in this case also is a demonstration, "If when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by His life." That is, if God to enemies gives the first grace, much more will He give the second, if they make use of the first. For from none to a little is an infinite distance; but from a little to a great deal, is not so much. And therefore since God hath given us means of pardon and the grace of repentance, we may certainly expect the fruit of pardon: for it is a greater thing to give repentance to a sinner than to give pardon to the penitent. Whoever repents hath not committed the great sin, the unpardonable. For it is long[a] of the man, not of the sin, that any sin is unpardonable.

72. Seventhly, let every man be careful of entering into any great states of sin, lest he be unawares guilty of the great offence. Every resisting of a holy motion calling us from sin, every act against a clear reason or revelation, every confident progression in sin, every resolution to commit a sin in despite of conscience, is an access towards the great sin or state of evil. Therefore concerning such a man, let others fear since he will not, and 'save him with fear, plucking him out of the fire[b];' but when he begins to return, that great fear is over in many degrees; for even in Moses' law there were expiations appointed not only for error, but for presumptuous sins.

[z] [Rom. v. 10.]

[a] [See p. 275, note h, above. In Gower, De conf. amant., book v. fo. 96 a. (printed by Berthelette, 1582), we have,

But if it is alonge on me
Of that ye unavaunced be
Or else if it belonge on you &c.

And in Chaucer (printed by Wynkyn de Worde) 'Tale of the chanons yeoman,'

I can not telle where on it was a longe
But well I wote grete stryf is us amonge &c.

In the prologue of the 'Return from Parnassus,' as printed 1606,

'Its all long on you, I could not get my part a night or two before, that I might sleepe on it."]

[b] [Jude 23.]

THE PRAYER.

I.

O ETERNAL God, gracious and merciful, I adore the immensity and deepest abyss of Thy mercy and wisdom, that Thou dost pity our infirmities, instruct our ignorances, pass by thousands of our follies, invitest us to repentance, and dost offer pardon, because we are miserable, and because we need it, and because Thou art good, and delightest in shewing mercy. Blessed be Thy holy name, and blessed be that infinite mercy which issues forth from the fountains of our Saviour, to refresh our weariness, and to water our stony hearts, and to cleanse our polluted souls. O cause that these Thy mercies may not run in vain, but may redeem my lost soul, and recover Thy own inheritance, and sanctify Thy portion, the heart of Thy servant and all my faculties.

II.

Blessed Jesus, Thou becamest a little lower than the angels, but Thou didst make us greater, doing that for us which Thou didst not do for them. Thou didst not pay for them one drop of blood, nor endure one stripe to recover the fallen stars, nor give one groan to snatch the accursed spirits from their fearful prisons; but Thou didst empty all Thy veins for me, and gavest Thy heart to redeem me from innumerable sins and an intolerable calamity. O my God, let all this heap of excellencies and glorious mercies be effective upon Thy servant, and work in me a sorrow for my sins, and a perfect hatred of them, a watchfulness against temptations, severe and holy resolutions, active and effective of my duty. O let me never fall from sin to sin, nor persevere in any, nor love any thing which Thou hatest; but give me Thy holy spirit to conduct and rule me for ever, and make me obedient to Thy good spirit, never to grieve Him, never to resist Him, never to quench Him. Keep me, O Lord, with Thy mighty power from falling into presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me: so shall I be innocent from the great offence. Let me never despair of Thy mercies by reason of my sins, nor neglect my repentance by reason of Thy infinite loving-kindness; but let Thy goodness bring me and all sinners to repentance, and Thy mercies give us pardon, and Thy holy spirit give us perseverance, and Thy infinite favour bring us to glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

CHAP. X.

OF ECCLESIASTICAL PENANCE, OR THE FRUITS OF REPENTANCE.

§ 1. What the fruits of repentance are in general.

1. THE fruits of repentance are the actions of spiritual life, and signify properly all that piety and obedience which we pay to God in the days of our return, after we have begun to follow sober counsels. For since all the duty of a Christian is a state of repentance, that is, of contention against sin, and the parts and proper periods of victory; and repentance, which includes the faith of a Christian, is but another word to express the same grace, or mercies of the evangelical covenant; it follows that whatsoever is the duty of a Christian, and a means to possess that grace, is in some sense or other a repentance, or the fruits of God's mercy and our endeavours. And in this sense S. John the baptist means it, saying, "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance;" that is, 'Since now the great expectation of the world is to be satisfied, and the Lord's Christ will open the gates of mercy, and give repentance to the world, see that ye live accordingly, in the faith and obedience of God through Jesus Christ.' That did in the event of things prove to be the effect of that sermon.

2. But although all the parts of holy life are fruits of repentance, when it is taken for the state of favour published by the gospel; yet when repentance is a particular duty or virtue, the integral parts of holy life are also constituent parts of repentance; and then by the fruits of repentance must be meant the less necessary, but very useful effects and ministries of repentance, which are significations and exercises of the main duty. And these are, Sorrow for sins, commonly called Contrition,—Confession of them,—and Satisfactions; by which ought to be meant, an opposing a contrary act of virtue to the precedent act of sin, and a punishing of ourselves out of sorrow and indignation for our folly. And this is best done by all those acts of religion by which God is properly appeased, and sin is destroyed, that is, by those acts which signify our love to God, and our hatred to sin, such as are prayer, and alms, and forgiving injuries, and punishing ourselves, that is, a forgiving every one but ourselves.

3. Many of these, I say, are not essential parts of repentance, without the actual exercise of which no man in any case can be said to be truly penitent; for the constituent parts of repentance are nothing but the essential parts of obedience to the commandments of God, that is, direct abstinence from evil, and doing what is in the precept. But they are fruits and significations, exercises and blessed productions of repentance, useful to excellent purposes of it, and such from which a man cannot be excused but by great accidents and

rare contingencies. To visit prisoners, and to redeem captives, and to instruct the ignorant, are acts of charity; but he that does not act these special instances, is not always to be condemned for want of charity, because by other acts of grace he may signify and exercise his duty. He only that refuses any instances because the grace is not operative, he only is the uncharitable, but to the particulars he can be determined only by something from without, but it is sufficient to the grace itself that it works where it can, or where it is prudently chosen. So it is in these fruits of repentance. He that out of hatred to sin abstains from it, and out of love to God endeavours to keep His commandments, he is a true penitent, though he never lie upon the ground, or spend whole nights in prayer, or make himself sick with fasting; but he that in all circumstances refuses any or all of these, and hath not hatred enough against his sin to punish it in himself, when to do so may accidentally be necessary or enjoined, he hath cause to suspect himself not to be a true penitent.

4. No one of these is necessary in the special instance, except those which are distinctly and upon their own accounts under another precept, as prayer and forgiving injuries, and self-affliction in general, and confession. But those which are only apt ministries to the grace, which can be ministered unto equally by other instances, those are left to the choice of every one, or to be determined or bound upon us by accidents and by the church.—But every one of the particulars hath in it something of special consideration.

§ 2. Of contrition or godly sorrow, the reasons, measures, and constitution of it.

5. *a*) In all repentances it is necessary that we understand some sorrow ingredient, or appendent, or beginning. To repent is to leave a sin; which because it must have a cause to effect it, can begin no where but where the sin is for some reason or other disliked, that is, because it does a mischief. It is enough to leave it, that we know it will ruin us if we abide in it, but that is not enough to make us grieve for it when it is past and quitted. For if we believe that as soon as ever we repent of it, we shall be accepted to pardon, and that infallibly, and that being once forsaken it does not and shall not prejudice us, he that considers this, and remembers it was pleasant to him, will scarce find cause enough to be sorrowful for it. Neither is it enough to say, he must grieve for it, or else it will do him mischief. For this is not true, for how can sorrow prevent the mischief, when the sorrow of itself is not an essential duty; or if it were so in itself, yet by accident it becomes not to be so, for by being unreasonable and impossible, it becomes also not necessary, not a duty. To be sorrowful is not always in our power, any more than to be merry; and both of them are the natural products of their own objects and of nothing else; and then if sin does us pleasure at first, and at last no mischief to the penitent, to bid them be sorrowful lest it should do mischief, is as improper a remedy as

if we were commanded to be hungry to prevent being beaten. He that felt nothing but the pleasure of sin, and is now told he shall feel none of its evils, and that it can no more hurt him when it is forsaken than a bee when the sting is out, if he be commanded to grieve, may justly return in answer, that as yet he perceives no cause.

6. If it be told him, It is cause enough to grieve that he hath offended God, who can punish him with sad, unsufferable, and eternal torments; this is very true: but if God be not angry with him, and he be told that God will not punish him for the sin he repents of, then to grieve for having offended God is so metaphysical and abstracted a speculation, that there must be something else in it, before a sinner can be tied to it. For to have displeased God is a great evil, but what is it to me if it will bring no evil to me? It is a metaphysical and a moral evil; but unless it be also naturally and sensibly so, it is not the object of a natural and proper grief. It follows therefore that the state of a repenting person must have in it some more causes of sorrow than are usually taught, or else in vain can they be called upon to weep and mourn for their sins. Well may they wring their faces and their hands and put on black, those disguises of passion and curtains of joy, those ceremonies and shadows of rich widows, and richer heirs, by which they decently hide their secret smiles: well may they 'rend their garments,' but upon this account they can never 'rend their hearts.'

7. For the stating of this article it is considerable, that there are several parts or periods of sorrow which are effected by several principles. In the beginning of our repentance sometimes we feel cause enough to grieve. For God smites many into repentance; either a sharp sickness does awaken us, or a calamity upon our house, or the death of our dearest relative; and they that find sin so heavily incumbent, and to press their persons or fortunes with feet of lead, will feel cause enough, and need not to be disputed into a penitential sorrow. They feel God's anger, and the evil effects of sin, and that it brings sorrow, and then the sorrow is justly great because we have done that evil which brings so sad a judgment.

8. And in the same proportion, there is always a natural cause of sorrow where there is a real cause of fear; and so it is ever in the beginning of repentance, and for ought we know it is for ever so; and albeit the causes of fear lessen as the repentance does proceed, yet it will never go quite off till hope itself be gone and passed into charity, or at least into a πεποίθησις καὶ παῤῥησία, into that 'fulness of confidence' which is given to few as the reward of a lasting and conspicuous holiness. And the reason is plain. For though it be certain in religion that whoever repents shall be pardoned, yet it is a long time before any man hath repented worthily; and it is as uncertain in what manner, and in what measures, and in what time God will give us pardon. It is as easy to tell the very day in which a man first comes to the use of reason as to tell the very time in which

we are accepted to final pardon; the progressions of one being as divisible as the other, and less discernible. For reason gives many fair indications of itself, whereas God keeps the secrets of this mercy in His sanctuary, and draws not the curtain till the day of death or judgment.

9. Add to this, that our very repentances have many allays and imperfections, and so hath our pardon.

And every one that sins hath so displeased God, that he is become the subject of the divine anger. 'Death is the wages;' what death God please, and therefore what evil soever God will inflict, or his mortality can suffer: and he that knows this hath cause to fear, and he that fears hath cause to be grieved that he is fallen from that state of divine favour in which he stood secured with the guards of angels, and covered with heaven itself as with a shield, in which he was beloved of God and heir of all His glories.

10. But they that describe repentance in short and obscure characters, and make repentance and pardon to be the children of a minute, and born and grown up quickly as a fly or a mushroom with the dew of a night or the tears of a morning, making the labours of the one and the want of the other to expire sooner than the pleasures of a transient sin, are so insensible of the sting of sin, that indeed upon their grounds it will be impossible to have a real godly sorrow. For though they have done evil, yet by this doctrine they feel none, and there is nothing remains as a cause of grief, unless they will be sorrowful for that they have been pleased formerly, and are now secured; nothing remains before them or behind but the pleasure that they had and the present confidence and impunity: and that's no good instrument of sorrow. *Securitas delicti etiam libido est ejus.* Sin takes occasion by the law itself, if there be no penalty annexed.

11. But the first inlet of a godly sorrow, which is the beginning of repentance, is upon the stock of their present danger and state of evil into which by their sin they are fallen, viz., when their guilt is manifest, they see that they are become sons of death, exposed to the wrath of a provoked deity, whose anger will express itself when and how it please, and for ought the man knows it may be the greatest, and it may be intolerable: and though his danger is imminent and certain, yet his pardon is a great way off; it may be yea, it may be no, it must be hoped for, but it may be missed, for it is upon conditions, and they are, or will seem very hard.

— Sed ut valeas multa dolenda feres[a]:

so that in the sum of affairs, however that the greatest sinner and the smallest penitent are very apt, and are taught by strange doctrines to flatter themselves into confidence and presumption, yet he will have reason to mourn and weep when he shall consider that he is in so

[a] [Ovid., remed. amor. 226.]

sad a condition, that because his life is uncertain, it is also uncertain whether or no he shall not be condemned to an eternal prison of flames: so that every sinner hath the same reason to be sorrowful as he hath who from a great state of blessings and confidence is fallen into great fears and great dangers, and a certain guilt and liableness of losing all he hath, and suffering all that is insufferable. They who state repentance otherwise cannot make it reasonable that a penitent should shed a tear. And therefore it is no wonder that we so easily observe a great dulness and indifferency, so many dry eyes and merry hearts, in persons that pretend repentance; it cannot more reasonably be attributed to any cause than to those trifling and easy propositions of men, that destroy the causes of sorrow by lessening and taking off the opinion of danger. But now that they are observed and reproved, I hope the evil will be lessened. But to proceed.

12. β) Having now stated the reasonableness and causes of penitential sorrow, the next enquiry is into the nature and constitution of that sorrow. For it is to be observed, that penitential sorrow is not seated in the affections directly, but in the understanding, and is rather *odium* than *dolor;* it is hatred of sin and detestation of it, a nolition, a renouncing and disclaiming it, whose expression is a resolution never to sin, and a pursuance of that resolution by abstaining from the occasions, by praying for the divine aid, by using the proper remedies for its mortification. This is essential to repentance, and must be in every man in the highest kind. For he that does not hate sin so as rather to choose to suffer any evil than to do any, loves himself more than he loves God, because he fears to displease himself rather than to displease Him, and therefore is not a true penitent.

13. But although this be not grief or sorrow properly, but hatred, yet in hatred there is ever a sorrow, if we have done or suffered what we hate; and whether it be sorrow or no, is but a speculation of philosophy, but no ingredient of duty. It is that which will destroy sin, and bring us to God, and that is the purpose of repentance.

14. For it is remarkable that sorrow is indeed an excellent instrument of repentance, apt to set forward many of its ministries, and without which men ordinarily will not leave their sins; but if the thing be done, though wholly upon the discourses of reason, upon intuition of the danger, upon contemplation of the unworthiness of sin, or only upon the principle of hope, or fear, it matters not which is the beginning of repentance. For we find 'fear' reckoned to be 'the beginning of wisdom,' that is, of repentance, of wise and sober counsels, by Solomon[b]. We find sorrow to be reckoned as the beginning of repentance by S. Paul[c], "Godly sorrow worketh repentance not to be repented of." So many ways as there are by which God works repentance in those whom He will bring unto salvation, to all the kinds of these there are proper apportioned passions: and as in

[b] [Prov. ix. 10.]

[c] [2 Cor. vii. 10.]

all good things there is pleasure, so in all evil there is pain, some way or other: and therefore to love and hatred, or which is all one, to pleasure and displeasure, all passions are reducible, as all colours are to black and white. So that though in all repentances there is not in every person felt that sharpness of sensitive compunction and sorrow that is usual in sad accidents of the world, yet if the sorrow be upon the intellectual account, though it be not much perceived by inward sharpnesses, but chiefly by dereliction and leaving of the sin, it is that sorrow which is possible, and in our power, and that which is necessary to repentance.

15. For in all enquiries concerning penitential sorrow, if we will avoid scruple and vexatious fancies, we must be careful not to account of our sorrow by the measures of sense, but of religion. David grieved more for the sickness of his child, and the rebellion of his son, so far as appears in the story, and the prophet Jeremy in behalf of the Jews for the death of their glorious prince Josiah, and S. Paula Romana[d] at the death of her children, were more passionate and sensibly afflicted, than for their sins against God; that is, they felt more sensitive trouble in that than this, and yet their repentances were not to be reproved; because our penitential sorrow is from another cause, and seated in other faculties, and fixed upon differing objects, and works in other manners, and hath a diverse signification, and is fitted to other purposes, and therefore is wholly of another nature. It is a displeasure against sin which must be expressed by praying against it, and fighting against it; but all other expressions are extrinsical to it, and accidental, and are no parts of it, because they cannot be under a command, as all the parts and necessary actions of repentance are most certainly.

16. Indeed some persons can command their tears; so Gellia in the epigram[e],

Si quis adest, jussæ prosiliunt lacrymæ;

she could cry when company was there to observe her weeping for her father: and so can some orators, and many hypocrites: and there are some that can suppress their tears by art, and resolution; so Ulysses[f] did when he saw his wife weep; he pitied her, but

Intra palpebras ceu cornu immota tenebat
Lumina, vel ferrum, lacrymas astuque premebat,

he kept his tears within his eye-lids, as if they had been in a phial, which he could pour forth or keep shut at his pleasure. But although some can do this at pleasure, yet all cannot. And therefore S. John Climacus[g] speaks of certain penitents, οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντες δακρύων ἑαυτοὺς κατέκοπτον, 'who because they could not weep, expressed

[d] [S. Hieron., epist. xxii.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 54 sqq.]
[e] [Martial., lib. i. epigr. 34.]
[f] [Hom. od. τ'. 211.]
[g] [Scala Paradisi, grad. v.—p. 116 f.—opp. fol. Par. 1633.]

their repentance by beating their breasts;' and yet if all men could weep when they list, yet they may weep and not be sorrowful; and though they can command tears, yet sorrow is no more to be commanded than hunger, and therefore is not a part or necessary duty of repentance, when sorrow is taken for a sensitive trouble.

17. But yet there is something of this also to be added to our duty. If our constitution be such as to be apt to weep, and sensitively troubled upon other intellectual apprehensions of differing objects, unless also they find the same effect in their repentances, there will be some cause to suspect that their hatred of sin, and value of obedience and its rewards, are not so great as they ought to be. The masters of spiritual life give this rule, *Sciat se culpabiliter durum, qui deflet damna temporis vel mortem amici, dolorem vero pro peccatis lacrymis non ostendit,* 'he that weeps for temporal losses, and does not in the same manner express his sorrow for his sins, is culpably obdurate:' which proposition though piously intended, is not true. For tears are emanations of a sensitive trouble or motion of the heart, and not properly subject to the understanding; and therefore a man may innocently weep for the death of his friend, and yet shed no tears when he hath told a lie, and still be in that state of sorrow and displeasure, that he had rather die himself than choose to tell another lie. Therefore the rule only hath some proportions of probability, in the effect of several intellectual apprehensions. As he that is apt to weep when he hath done an unhandsome action to his friend, who yet will never punish him; and is not apt to express his sorrow in the same manner when he hath offended God: I say, he may suspect his sorrow not to be so great or so real, but yet abstractedly from this circumstance, to weep or not to weep is nothing to the duty of repentance, save only that it is that ordinary sign by which some men express some sort of sorrow. And therefore I understand not the meaning of that prayer of S. Austin[h], *Domine, da.. gratiam lacrymarum,* 'Lord, give me the grace of tears;' for tears are no duty, and the greatest sorrow oftentimes is the driest; and excepting that there is some sweetness and ease in shedding tears, and that they accompany a soft and a contemplative person, an easy and a good nature, and such as is apt for religious impressions, I know no use of them but to signify in an apt and a disposed nature what kind of apprehensions and trouble there is within. For weeping upon the presence of secular troubles, is more ready and easy, because it is an effect symbolical, and of the same nature with its proper cause. But when there is a spiritual cause, although its proper effect may be greater and more effective of better purposes; yet unless by the intermixture of some material and natural cause, it be more apportioned to a material and natural product, it is not to be

[h] [Medit., cap. xxxvi.—tom. vi. append. col. 124 C.]

charged with it, or expected from it. Sin is a spiritual evil; and tears is the sign of a natural or physical sorrow. Smart, and sickness, and labour, are natural or physical evils; and hatred and nolition is a spiritual or intellectual effect. Now as every labour and every smart is not to be hated or rejected, but sometimes chosen by the understanding, when it is mingled with a good that pleases the understanding, and is eligible upon the accounts of reason: so neither can every sin which is the intellectual evil be productive of tears or sensitive sorrow, unless it be mingled with something which the sense and affections, that is, which the lower man hates, and which will properly afflict him; such as are, fear, or pain, or danger, or disgrace, or loss. The sensitive sorrow therefore which is usually seen in new penitents, is upon the account of those horrible apprehensions which are declared in holy scriptures to be the consequent of sins; but if we shall so preach repentance as to warrant a freedom and a perfect escape instantly from all significations of the wrath of God, and all dangers for the future upon the past and present account, I know not upon what reckoning he that truly leaves his sin can be commanded to be sorrowful, and if he were commanded, how he can possibly obey.

18. But when repentance hath had its growth and progression, and is increased into a habit of piety, sorrow and sensitive trouble may come in upon another account; for great and permanent changes of the mind, make great impressions upon the lower man. When we love an object intensely, our very body receives comfort in the presence of it: and there are friendly spirits which have a natural kindness and cognation to each other, and refresh one another, passing from eye to eye, from friend to friend: and the prophet David[1] felt it in the matter of religion, "My flesh and my heart rejoice in the living Lord." For if a grief of mind is a consumption of the flesh, and a cheerful spirit is a conservatory of health, it is certain that every great impression that is made upon the mind and dwells there, hath its effect upon the body and the lower affections. And therefore all those excellent penitents who consider the baseness of sin,—their own danger though now past in some degrees,—the offence of God,—the secret counsels of His mercy,—His various manners of dispensing them,—the fearful judgments which God unexpectedly sends upon some men,—the dangers of our own confidence,—the weakness of our repentance,—the remains of our sin,—the aptnesses and combustible nature of our concupiscence,—the presence of temptation, and the perils of relapsing,—the evil state of things which our former sins leave us in,—our difficulty in obeying, and our longings to return to Egypt,—and the fearful anger of God which will with greater fierceness descend if we chance to fall back: those penitents, I say, who consider these things frequently

[1] [Psalm lxxxiv. 2.]

and prudently, will find their whole man so wrought upon, that every faculty shall have an enmity against sin; and therefore even the affections of the lower man must in their way contribute to its mortification, and that is by a real and effective sorrow.

19. But in this whole affair the whole matter of question will be in the manner of operation, or signification of the dislike. For the duty is done if the sin be accounted an enemy; that is, whether the dislike be only in the intellectual and rational appetite, or also in the sensitive. For although men use so to speak and distinguish superior from inferior appetites; yet it will be hard in nature to find any real distinct faculties in which those passions are subjected, and from which they have emanation. The intellectual desire, and the sensual desire, are both founded in the same faculty; they are not distinguished by their subjects, but by their objects only: they are but several motions of the will to or from several objects. When a man desires that which is most reasonable, and perfective, or consonant to the understanding, that we call an intellectual, or rational appetite; but if he desires a thing that will do him hurt in his soul, or to his best interest, and yet he desires it because it pleases him, this is fit to be called a sensitive appetite, because the object is sensitive, and it is chosen for a sensual reason. But it is rather *appetitio* than *appetitus*, that is, an act rather than a principle of action. The case is plainer if we take two objects of several interests, both of which are proportioned to the understanding. S. Anthony in the desert, and S. Bernard in the pulpit, were tempted by the spirit of pride: they resisted and overcame it, because pride was unreasonable and foolish as to themselves, and displeasing to God. If they had listened to the whispers of that spirit, it had been upon the accounts of pleasure, because pride is that deliciousness of spirit which entertains a vain man, making him to delight in his own images and reflections; and therefore is a work of the flesh, but yet plainly founded in the understanding. And therefore here it is plain, that when the flesh and the spirit fight, it is not a fight between two faculties of the soul, but a contest in the soul concerning the election of two objects. It is no otherwise in this than in every deliberation, when arguments from several interests contest each other. Every passion of the man is nothing else but a proper manner of being affected with an object, and consequently a tendency to or an aversion from it, that is, a willing or a nilling of it; which willing and nilling when they produce several permanent impressions upon the mind and body receive the names of divers passions. The object itself first striking the fancy or lower apprehensions by its proper energy, makes the first passion or tendency to the will, that is, the inclination or first concupiscence; but when the will upon that impression is set on work, and chooses the sensual object, that makes the abiding passion, the quality. As if the object be displeasing, and yet not present, it effects fear or hatred; if good and not present,

it is called desire; but all these diversifications are merely natural effects; as to be warm is before the fire, and cannot be in our choice directly and immediately. That which is the prime and proper action of the will, that only is subject to a command; that is, to choose or refuse the sin. The passion, that is, the proper effect or impress upon the fancy or body, that is natural, and is determined to the particular by the mixture of something natural with the act of the will; as if an apprehension of future evils be mingled with the refusing sin, that is, if it be the cause of it, then fear is the passion that is effected by it. If the feeling some evil be the cause of the nolition, then sorrow is the effect; and fear also may produce sorrow. So that the passion, that is, the natural impress upon the man cannot be the effect of a commandment, but the principle of that passion is, we are commanded to refuse sin, to 'eschew evil,' that's the word of the scripture: but because we usually do feel the evils of sin, and we have reason to fear worse, and sorrow is the natural effect of such a feeling, and such a fear, therefore the scripture calling us to repentance, that is, a new life, a dying unto sin, and a living unto righteousness, expresses it by sorrow, and mourning, and weeping; but these are not the duty, but the expressions, or the instruments of that which is a duty. So that if any man who hates sin and leaves it, cannot yet find the sharpness of such a sorrow as he feels in other sad accidents, there can nothing be said to it, but that the duty itself is not clothed with those circumstances which are apt to produce that passion; it is not an eschewing of sin upon considerations of a present or a feared trouble, but upon some other principle; or that the consideration is not deep and pressing, or that the person is of an unapt disposition to those sensible effects. The Italian and his wife who by chance espied a serpent under the shade of their vines, were both equal haters of the little beast; but the wife only cried out, and the man killed it, but with as great a regret and horror at the sight of it as his wife, though he did not so express it. But when a little after they espied a lizard, and she cried again, he told her that he perceived her trouble was not always derived from reasonable apprehensions, and that what could spring only from images of things and fancies of persons, was not considerable by a just value. This is the case of our sorrowing. Some express it by tears, some by penances and corporal inflictions, some by more effective and material mortifications of it: but he that kills it is the greatest enemy. But those persons who can be sorrowful and violently moved for a trifling interest, and upon the arrests of fancy, if they find these easy meltings and sensitive afflictions upon the accounts of their sins, are not to please themselves at all, unless when they have cried out, they also kill the serpent.

20. I cannot therefore at all suspect that man's repentance who hates sin, and chooses righteousness and walks in it, though he do not weep or feel the troubles of a mother mourning over the hearse

of her only son; but yet such a sensitive grief is of great use to these purposes.

a) If it do not proceed from the present sense of the divine judgment, yet it supplies that, and feels an evil from its own apprehension, which is not yet felt from the divine infliction.

β) It prevents God's anger, by being a punishment of ourselves, a condemnation of the sinner, and a taking vengeance of ourselves for our having offended God. And therefore it is, consequently to this, agreed on all hands, that the greater the sorrow is, the less necessity there is of any outward affliction,

— ut possit lacrymis æquare labores[k].

According to the old rule of the penitentiaries.

Sitque modus culpæ justæ moderatio pœnæ,
Quæ tanto levior quanto contritio major[l].

Which general measure of repentances, as it is of use in the particular of which I am now discoursing, so it effects this persuasion, that external mortifications and austerities are not any part of original and essential duty, but significations of the inward repentance, unto men, and suppletories of it before God; that when we cannot feel the trouble of mind, we may at least hate sin upon another account, even upon the superinduced evils upon our bodies. For all affliction is nothing but sorrow;

Gravis animi pœna est, quem post factum pœnitet,

said Publius[m]: to repent is a grievous punishment; and the old man in the comedy[n] calls it so;

Cur meam senectam hujus sollicito amentia? an
Pro hujus ego ut peccatis supplicium sufferam?

'Why do I grieve my old age for his madness? that I should suffer punishment for his sins?' Grieving was his punishment.

γ) This sensitive sorrow is very apt to extinguish sin, it being of a symbolical nature to the design of God, when He strikes a sinner for his amendment: it makes sin to be uneasy to him; and not only to be displeasing to his spirit, but to his sense, and consequently that it hath no port to enter any more.

δ) It is a great satisfaction to an inquisitive conscience, to whom it is not sufficient that he does repent, unless he be able to prove it by signs and proper indications.

21. The sum is this. *a*) No man can in any sense be said to be a true penitent, unless he wishes he had never done the sin. *β*) But he that is told that his sin is presently pardoned upon repentance, that is, upon leaving it and asking forgiveness, and that the former pleasure shall not now hurt him, he hath no reason to wish that he

[k] Virg. [vid. Æn. ii. 362.]
[l] [So vol. vi. p. 513.]
[m] [Publius Syrus, lin. 174.]
[n] [Ter. in] Andria. [act. v. sc. 3. l. 16.]

had never done it. γ) But to make it reasonable to wish that the sin had never been done there must be the feeling or fear of some evil.

Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
Pectora pro meritis [o] spemque metumque suis.

δ) According as is the nature of that evil feared or felt, so is the passion effected of hatred or sorrow. ε) Whatever the passion be, it must be totally exclusive of all affection to sin, and produce enmity and fighting against it until it be mortified. ζ) In the whole progression of this mortification it is more than probable that some degrees of sensitive trouble will come in at some angle or other. η) Though the duty of penitential sorrow itself be completed *in nolitione peccati,* in the hating of sin, and ourselves for doing it, yet the more penal that hate is, the more it ministers to many excellent purposes of repentance.

22. But because some persons do not feel this sensitive sorrow, they begin to suspect their repentance, and therefore they are taught to supply this want by a reflex act, that is, to be sorrowful because they are not sorrowful [p]. This I must needs say is a fine device where it can be made to signify something that is material. But I fear it will not often. For how can a man be sorrowful for not being sorrowful? For either he hath reason at first to be sorrowful or he hath not. If he hath not, why should he be sorrowful for not doing an unreasonable act? If he hath reason, and knows it, it is certain he will be as sorrowful as that cause so apprehended can effect: but he can be no more, and so much he cannot choose but be. But if there be cause to be sorrowful and the man knows it not, then he cannot yet grieve for that; for he knows no cause, and that is all one as if he had none. But if there be indeed a cause which he hath not considered, then let him be called upon to consider that, and then he will be directly and truly sorrowful when he hath considered it; and hath reason to be sorrowful because he had not considered it before, that is, because he had not repented sooner; but to be sorrowful because he is not sorrowful, can have no other good meaning but this. We are to endeavour to be displeased at sin, and to use all the means we can to hate it, that is, when we find not any sensitive sorrow or pungency of spirit, let us contend to make our intellectual sorrow as great as we can. And if we perceive or suspect we have not true repentance, let us beg of God to give it, and let us use the proper means of obtaining the grace: and if we are uncertain concerning the actions of our own heart, let us supply them by prayer and holy desires; that if we cannot perceive the grace in the proper shape, and by its own symptoms and indications, we may be made in some measure humbly confident by other images and reflections; by seeing

[o] [leg. 'facto . . suo.'—Ovid., fast. i. 485.]
[p] [See a curious narrative alluded to in vol. iii. p. 376, note k.

the grace in another shape: so David, *Concupivi*[q] *desiderare justificationes tuas*, 'I have desired to desire thy justifications;' that is, either I have prayed for that grace, or I have seen that I have that desire, not by a direct observation, but by some other signification. But it is certain no man can be sorrowful for not being sorrowful, if he means the same kind and manner of sorrow; as there cannot be two where there is not one, and there cannot be a reflex ray where there was not a direct.

23. But if there be such difficulty in the questions of our own sorrow, it were very well that even this part of repentance should be conducted as all the other ought, by the ministry of a spiritual man, that it may be better instructed and prudently managed, and better discerned, and led on to its proper effects. But when it is so helped forward, it is more than contrition, it is confession also; of which I am yet to give in special accounts.

§ 3. Of the natures and difference of attrition and contrition.

24. ALL the passions of the irascible faculty are that sorrow in some sense or other which will produce repentance. Repentance cannot kill sin[r], but by withdrawing the will from it: and the will is not to be withdrawn, but by complying with the contrary affection to that which before did accompany it in evil. Now whatever that affection was, pleasure was the product, it was that which nursed or begot the sin. Now as this pleasure might proceed from hope, from possession, from sense, from fancy, from desire, and all the passions of the concupiscible appetite; so when there is a displeasure conceived, it will help to destroy sin, from what passion soever, of what faculty soever, that displeasure can be produced.

25. If the displeasure at sin proceeds from any passion of the irascible faculty, it is that which those divines who understand the meaning of their own words of art commonly call 'attrition,' that is, a resolving against sin, the resolution proceeding from any principle that is troublesome and dolorous: and in what degree of good that is, appears in the stating of this question, it is acceptable to God; not an acceptable repentance, for it is not so much; but it is a good beginning of it, an acceptable introduction to it, and must in its very nature suppose a sorrow, or displeasure, in which although according to the quality of the motives of attrition, or the disposition of the penitent, there is more or less sensitive trouble respectively, yet in all there must be so much sorrow or displeasure, as to cause a dereliction of the sin, or a resolution at least to leave it.

26. But there are some natures so ingenuous, and there are some periods of repentance so perfect, and some penitents have so far proceeded in the methods of holiness and pardon, that they are fallen out with sin upon the stock of some principles proceeding from the

q ['Concupivit anima mea desiderare' &c. Ps. cxviii. (al. cxix.) 20, ed. vulg. —'Concupivi desiderare judicia tua,' ap. S. Ambr. in loc.]

r [From Hooker, E. P. vi. 3. § 5.]

concupiscible appetite; such are love and hope; and if these have for their object God, or the divine promises, it is that noblest principle of repentance or holy life, which divines call 'contrition.' For hope cannot be without love of that which is hoped for; if therefore this hope have for its object, temporal purchases, it is or may be a sufficient cause of leaving sin, according as the power and efficacy of the hope shall be; but it will not be sufficient towards pardon, unless in its progression it join with some better principle of a spiritual grace. Temporal hope and temporal fear may begin God's work upon our spirits; but till it be gone further, we are not in the first step of an actual state of grace. But as attrition proceeds from the motives of those displeasing objects, which are threatened by God to be the evil consequents of sin, relating to eternity; so contrition proceeds from objects and motives of desire, which are promises and benefits, received already, or to be received hereafter. But these must also be more than temporal good things: for hopes and fear relating to things though promised or threatened in holy scripture, are not sufficient incentives of a holy and acceptable repentance, which because it is not a transient act, but a state of holiness, cannot be supported by a transitory and deficient cause, but must wholly rely upon expectation and love of things that are eternal and cannot pass away. Attrition begins with fear, Contrition hath hope and love in it. The first is a good beginning, but it is no more: before a man can say he is pardoned, he must be gone beyond the first, and arrived at this. The reason is plain; because although in the beginnings of repentance there is a great fear, yet the causes of this fear wear away and lessen according as the repentance goes on, and are quite extinguished when the penitent hath mortified his sin, and hath received the spirit of adoption, the πληροφορία, the 'confidence' of the sons of God; but because repentance must be perfect, and must be perpetual during this life, it must also be maintained and supported by something that is lasting, and will not wear off, and that is hope and love; according to that of S. Austin[r], *Pœnitentiam certam non facit nisi odium peccati et amor Dei.* Hatred of sin, and the love of God, make repentance firm and sure; nothing else can do it: but this is a work of time, but such a work that without it be done, our pardon is not perfect.

27. Now of this contrition relying upon motives of pleasure and objects of amability, being the noblest principle of action, and made up of the love of God, and holy things, and holy expectations, the product is quite differing from that of attrition, or the imperfect repentance; for that commencing upon fear or displeasure, is only apt to produce a dereliction or quitting of our sin, and all the servile affections of frighted or displeased persons. But this would not effect an universal obedience; which only can be effected by love

[r] Serm. vii. de tempor. [al. serm. cxvii. in append. § 2.—tom. v. append. col. 213 A.]

and the affection of sons; which is also the product of those objects which are the incentives of the divine love, and is called contrition; that is, a hatred against sin as being an enemy to God, and all our hopes of enjoying God, whom because this repenting man loves and delights in, he also hates whatsoever God hates, and is really grieved for ever having offended so good a God, and for having endangered his hopes of dwelling with Him whom he so loves, and therefore now does the quite contrary.

28. Now this is not usually the beginning of repentance, but is a great progression in it; and it contains in it obedience. He that is attrite leaves his sin; but he that is contrite obeys God, and pursues the interests and acquists of virtue: so that contrition is not only a sorrow for having offended God, whom the penitent loves; that is but one act or effect of contrition; but contrition loves God and hates sin, it leaves this and adheres to Him, abstains from evil and does good, dies to sin and lives to righteousness, and is a state of pardon and acceptable services.

29. But then there is a sorrow also proper to it; for as this grace comes from the noblest passions and apprehensions, so it does operate in the best manner, and to the noblest purposes. It hates sin upon higher contemplations than he that hates it upon the stock of fear: he hates sin as being against God and religion, and right reason, that is, he is gone further from sin: he hates it for itself.

> Pœnitet, o si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
> Pœnitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo.
> Cumque sit exilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori;
> Estque pati pœnas quam meruisse minus[s].

That is, not only the evil effect to himself, but the irregularity and the displeasure to almighty God are the incentives of his displeasure against sin; and because in all these passions and affective motions of the mind, there is a sorrow under some shape or other, this sorrow or displeasure is that which is a very acceptable signification and act of repentance, and yet it is not to be judged of by sense, but by reason, by the caution and enmity against sin. To which this also is to be added,

30. That if any man enquires whether or no his hatred against sin proceed from the love of God or no, that is, whether it be attrition, or contrition; he is only to observe whether he does endeavour heartily and constantly to please God by obedience; for "this is love, that we keep His commandments[t];" and although sometimes we may tell concerning our love as well as concerning our fear; yet when the direct principle is not so evident, our only way left to try is by the event: that is contrition which makes us to exterminate and mortify sin, and endeavour to keep the commandments of God. For that is sorrow proceeding from love.

[s] [Ovid. epistt. ex Ponto, i. 1. 59.]

[t] [2 John 6.]

31. And now it is no wonder if to contrition pardon be so constantly annexed in all the discourses of divines; but unless contrition be thus understood, and if a single act of something like it be mistaken for the whole state of this grace, we shall be deceived by applying false promises to a real need, or true promises to an incompetent and uncapable state of things. But when it is thus meant, all the sorrows that can come from this principle are signs of life.

His lacrymis vitam damus, et miserescimus ultro [u].

No man can deny pardon to such penitents, nor cease to joy in such tears.

32. The sum of the present enquiry is this: contrition is sometimes used for a part of repentance, sometimes taken for the whole duty. As it is a part, so it is that displeasure at sin, and hatred of it, which is commonly expressed in sorrow, but for ever in the leaving of it. It is sometimes begun with fear, sometimes with shame, and sometimes with kindness, with thankfulness and love; but love and obedience are ever at the latter end of it, though it were not at the beginning: and till then it is called attrition. But when it is taken for the whole duty itself, as it is always when it is effective of pardon, then the elements of it, or parts of the constitution, are *fides futuri sæculi et judicii, fides in promissis et passionibus Christi, timor divinæ majestatis, amor misericordiæ, dolor pro peccatis, spes veniæ, petitio pro gratia,* 'faith in the promises and sufferings of Christ, an assent to the article of the day of judgment, and the world to come;' with all the consequent persuasions and practices effected on the spirit, 'fear of the divine majesty, love of His mercy, grief for our sins, begging for grace, hope of pardon;' and in this sense it is true, *Cor contritum Deus non despiciet* [x], 'God will never refuse to accept of a heart so contrite.'

§ 4. Of confession.

33. THE modern schoolmen make contrition to include in it a resolution to submit to the keys of the church; that is, that confession to a priest is a part of contrition, as contrition is taken for a part of repentance: for it is incomplete till the church hath taken notice of it, but by submission to the church tribunal it is made complete, and not only so, but that which was but attrition is now turned into contrition or perfect repentance.—In the examining of this, I shall, because it is reasonable so to do, change their manner of speaking, that the enquiry may be more material and intelligible. That contrition does include in it a resolution to submit to the church tribunal, must either mean that godly sorrow does in its nature include a desire of confession to a priest, and then the very word confutes the thing; or else by contrition they meaning so much of repentance as is sufficient to pardon, mean also that to submit to

[u] [Virg. Æn. ii. 145.] [x] [Ps. li. 17.]

the keys, or to confess to a priest, is a necessary or integral part of that repentance, and therefore of contrition. Concerning the other part of their affirmative, that attrition is by the keys changed into contrition; this being turned into words fit for men to speak, such men (I mean) that would be understood, signifies plainly this, that the most imperfect repentance towards God is sufficient, if it be brought before the church; that is, a little on the penitent man's part, and a little on the priest's part, is disposition enough to the receiving of a pardon: so that, provided you do all that the church commands you, you may make the bolder to leave out something of God's command, which otherwise you might not do; the priest may do half the work for you. These thus represented I shall consider apart.

1°. Confession is necessary to repentance.

34. *a*) Confession is an act of repentance highly requisite to its perfection, and in that regard particularly called upon in holy scripture. But concerning this, and all the other great exercises, actions, or general significations of repentance, every word singly is used indefinitely for the whole duty of repentance. Thus contrition is used by David[y], "A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou shalt not despise;" that is, a penitent heart God will not reject. The same also is the usage of confession by S. John[z], "If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" that is, if we repent, God hath promised us pardon and His holy spirit, that He will justify us, and that He will sanctify us. And in pursuance of this, the church called ecclesiastical repentance by the name of *exomologesis*, which though it was a Greek word, yet both Greeks and Latins use it. *Exomologesis est humiliandi*[a] *hominis disciplina*, so Tertullian[b], 'confession is the discipline of humiliation for a man for his sins:' and S. Ambrose[c] calls confession *pœnarum compendium*, 'the sum or abbreviature of penance.' And this word was sometimes changed and called 'satisfaction:' which although the Latin church in the later ages use only for corporal austerities, which by way of appropriation they are pleased also to call 'penances,' yet it was anciently used for the whole course and offices of ecclesiastical repentance; as appears in the council of Paris[d], of Agatha[e], and the third council of Toledo[f]. The result and effect of this observation is, that no more be put upon one part or action of repentance than upon another, to serve ends. For pardon of sins is promised to the penitent under single words; under 'contrition,' under 'sorrow,' under 'alms,' under 'judging ourselves,' under 'confession;' but no one of these alone is sufficient for pardon: and when pardon is pro-

[y] [Ps. li. 17.]
[z] [1 John i. 9.]
[a] [al. 'humilificandi.']
[b] [De pœnit., cap. ix. p. 127 A.]
[c] De Abel et Cain, lib. ii. cap. 9. [tom. i. col. 219 A.]
[d] [Concil. Paris. vi. A.D. 829.] lib. i. cap. ult. [tom. iv. col. 1331.]
[e] Cap. xxxvii. [tom. ii. col. 1002.]
[f] Cap. xi. [tom. iii. col. 481.]

mised to any one, they must mean the whole duty; for when the whole effect is ascribed to a part, that part stands for the whole, and means more than a part.

2°. It is due only to God.

35. β) But concerning confession as it is a special act of repentance, the first thing that is to be said of it, is that it is due only to God; for He is the person injured, sin is the prevarication of His laws, He is our Judge, and He only can pardon, as He only can punish eternally. *Non tibi dico ut tua peccata tanquam in pompam in publicum proferas, neque ut te accuses, sed ut pareas prophetæ*[g] *dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam: apud Deum ea confitere, apud Judicem confitere peccata tua, orans si non lingua, saltem memoria, et ita roga ut tui misereatur,* 'I do not enjoin thee to betray thyself to the public ear, bringing thy sins as into a theatre, but obey the prophet, saying, Reveal thy way unto the Lord; confess to God, confess to thy judge; praying if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy mind, and pray so that thou mayest be heard;' so S. Chrysostom[h]. And upon those words of S. Paul, "Let a man examine himself," he saith[i], *Non revelavit ulcus, non in commune theatrum accusationem produxit, &c.* 'he did not reveal his ulcer, he did not bring his accusation into the common theatre; he made none witness of his sins, but in his conscience, none standing by, God only excepted who sees all things.' And again[k], upon that of the psalm, "My sin is always against me," "If thou art ashamed to speak it to any one, say them daily in thy mind: I do not say that thou confess them to thy fellow-servant, who may upbraid thee; say them to God;" ἀμάρτυρον ἔστω τὸ δικαστήριον· Θεὸς ὁράτω μόνος ἐξομολογούμενον·[l] 'let this judicatory be without assessors or witnesses, let God alone see thy confession.' *Quod si verecundia retrahente revelare coram hominibus erubescis, illi quem latere non possunt confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere, Iniquitatem meam ego cognosco &c. qui et absque illius verecundiæ publicatione curare, et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit;* so Cassian[m], in the imitation of S. Ambrose[n]; 'If bashfulness call thee back, and thou art ashamed to reveal them before men, cease not by a continual supplication to confess them to him from whom they cannot be concealed, who without any pressing upon our modesty is wont to cure, and without upbraiding to forgive us our sins. And the fathers of the council of Cabaillon[o] advanced this duty by divers sentences of scripture, *Ita duntaxat ut et Deo qui remissor est peccatorum confiteamur peccata nostra, et . . cum David dicamus, Delictum meum*

[g] [Psalm. xxxvi. (al. xxxvii.) 5.]

[h] In ep. ad Heb. hom. xxxi. [tom. xii. p. 289 D.]

[i] [Hom. vi. de pœnit. § 5, ad fin.—tom. ii. p. 326 A.]

[k] [Pseudo-Chrysost. in loc.—tom. v. append., p. 589 A.]

[l] [Idem in hom. 'Non esse ad gratiam concionandum,' § 3. tom. ii. p. 663 A.]

[m] [Collat. xx. c. 8. [p. 772.]

[n] In Lucæ cap. xxii. [§ 88.] et serm. xlvi. [ed. Erasm.—Sed Maximo Taurin. adscribit ed. Ben.—vol. vi. p. 512, not. n.]

[o] Cap. xxxiii. et habetur [in decreto Gratiani] 'De pœnit.' dist. i. cap. 90. [col. 1870.]

cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi; Dixi, Confitebor adversum me injustitias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei, &c., 'God is the pardoner of sins, and therefore let us confess to Him, and say with David, I have made my sin known unto Thee, and mine unrighteousness have I not hid; I said, I will confess mine iniquity unto the Lord, and Thou forgavest the wickedness of my sin.' But this thing is pressed most earnestly by Laurentius Novariensis[p], who because he was a father of the fifth age, his words are of more use, by being a testimony that the ecclesiastical repentance which we find to be now pressed by some as simply necessary, was not the doctrine of those times. "From that day in which thou goest out of the font, thou becomest to thyself a continual font, and a daily remission. There is no (absolute) necessity of the priest's right hand; . . from thenceforward God hath appointed thee to be thy own judge, thy own arbiter, and hath given thee knowledge whereby of thyself thou mayest discern good and evil. . . And because while thou remainest in the body, thou canst not[q] be free from sin, God hath after baptism placed thy remedy within thyself; He hath placed pardon within thy own choice[r], so that thou art not in the day of thy necessity (indispensably) tied to seek a priest; but thou thyself as if thou wert a most skilful[s] doctor and master, mayest amend thy error within thee, and wash away thy sin by repentance. . . The fountain is never dry, the water is within thee, absolution is in thy choice, sanctification is in thy diligence[t], pardon is within the dew of thine own tears. . . . Do not thou therefore look neither for John nor Jordan, be thou thy own Baptist,' viz., in the baptism of repentance. 'Thou art defiled after thou art washed, thy bowels are defiled, thy soul is polluted[u]; plunge thyself in the waters of repentance, cleanse thyself by abundance of tears, let compunction be plentifully[v] in thy bowels, ... and the Lord himself shall baptize thee with the holy Ghost and with fire; . . and shall heap[x] the fruits of repentance, and lay them up like wheat, but the chaff of thy sins He shall burn[x] with unquenchable fire." Many testimonies out of antiquity to the same purpose are to be seen ready collected by Gratian under the title *De pœnitentia.*

36. Now if any one shall enquire to what purpose it is that we should confess our sins to God who already knows them all, especially since to do so can be no part of mortification to the man's spirit; for if I steal in the presence of my brother, afterwards to tell him who saw me that I did that which he saw me do, is no confusion of face: that which will be an answer to this, and make it appear necessary to confess to God, will also make it appear not to

[p] De pœnit., homil. i.—Biblioth. pp., tom. ii. [p. 733 C.—fol. Paris. 1589.]
[q] ['non poteras.']
[r] ['in arbitrio tuo.']
[s] [most skilful, 'scitus.']
[t] ['solertia.']
[u] ['Thou art . . . polluted;' rather, 'Art thou' &c.]
[v] ['exuberet fons compunctionis.']
[x] ['congerit, . . comburit.']

be necessary to confess to men, in respect, I say, of any absolute necessity of the thing, or essential obligation of the person.

37. I answer, that confession of sins as it is simply taken for enumeration of the actions and kinds of sin, can signify nothing as to God, for the reasons now mentioned in the enquiry. But when we are commanded to confess our sins, it is nothing else but another expression or word for the commandment of repentance. For 'Confess your sins,' means, acknowledge that you have done amiss, that you were in the wrong way, that you were a miserable person, wandering out of the paths of God, and the methods of heaven and happiness, that you ought not to have done so, that you have sinned against God, and broken His holy laws, and therefore are liable and exposed to all that wrath of God which He will inflict upon you, or which He threatened. Confession of sins is a justification of God, and a sentencing of ourselves. This is not only certain in the nature of the thing itself; but apparent also in the words of David[y], "Against Thee only have I done this evil, *ut tu justificeris*, that Thou mightest be justified in Thy saying, and clear when Thou art judged." That is, if I be a sinner, then art Thou righteous and just in all the evils Thou inflictest. So that confession of sins is like confession of faith, nothing but a signification of our conviction; it is a publication of our dislike of sin, and a submission to the law of God, and a deprecation of the consequent evils. *Confessio erroris professio est desinendi*, said S. Hilary[z], 'a confession of our sin is a profession that we will leave it;' and again, *Confessio peccati ea est, ut id quod a te gestum est per confessionem peccati confitearis esse peccatum.* That is confession of sins, not that we enumerate the particulars, and tell the matter of fact to Him that remembers them better than we can, but it is a condemning of the sin itself, an acknowledging that we have done foolishly, a bringing it forth to be crucified and killed. This is apparent also in the case of Achan[a], who was sufficiently convict of the matter of fact by the divine disposing of lots, which was one of the ways by which God answered the secret enquiries of the Jews; but when he was brought forth to punishment, "Joshua said unto him, My son, give (I pray thee) glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto Him;" that is, Acknowledge the answer of God to be true, and His judgment upon us not to be causeless. To this answers that part of Achan's reply, "Indeed I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel." There God was justified, and the glory was given to Him, that is, the glory of His truth and His justice; but then Joshua adds, "and tell me now what thou hast done; hide it not from me." Here it was fit he should make a particular enumeration of the fact; and so he did to Joshua saying, "Thus and thus have I done." For to confess to man, is another thing than to confess to God: men need to be

[y] [Ps. li. 4.] [z] In Ps. cxxxv. [§ 3. col. 483.] [a] [Joshua vii. 19.]

informed, God needs it not; but God is to be justified and glorified in the sentence and condemnation of the sin or the sinner: and in order to it, we must confess our sin, that is, condemn it, confess it to be a sin, and ourselves guilty, and standing at God's mercy. S. Chrysostom[b] upon those words of S. Paul, "If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged," hath these words, "He saith not, If we would chastise ourselves, if we would punish ourselves, but only, If we would acknowledge our sins, if we would condemn ourselves, if we would give sentence against our sins, we should be freed from that punishment which is due both here and there. For he that hath condemned himself appeases God upon a double account, both because he hath acknowledged the sins past, and is more careful for the future." To this confession of sins is opposed the denying our sin, our hiding it from God as Adam did, that is, either by proceeding in it, or by not considering it, or by excusing it, or by justifying it, or by glorying in it: all these are high provocations of God's anger; but this anger is taken off by confession. *Præveniamus faciem ejus in confessione*, said the psalmist[c]; "Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving;" so we read it; "let us prevent His anger," or "let us go before His face with confession," so the old Latin bibles: which is a doing as the prodigal did, "I will go unto my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee:" and this is the first act of exterior repentance; but it is of that repentance that is indispensably necessary to salvation; this is "repentance towards God[d]," which the apostles preached in the first publication of christianity.

38. But then besides this there is a 'repentance towards men,' and a confession in order to it. If I have sinned against my brother, I must ask his pardon and confess my error, that is, I must repent or confess to him; for he that is the injured person hath a right over me; I am his debtor, and obliged; and he can forgive me if he please, and he may choose: that is, I must pay him the debt I owe him, unless he will be pleased to remit it. For God in His infinite wisdom and goodness and justice hath taken care to secure every man's interest; and he that takes any thing from me, is bound by God's law to restore it, and to restore me to that state of good things from whence he forced me. Now because for the injury which I have already suffered he cannot make me equal amends, because whatever he does to me for the future, still it is true that I did suffer evil from him formerly; therefore it is necessary that I do what I can to the reparation of that: but because what is done and past cannot be undone, I must make it up as well as I can; that is, I must confess my sin, and be sorry for it, and submit to the judgment of the offended party; and he is bound to forgive me the sin, and I am

[b] In 1 Cor. hom. xxviii. [§. 2.—tom. x. col. 251 D.]

[c] [Ps. xcv. 2.—See title-page of this volume.]

[d] [Acts xx. 21.]

bound to make just and prudent amends according to my power. For here every one is bound to do his share: if the offending person hath done his part of duty, the offended must do his, that is, he must forgive him that wronged him; if he will not, God will untie the penitent man, and with the same chain fast bind him that is uncharitable.

39. But my brother may be hurt by me, though I have taken nothing from him, nor intended him injury. He may be scandalized by my sin, that is, tempted to sin, encouraged in his vileness, or discontented and made sorrowful for my unworthiness and transgression. In all these cases it is necessary that we repent to them also; that is, that we make amends not only by confession to God, but to our brethren also. For when we acknowledge our folly, we affright them from it; and by repentance we give them caution, that they may not descend into the same state of infelicity. And upon this account all public criminals were tied to a public *exomologesis* or repentance in the church, who by confession of their sins, acknowledged their error, and entered into the state of repentance; and by their being separate from the participation and communion of the mysteries, were declared unworthy of a communion with Christ, and a participation of His promises, till by repentance, and the fruits worthy of it, they were adjudged capable of God's pardon.

40. At the first this was as the nature of the thing exacted it, in case of public and notorious crimes, such which had done injury, and wrought public scandal: and so far was necessary, that the church should be repaired if she have been injured: if public satisfaction be demanded, it must be done; if private be required only, then that is sufficient; though in case of notorious crimes it were very well if the penitent would make his repentance as exemplary as modesty, and his own and the public circumstances, can permit.

41. In pursuance of this in the primitive church, the bishop, and whom he deputed, did minister to these public satisfactions and amends; which custom of theirs admitted of variety and change according as new scandals or new necessities did arise. For though by the nature of the thing, they only could be necessarily and essentially obliged who had done public and notorious offences; yet some observing the advantages of that way of repentance, the prayers of the church, the tears of the bishop, the compassion of the faithful, the joy of absolution and reconciliation, did come in voluntarily, and to do that by choice which the notorious criminals were to do of necessity.

Then the priests which the penitents had chosen did publish or enjoin them to publish their sins in the face of the church; but this grew intolerable, and was left off, because it grew to be a matter of accusation before the criminal judge, and of upbraiding in private conversation, and of confidence to them that sought for occasion and hardness of heart and face; and therefore they appointed one only

priest to hear the cases and receive the addresses of the penitents; and he did publish the sins of them that came, only in general, and by the publication of their penances, and their separation from the mysteries: and this also changed into the more private; and by several steps of progression dwindled away into private repentance towards men, that is, confession to a priest in private, and private satisfactions, or amends and fruits of repentance: and now auricular confession is nothing else but the public *exomologesis* or repentance ecclesiastical, reduced to ashes; it is the relics of that excellent discipline which was in some cases necessary (as I have declared) and in very many cases useful, until by the dissolution of manners, and the extinction of charity it became unsufferable, and a bigger scandal than those which it did intend to remedy. The result is this. That to enumerate our sins before the holy man that ministers in holy things, that is, confession to a priest, is not virtually included in the duty of contrition; for it not being necessary by the nature of the thing, nor the divine commandment, is not necessary absolutely, and properly, in order to pardon; and therefore is no part of contrition, which without this may be a sufficient disposition towards pardon, unless by accident, as in the case of scandal, the criminal come to be obliged. Only this one advantage is to be made of their doctrine who speak otherwise in this article. The divines in the council of Trent[e] affirm, that they that are contrite are reconciled to God before they receive the sacrament of penance, as they use to speak; that is, before priestly absolution. If then a man can be contrite before the priest absolves him, as their saying supposes, and as it is certain they may, and if the desire of absolution be as they say included in contrition, and consequently that nothing is wanting to obtain pardon to the penitent even before the priest absolves him; it follows that the priest's absolution following this perfect disposition, and this actual pardon, can effect nothing really; the man is pardoned beforehand, and therefore his absolution is only declarative. God pardons the man, and the priest by his office is to tell him so, when he sees cause for it, and observes the conditions completed. Indeed if absolution by the minister of the church were necessary, then to desire it also would be necessary, and an act of duty and obedience; but then if the desire (in case it were necessary to desire it) would make contrition to be complete and perfect, and if perfect contrition does actually procure a pardon, then the priestly absolution is only a solemn and legal publication of God's pardon already actually past in the court of heaven. For an effect cannot proceed from causes which are not yet in being; and therefore the pardon of the sins for which the penitent is contrite, cannot come from the priest's ministration, which is not in some cases to be obtained, but desired only, and afterwards when it can be obtained, comes when the work is done. God it may

[e] Sess. xiv. c. 4. [tom. x. col. 91.]

be accepts the desire, but the priest's ministry afterwards is not, cannot be the cause why God did accept of that desire; because the desire is accepted before the absolution is in being.

42. But now although this cannot be a necessary duty for the reasons before reckoned, because the priest is not the injured person, and therefore cannot have the power of giving pardon properly and sufficiently and effectively; and confession is not an amends to him, and the duty itself of confession is not an enumeration of particulars, but a condemnation of the sin, which is an humiliation before the offended party; yet confession to a priest, the minister of pardon and reconciliation, the curate of souls, and the guide of consciences, is of so great use and benefit to all that are heavy laden with their sins, that they who carelessly and causelessly neglect it are neither lovers of the peace of consciences, nor are careful for the advantages of their souls.

43. For the publication of our sins to the minister of holy things, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔχει ἡ ἐπίδειξις τῶν σωματικῶν παθῶν, said Basil[f], 'is just like the manifestation of the diseases of our body to the physician;' for God hath appointed them as spiritual physicians, ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἰᾶσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας φαρμάκοις, 'to heal sinners by the antidote of repentance,' said the fathers in the first Roman council under Simplicius[g]. Their office is to comfort the comfortless, to instruct the ignorant, to reduce the wanderers, to restore them that are overtaken in a fault, to reconcile the penitent, to strengthen the weak and to encourage their labours, to advise remedies against sins, and to separate the vile from the precious, to drive scandals far from the church, and as much as may be to secure the innocent lambs from the pollutions of the infected. Now in all these regards, the penitent may have advantages from the ecclesiastical ministrations. There are many cases of conscience which the penitent cannot determine, many necessities which he does not perceive, many duties which he omits, many abatements of duty which he ignorantly or presumptuously does make; much partiality in the determination of his own interests; and to build up a soul requires so much wisdom, so much severity, so many arts, such caution and observance, such variety of notices, great learning, great prudence, great piety; that as all ministers are not worthy of that charge, and secret employment, and conduct of others in the more mysterious and difficult parts of religion; so it is certain there are not many of the people that can worthily and sufficiently do it themselves: and therefore although we are not to tell a lie for a good end, and that it cannot be said that God hath by an express law required it, or that it is necessary in the nature of things, yet to some persons it hath put on so many degrees of charity and prudence, and is so apt to minister to their superinduced needs, that although to do it is not a necessary

[f] Regul. brev. 229. [tom. ii. p. 492.]

[g] [Not found.]

obedience, yet it is a necessary charity; it is not necessary in respect of a positive express commandment, yet it is in order to certain ends which cannot be so well provided for by any other instrument: it hath not in it an absolute, but it may have a relative and a superinduced necessity.

> Cœlestique viro, quis te deceperit error,
> Dicito, pro culpa ne scelus esse putet[h].

Now here a particular enumeration is the confession that is proper to this ministry; because the minister must be instructed first in the particulars: which also points out to us the manner of his assistances, and of our obligation; it is that we may receive helps by his office and abilities, which can be better applied by how much more minute and particular the enumeration or confession is; and of this circumstance there can be no other consideration: excepting that the enumeration of shames and follies before a holy man is a very great restraint to the gaieties of a confident or of a tempted person: for though a man dares sin in the presence of God, yet he dares not let his friend or his enemy see him do a foul act:

> Tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
> Si mortalis idem nemo sciat[i];——

and therefore that a reverend man shall see his shame, and with a severe and a broad eye look and stare upon his dishonour, must needs be a great part of God's restraining grace, and of great use to the mortification and prevention of sin.

44. One thing more there is which is highly considerable in this part or ministry of repentance; it is a great part of that preparation which is necessary for him who needs, and for him who desires absolution ecclesiastical. Some do need, and some do desire it; and it is of advantage to both. They that need it, and are bound to seek it, are such, who being publicly noted by the church, are bound by her censures and discipline: that is, such who because they have given evil example to all, and encouragement in evil to some, to them that are easy and apt to take; are tied by the publication of their repentance, their open return and public amends, to restore the church so far as they can to that state of good things from whence their sin did or was apt to draw her. This indeed is necessary, and can in no regard be excused, if particular persons do not submit themselves to it, unless the church herself will not demand it or advise it; and then if there be an error, or a possibility to have it otherwise, the governors of the church are only answerable. And in this sense are those decretory sayings and earnest advices of the ancient doctors to be understood. *Laicus si peccet, ipse suum non potest auferre peccatum, sed . . indiget sacerdote . . ut possit remissionem peccatorum accipere,* said Origen[k], 'If any of the people sin, himself cannot take away his

[h] Ovid., lib. i. trist. eleg. 3. [lin. 37.]
[i] [Juv. sat. xiii. 75.]
[k] Hom. x. in Num. [§ 1.—tom. ii. p. 301 D.]

own sin, but must shew himself to the priest, that he may obtain pardon.' "For they who are spotted with sins, unless they be cured with the priestly authority, cannot be in the bosom of the church," said Fabianus Martyr[l]. And as express are those words of S. Basil[m], Δεῖ τῶν τεταγμένων[n] ἕκαστον μηδὲν μὲν ψυχῆς κίνημα ἀπόκρυφον φυλάσσειν, . . ἀλλ' ἀπογυμνοῦν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας τοῖς πιστευομένοις . . ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων· and, Ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς πεπιστευμένοις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι τὰ ἁμαρτήματα· 'it behoveth every one that is under authority to keep no motion of their hearts secret, but to lay the secrets of their heart naked before them who are entrusted to take care of them that are weak or sick.' That is, the τεταγμένοι, 'the public penitents,' who are placed in the station of the mourners, must not do their business imperfectly, but make a perfect narrative of their whole case to the penitentiary minister: and such persons who are under discipline, or under notorious sins, must make their *exomologesis*, that is, do ecclesiastical repentance, before them who are the trustees and stewards of the mysteries of God; *qua sine nullus remissione potietur*, said a father to S. John de Gradibus[o]; 'without which *exomologesis* or public ecclesiastical confession, or amends, no man shall obtain pardon;' meaning, the peace of the church. For to this sense we are to understand the doctrine of the holy fathers, and we learn it from S. Austin[p], *Recte constituuntur ab iis qui ecclesiæ præsunt tempora pœnitentiæ, ut fiat satis etiam ecclesiæ, in qua remittuntur ipsa peccata; extra eam quippe non remittuntur*, 'the times of penance are with great reason appointed by ecclesiastical governors, that the church in whose communion sins are forgiven may be satisfied; for out of her there is no forgiveness.'

45. For in this case the church hath a power of binding and retaining sins and sinners; that is, a denying to them the privileges of the faithful, till they by public repentance and satisfaction have given testimony of their return to God's favour and service. The church may deny to pray publicly for some persons, and refuse to admit them into the society of those that do pray, and refuse till she is satisfied concerning them by such signs and indications as she will appoint and choose. For it appears in both testaments that those who are appointed to pray for others, to stand between God and the people, had it left in their choice sometimes, and sometimes were forbidden to pray for certain criminals. Thus God gave to the prophet charge concerning Ephraim[q], "Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry nor prayer for them, neither make intercession for them, for I will not hear thee." Like to this was that of S. John[r], "There is a sin

[l] [Epist. ii. cap. 2; in Concil. reg., tom. i. p. 327.]

[m] Regul. fus. explic. [26.] et Regul. brev. 228. [leg. 288. tom. ii. p. 371, 516.]

[n] [al. ὑποτεταγμένων.]

[o] [al. S. Joannes Climacus, in Scala Paradisi, grad. iv. p. 47.]

[p] Enchirid., c. 65. [tom. vi. col. 220.]

[q] [Jer. vii. 16.]

[r] [1 John v. 16.]

unto death. I say not that ye pray for him that sins unto death;' that is, do not admit such persons to the communion of prayers and holy offices; at least the church may choose whether she will or no.

46. The church in her government and discipline had two ends, and her power was accordingly, apt to minister to these ends. First, by condemning and punishing the sin, she was to do what she could to save the criminal; that is, by bringing him to repentance and a holy life, to bring him to pardon: and secondly, if she could or if she could not effect this, yet she was to remove the scandal, and secure the flock from infection: this was all that was needful, this was all that was possible to be done. In order to the first, the apostles had some powers extraordinary, which were indeed necessary at the beginning of the religion, not only for this, but for other ministrations. The apostles had power to 'bind sinners;' that is, to 'deliver them over to Satan,' and to sad diseases, or death itself: and they had power to 'loose sinners,' that is, to cure their diseases, to 'unloose Satan's bands,' to restore them to God's favour and pardon.

47. This manner of speaking was used by our blessed Saviour[p] in this very case of sickness and infirmity. "Ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this band on the sabbath day?" The apostles had this power of binding and loosing; and that this is the power of remitting and retaining sins, appears without exception in the words of our blessed Saviour[q] to the Jews, who best understood the power of forgiving sins by seeing the evil which sin brought on the guilty person, taken away. "That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, He saith to the man sick of the palsy, Arise, take up thy bed and walk." For there is a power in heaven, and a power on earth to forgive sins. The power that is in heaven, is the public absolution of a sinner at the day of judgment: the power on earth to forgive sins, is a taking off those intermedial evils which are inflicted in the way; sicknesses, temporal death, loss of the divine grace, and of the privileges of the faithful. These Christ could take off when He was upon earth, and His heavenly Father sent Him to do all this, to heal all sicknesses and to cure all infirmities, and to take away our sins, and to preach glad tidings to the poor, and comfort to the afflicted, and rest to the weary and heavy laden. The other judgment is to be performed by Christ at His second coming.

48. Now as God the Father sent His Son, so His holy Son sent His apostles, with the same power on earth to bind and loose sinners; to pardon sins by taking away the material evil effects which sin should superinduce, or to retain sinners by binding them in sad and hard bands to bring them to reason, or to make others afraid.

[p] [Luke xiii. 16.] [q] [Mark ii. 10.]

Thus S. Peter sentenced Ananias and Sapphira to a temporal death; and S. Paul struck Elymas with blindness, and delivered over the incestuous Corinthian to be beaten by an evil spirit, and so also he did to Hymenæus and Alexander.

49. But this was an extraordinary power, and not to descend upon the succeeding ages of the church: but it was in this as in all other ministries; something miraculous and extraordinary was for ever to consign a lasting truth and ministry in ordinary. The preaching of the gospel, that is, faith itself, at first was proved by miracles; and the holy Ghost was given by signs and wonders; and sins were pardoned by the gifts of healing, and sins were retained by the hands of an angel; and the very visitation of the sick was blessed with sensible and strange recoveries: and every thing was accompanied with a miracle, excepting the two sacraments, in the administration of which we do not find any mention of any thing visibly miraculous in the records of holy scripture; and the reason is plain, because these two sacraments were to be for ever the ordinary ministries of those graces which at first were consigned by signs and wonders extraordinary. For in all ages of the church, reckoning exclusively from the days of the apostles, all the graces of the gospel, all the promises of God, were conveyed, or consigned, or fully ministered by these sacraments, and by nothing else but what was in order to them. These were the inlets and doors by which all the faithful were admitted into the outer courts of the Lord's temple, or into the secrets of the kingdom; and the solemnities themselves were the keys of these doors; and they that had the power of ministration of them, they had the power of the keys.

50. These then being the whole ecclesiastical power, and the sum of their ministrations, were to be dispensed according to the necessities and differing capacities of the sons and daughters of the church. The Thessalonians[r], who were not furnished with a competent number of ecclesiastical governors, were commanded to 'abstain from the company of the brethren that walked disorderly.' S. John[s] wrote to the elect lady that she should not entertain in her house false apostles: and when the former way did expire of itself and by the change of things, and the second advice was not practicable and prudent, they were reduced to the only ordinary ministry of remitting and retaining sins, by a direct admitting, or refusing and deferring to admit criminals to their ministries of pardon, which were now only left in the church as their ordinary power and ministration. For since in this world all our sins are pardoned by those ways and instruments which God hath constituted in the church, and there are no other external rites appointed by Christ but the sacraments, it follows that as they are worthily communicated or justly denied, so the pardon is or is not ministered.

[r] [2 Thess. iii. 6.]

[s] [2 John 10.]

And therefore when the church did bind any sinner by the bands of discipline, she did remove him from the mysteries, and sometimes enjoined external or internal acts of repentance, to testify and to exercise the grace, and so to dispose them to pardon; and when the penitents had given such testimonies which the church demanded, then they were absolved, that is, they were admitted to the mysteries. For in the primitive records of the church there was no form of absolution judicial, nothing but giving them the holy communion, admitting them to the peace of the church, to the society and privileges of the faithful. For this was giving them pardon, by virtue of those words of Christ[t], "Whose sins ye remit they are remitted;" that is, If ye who are the stewards of My family shall admit any one to the kingdom of Christ on earth, they shall be admitted to the participation of Christ's kingdom in heaven; and what ye bind here, shall be bound there; that is, if they be unworthy to partake of Christ here, they shall be accounted unworthy to partake of Christ hereafter; if they separate from Christ's members, they also shall be separate from the Head. And this is the full sense of the power given by Christ to His church concerning sins and sinners, called by S. Paul[u] "the word of reconciliation."

51. For as for the other later and superinduced ministry of pardon in judicial forms of absolution; that is wholly upon other accounts, of good use indeed to all them that desire it by reason of their present persuasions and scruples, fears and jealousies concerning the event of things. For sometimes it happens what one said of old, *Mens nostra difficillime sedatur, Deus facilius.* God is sooner at peace with us, than we are at peace with our own minds; and because our repentances are always imperfect; and he who repents the most excellently, and hates his sin with the greatest detestation, may possibly by his sense of the foulness of his sin, undervalue his repentance, and suspect his sorrow, and because every thing is too little to deserve pardon, he may think it is too little to obtain it; and the man may be melancholy, and melancholy is fearful, and fear is scrupulous, and scruples are not to be satisfied at home, and not very easily abroad; in the midst of these and many other disadvantages, it will be necessary that he whose office it is to separate the vile from the precious, and to judge of leprosy, should be made able to judge of the state of this man's repentance, and upon notice of particulars, to speak comfort to him or something for institution. For then if the minister of holy things shall think fit to pronounce absolution, that is, to declare that he believes him to be a true penitent and in the state of grace, it must needs add much comfort to him and hope of pardon, not only upon the confidence of his wisdom and spiritual learning, but even from the prayers of the holy man, and the solemnity of his ministration: to pronounce absolution in this case is to warrant him so far as his

[t] [John xx. 23.] [u] [2 Cor. v. 19.]

case is warrantable; that is, to speak comfort to him that is in need: to give sentence in a case which is laid before him; in which the party interested, either hath no skill, or no confidence, or no comfort. Now in this case to dispute whether the priest's power be judicial, or optative, or declarative, is so wholly to no purpose; that this sentence is no part of any power at all; but it is his office to do it, and is an effect of wisdom, not of power; it is like the answering of a question: which indeed ought to be asked of him; as every man prudently is to enquire in every matter of concernment, from him who is skilled and experienced, and professed in the faculty. But the priest's proper power of absolving, that is, of pardoning (which is in no case communicable to any man who is not consecrated to the ministry) is a giving the penitent the means of eternal pardon, the admitting him to the sacraments of the church, and the peace and communion of the faithful; because that is the only way really to obtain pardon of God; there being in ordinary no way to heaven but by serving God in the way which He hath commanded us by His Son, that is, in the way of the church, which is His body, whereof He is prince and head. The priest is the minister of holy things; he does that by his ministry which God effects by real dispensation; and as he gives the Spirit not by authority and proper efflux, but by assisting and dispensing those rites, and promoting those graces which are certain dispositions to the receiving of Him: just so he gives pardon: not as a king does it; nor yet as a messenger; that is, not by way of authority and real donation; nor yet only by declaration: but as a physician gives health; that is, he gives the remedy which God appoints; and if he does so, and if God blesses the medicines, the person recovers, and God gives the health.

52. For it is certain that the holy man who ministers in repentance hath no other proper power of giving pardon than what is now described. Because he cannot pardon them who are not truly penitent, and if the sinner be, God will pardon him whether the priest does or no; and what can be the effect of these things, but this; that the priest does only minister to the pardon, as he ministers to repentance? He tells us upon what conditions God does pardon, and judges best when the conditions are performed, and sets forward those conditions by his proper ministry, and ministers to us the instruments of grace, but first takes accounts of our souls, and helps us who are otherwise too partial, to judge severe and righteous judgment concerning our eternal interest, and he judges for us, and does exhort or reprove, admonish or correct, comfort or humble, loose or bind. So the minister of God is the minister of reconciliation; that is, he is the minister of the gospel; for that is the 'word of reconciliation' which S. Paul affirms to be entrusted to him: in every office by which the holy man ministers to the gospel, in every of them he is the minister of pardon.

53. But concerning that which we call 'absolution,' that is, a

pronouncing the person to be absolved; it is certain that the forms of the present use were not used for many ages of the church: in the Greek church they were never used; and for the Latin church in Thomas Aquinas[x] his time they were so new that he put it into one of his *Quæstiones disputatæ* whether form were more fit, the optative or the judicial; whether it were better to say, 'God of His mercy pardon thee,' or 'by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee;' and in Peter Lombard's[y] days when it was esteemed an innocent doctrine to say that the priest's power was only declarative, it is likely the form of absolution would be according to the power believed; which not being then universally believed to be judicial, the judicial form could not be of universal use; and in the Pontifical there is no judicial form at all; but only optative or by way of prayer.—But in this affair, besides what is already mentioned, I have two great things to say which are a sufficient determination of this whole article;—

3°. In the primitive church there was no judicial absolution used in their liturgies.

54. a. The first is, that in the primitive church there was no such thing as a judicial absolution of sins used in any liturgy, or church, so far as can appear; but all the absolution of penitents which is recorded, was the mere admitting them to the mysteries and society of the faithful in religious offices, the sum and perfection of which was the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper. So the fourth council of Carthage, *can.* lxxvi.[z], makes provision for a penitent that is near death, *Reconcilietur per manus impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia,* 'let him be reconciled by the imposition of hands, and let the eucharist be poured into his mouth:' that was all the solemnity; even when there was the greatest need of the church's ministry; that is, before their penances and satisfactions were completed. The priest or bishop laid his hands upon him, and prayed, and gave him the communion. For that this was the whole purpose of imposition of hands, we are taught expressly by S. Austin[a], who being to prove that imposition of hands, viz., in repentance, might be repeated, though baptism might not; uses this for an argument, *Quid est enim aliud nisi oratio super hominem?* 'It is nothing else but a prayer said over the man.' And indeed this is evident and notorious in matter of fact; for in the beginning and in the progression, in the several periods of public repentance and in the consummation of it, the bishop or the priest did very often impose hands, that is, pray over the penitent; as appears in Is. Ling.[b] from the authority of the Gallican councils, *Omni tempore jejunii manus pœnitentibus a sacerdote imponantur:* and again, *Criminalia*

[x] [See vol. vi. p. 516, above.]
[y] [Sent., lib. iv. dist. 18. p. 789 sqq.]
[z] [tom. i. col. 983.]
[a] Lib. iii. de baptism., cap. 16. [tom. ix. col. 117 B.]
[b] [Isaac episcopi Lingonensis canones.] Tertio tomo conc. Gall. [Sirmond. —tit. i. de pœnit.] c. 8 et 11. [p. 646 sq.]

peccata multis jejuniis, et crebris manus sacerdotum impositionibus, eorumque supplicationibus, juxta canonum statuta placuit purgari, 'criminal,' that is, great 'sins must according to the canons be purged with much fasting and frequent impositions of the priests' hands and their supplications;' 'in every time or period of their fast, let the priest's hands be laid upon the penitents:' that is, let the priests frequently pray with him, and for him, or over him. The same with that which he also observes[c] out of the Nicene council, *Vultu et capite humiliato humiliter et ex corde veniam postulent, et pro se orare exposcant:* that's the intent of imposition of hands; 'let the penitent humbly ask pardon, that is, desire that the holy man and all the church would pray for him. This in every stage or period of repentance was a degree of reconciliation: for as God pardons a sinner when He gives him time to repent; He pardons him in one degree, that is, He hath taken off that anger which might justly and instantly crush him all in pieces; and God pardons him yet more when He exhorts him to repentance, and yet more when He inclines him, and as he proceeds, so does God, but the pardon is not full and final till the repentance is so too: so does the minister of repentance and pardon; those only are in the unpardoned state who are cut off from all entercourse in holy things, with holy persons, in holy offices; when they are admitted to do repentance, they are admitted to the state of pardon; and every time the bishop or minister prays for him, he still sets him forwarder towards the final pardon; but then the penitent is fully reconciled on earth, when having done his repentance towards men, that is, by the commands of the church, he is admitted to the holy communion; and if that be sincerely done on the penitent's part, and this be maturely and prudently done on the priest's part; as the repentance towards men was a repentance also towards God, so the absolution before men is a certain indication of absolution before God. But as to the main question; then the church only did reconcile penitents when she admitted them to the communion; and therefore in the second council of Carthage[d], absolution is called, *reconciliari divinis altaribus,* 'a being reconciled to the altar of God:' and in the council of Eliberis[e], *communione*[f] *reconciliari,* 'a being reconciled by receiving the communion,' opposite to which in the same canon is, *Communionem non accipiat,* 'he may not receive the communion,' that is, he shall not be absolved. The same is to be seen in the eighth canon of the council of Ancyra[g], in the second canon of the council of Laodicea[h], in the eighty-fifth epistle of P. Leo[i], and the first epistle of P. Vigilius[j]; and in the third council of Toledo[k] we find the whole process of binding and

[c] Cap. 16 et 17. [p. 648 sq.]
[d] Can. iv. [tom. i. col. 952.]
[e] Can. lxxii. [tom. i. col. 257.]
[f] [lege, 'communioni.']
[g] [tom. i. col. 275.]
[h] [tom. i. col. 781.]
[i] [p. 155.]
[j] [vid. epp. ii. et v. in Concil. reg., tom. xi. pp. 511, 21.]
[k] Can. xi. [tom. iii. col. 481.]

loosing described in these words, "Because we find that in certain churches of Spain, men do not according to the canons, but unworthily repent them[l] of their sins, that so often as they please to sin, so often they desire[m] of the priest to be reconciled: therefore for the restraining so execrable a presumption, it is commanded by the holy council that repentance should be given according to the form of the ancient canons; that is, that he who repents him of his doings, being first suspended from the communion, he should amongst the other penitents often run to the imposition of hands," that is, to the prayers of the bishop and the church; "but when the time of his satisfaction is completed, according as the priest's prudence shall approve, let him restore him to the communion." That's the absolution, as the rejecting him from it was the binding him; it was an excommunication, from which when he was restored to the communion, he was loosed. And this was so known, so universal a practice and process of ecclesiastical repentance, that without any alteration (as to the main enquiry) it continued so in the church to very many ages succeeding; and it was for a long while together the custom of penitent people in the beginning of Lent to come voluntarily to receive injunctions of discipline and penitential offices from the priest, and to abstain from the holy communion till they had done their penances, and then by ceremonies and prayers to be restored to the communion at Easter, without any other form of judicial absolution; as is to be seen in Albinus[n] and in the Roman Pontifical. To which this consideration may be added, that the reconciling of penitents in the primitive church was not done by the bishop or priest only, but sometimes by deacons, as appears in S. Cyprian[o]; and sometimes by the people, as it was allowed by S. Paul[p] in the case of the incestuous Corinthian; and was frequently permitted to the confessors in the times of persecution; and may be done by an unbaptized catechumen, as S. Austin[q] affirms. The result of which is, that this absolution of penitents in the court christian, was not an act of priestly power incommunicably; it was not a dispensation of the proper power of the keys, but to give or not to give the communion, that was an effect of the power of the

[l] ['fœdissimè agere pœnitentiam.']

[m] ['expostulent.']

[n] De divers. [lege divin.] offic., c. 13 et 16. [col. 1031 et 1044.]

[o] Lib. iii. ep. 17. [al. ep. 18. p. 40.]

[p] [2 Cor. ii. 10.]

[q] [Apud Gratian. in decreto,] De consecrat. dist. iv. cap. 'Sanctum' [sc. cap. 36. col. 2167.—But the subject of the chapter is, 'Valet baptisma etsi per laicos ministretur.' It contains the following passage. 'Nam cum illa historia narratur omnes qui audiunt prope ad lacrymas movet. Cum in navi quadam fidelis nullus esset præter unum pœnitentem, cœpit imminere naufragium. Erat ibi quidam non immemor salutis suæ, et sacramenti vehementissimus flagitator: nec erat aliquis qui dare posset nisi pœnitens ille. Acceperat enim, sed pro peccato, de quo agebat pœnitentiam, amiserat sanctitatem; sed non amiserat sacramentum. Nam si hoc amittunt peccantes, cum reconciliantur post pœnitentiam, quare non iterum baptizantur? Dedit ergo quod acceperat; et ne periculose vitam finiret non reconciliatus, petiit ab eo ipso quem baptizaverat ut eum reconciliaret: et factum est: et naufragium evaserunt.']

keys; that was really, properly, and in effect, the ecclesiastical absolution; for that which the deacons, or confessors, the laics or catechumens did, was all that, and only that which was of rite or ceremony before the giving the communion: therefore that which was besides this giving the communion was no proper absolution; it was not a priestly act indispensably; it might be done by them that were no priests: but the giving of the communion, that was a sacerdotal act, I mean the consecration of it; though the tradition of it was sometimes by deacons, sometimes by themselves at home. This therefore was the dispensation of the keys; this was the effect of the powers of binding and loosing, of remitting or retaining sins, according as the sense and practice of the church expounded her own power. The prayers of the priest going before his ministration of the communion were called absolution; that is, the beginning, and one of the first portions of it; *absolutio sacerdotalium precum*[r], so it was called in ancient councils; the priest imposed hands and prayed; and then gave the communion. This was the ordinary way; but there was an extraordinary;—

55. For in some cases the imposition of hands was omitted; that is, when the bishop or priest was absent; and the deacon prayed, or the confessor: but this was first by the leave of the bishop or priest, for to them it belonged in ordinary; and secondly, this was nothing else but a taking them from the station of the penitents and a placing them amongst the faithful communicants; either by declaring that their penances were performed, or not to be exacted.

56. For by this we shall be clear of an objection which might arise from the case of dying penitents; to whom the communion was given, and they restored to the peace of the church; that is, as they supposed, to God's mercy and the pardon of sins; for they would not choose to give the communion to such persons whom they did not believe God had pardoned: but these persons though communicated, *non se credant absolutos sine manus impositione, si supervixerint*, 'were not to suppose themselves absolved, if they recovered that sickness, without imposition of hands,' said the fathers of the fourth council of Carthage[s]; by which it should seem, absolution was a thing distinct from giving the communion.

57. To this I answer, that the dying penitent was fully absolved, in case he had received the first imposition of hands for repentance; that is, if in his health he submitted himself to penance and public amends, and was prevented from finishing the impositions, they supposed that desire and endeavour of the penitent man was a worthy disposition to the receiving the holy communion, and both together sufficient for pardon: but because this was only to be in the case of such intervening necessity, and God will not accept of the will for the deed, but in such cases where the deed cannot be accomplished,

[r] Isaac Ling., tit. i. c. 16. [p. 453, not. b, supra.] [s] Can. lxxviii. [t. i. col. 983.]

therefore they bound such penitents to return to their first obligation in case they should recover, since God had taken off their necessity, and restored them to their first capacity. And by this we understand the meaning of the third canon of the first Arausican council[t], "They who having received penance depart from the body, it pleases that they shall be communicated *sine reconciliatoria manus impositione*, without the reconciling imposition of hands;" that is, because the penitential imposition of hands was imposed upon them, and they did what they could, though the last imposition was not, though the last hand was not put upon them, declaring that they had done their penances, and completed their satisfactions, yet they might be communicated, that is, absolved; *quod morientis sufficit consolationi*, 'this is enough to the comfort of the dying man, according to the definition of the fathers, who conveniently enough called such a communion their *viaticum*, their passport or provision for their way.' For there were two solemn impositions of hands in repentance; the first and greatest was in the first admission of them, and in the imposition of the discipline or manner of performing penances: and this was the bishop's office; and of great consideration amongst the holy primitives; and was never done but by the superior clergy, as is evident in ecclesiastical story. The second solemn imposition of hands was immediately before their absolution or communion; and it was a holy prayer and publication that he was accepted and had finished that process: this was the less solemn, and was ordinarily done by the superior clergy; but sometimes by others, as I have remonstrated. Other intermedial impositions there were, as appears by the *Creber recursus* mentioned in the third council of Toledo above cited[u]; the penitents were often to beg the bishop's pardon, or the priest's prayers, and the advocations and intercessions of the faithful; but the peace of the church, that is, that pardon which she could minister, and which she had a promise that God would confirm in heaven, was the ministry of pardon in the dispensation of the sacrament of that body that was broken, and that blood that was poured forth for the remission of our sins.

58. The result is, that the absolution of sins which in the later forms and usages of the church is introduced, can be nothing but declarative; the office of the preacher and the guide of souls; of great use to timorous persons, and to the greatest penitents full of comfort, full of usefulness, and institution; and therefore although this very declaration of pardon may truly and according to the style of scripture be called pardon; and the power and office of pronouncing the penitent's pardon is in the sense of the scripture and the church, a good sense and signification of power; as the pharisees are said to 'justify God,' when they declare His justice; and as the preacher that 'converts a sinner' is said σώζειν, to 'save a soul from

[t] [tom. i. col 1784.]

[u] [p. 454, not. k, supra.]

death;' yet if we would speak properly, and as things are in their own nature and institution, this declarative absolution is only an act of preaching, or opening and reading the commission; an effect of the spirit of prudence and government entering upon the church; but the power of the keys is another thing; it is the dispensing all those rites and ministries by which heaven is opened; and that is, the word and baptism at the first, and ever after the holy sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and all the parts of the bishop's and priest's advocation and intercession in holy prayers and offices.

59. But as for the declarative absolution, although it is rather an act of wisdom than of power, it being true as S. Hieroime[v] said, that as the priests of the law could only discern, and neither cause nor remove leprosies; so the ministers of the gospel, when they retain or remit sins, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear and free; yet this very declaration is of great use, and in many cases of great effect. For as God did in the case of David give to the prophet Nathan a particular special and extraordinary commission, so to the ministers of the gospel He gives one that is ordinary and perpetual: he had a prophetical evidence; but these have a certainty of faith as to one of the propositions, and as to the other, some parts of human experience; to assure them, first, of God's gracious pardon to the penitent, and secondly, of the sincerity of their repentance: and therefore can with great effect minister to the comfort of sad and afflicted penitents. This does declare the pardon upon observation of the just grounds and dispositions; but the dispensation of ecclesiastical sacraments does really minister to it, not only by consigning it, but as instruments of the divine appointment to convey proper mercies to worthily disposed persons.

4°. The judicial absolution of a priest does effect no material change in the penitent as to giving of pardon.

60. *β.* But the other great thing which I was to say in this article is this, that the judicial absolution of the priest does effect no material event or change in the penitent as to the giving the pardon, and therefore cannot be it which Christ intended in the giving those excellent powers of remitting and retaining sins. Now upon this will the whole issue depend. Does the priest absolve him whom God condemns? God is the supreme judge, and though we may minister to His judgment, yet we cannot contradict it. Or can the priest condemn him whom God absolves? That also is impossible. "He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me?" and, "if God be with us, who can be against us[x]?" Or will not God pardon unless the priest absolves us? That may become a sad story. For he may be malicious, or ignorant, or interested, or covetous, and desirous to serve his own ends upon the ruin of my soul; and therefore God dispenses His mercies by more regular, just, and

[v] In xvi. Mat. [tom. iv. part. 1. col. 75.]

[x] [Is. l. 8; Rom. viii. 31.]

equal measures than the accidental sentences of unknowing or imprudent men. If then the priest ministers only to repentance, by saying, 'I absolve thee,' what is it that he effects? For since God's pardon does not go by his measures, his must go by God's measures; and the effect of that will be this, God works His own work in us; and when His minister observes the effects of the divine grace, he can and ought to publish and declare to all the purposes of comfort and institution that the person is absolved; that is, he is in the state of grace and divine favour, in which if he perseveres he shall be saved. But all this while the work is supposed to be done before; and if it be, the priest hath nothing left for him to do, but to approve, to warrant, and to publish. And the case in short is this;—

61. Either the sinner hath repented worthily or he hath not. If he hath, then God hath pardoned him already, by virtue of all the promises evangelical. If he hath not repented worthily, the priest cannot, ought not to absolve him; and therefore can by this absolution effect no new thing. The work is done before the priestly absolution, and therefore cannot depend upon it. Against this no sect of men opposes any thing that I know of, excepting only the Roman doctors; who yet confess the argument of value, if the penitent be 'contrite.' But they add this, that there is an imperfect contrition, which by a distinct word they call 'attrition,' which is a natural grief, or a grief proceeding wholly from fear or smart, and hath in it nothing of love; and this they say does not justify the man, nor pardon the sin of itself. But if this man come to the priest, and confess and be absolved, that absolution makes this attrition to become contrition, or, which is all one, it pardons the man's sins; and though this imperfect penitent cannot hope for pardon upon the confidence of that indisposition, yet by the sacrament of penance or priestly absolution he may hope it, and shall not be deceived.

62. Indeed if this were true, it were a great advantage to some persons who need it mightily. But they are the worst sort of penitents, and such which though they have been very bad, yet now resolve not to be very good, if they can any other way escape it; and by this means the priest's power is highly advanced, and to submit to it, would be highly necessary to most men, and safest to all. But if this be not true, then to hope it is a false confidence, and of danger to the event of souls; it is a nurse of carelessness, and gives boldness to imperfect penitents, and makes them to slacken their own piety, because they look for security upon confidence of that which will be had without trouble or mortification, even the priest's absolution. This therefore I am to examine, as being of very great concernment in the whole article of repentance, and promised to be considered in the beginning of this paragraph.

§ 5. Attrition, or the imperfect repentance, though with absolution, is not sufficient.

63. By attrition they mean the most imperfect repentance; that is, a sorrow proceeding from fear of hell, a sorrow not mingled with the love of God. This sorrow newly begun (they say) is sufficient for pardon, if the sins be confessed, and the party absolved by the priest. This indeed is a short process, and very easy, but if it be not effectual and valid, the persons that rely upon it are miserably undone. Here therefore I consider,

64. *α.* Attrition being a word of the schools, not of the scripture, or of antiquity, means what they please to have it; and although they differ in assigning its definition, yet it being the least and the worst part of repentance, every action of any man that can in any sense be said to repent upon consideration of any the most affrighting threatenings in the gospel, cannot be denied to have attrition. Now such a person who being scared, comes to confess his sin, may still retain his affections to it; for nothing but love to God can take away his love from evil, and if there be love in it, it is contrition, not attrition. From these premises it follows, that if the priest can absolve him that is attrite, he may pardon him who hath affections to sin still remaining; that is, one who fears hell, but does not love God. If it be said that absolution changes fear into love, attrition into contrition, a Saul into a David, a Judas into a John, a Simon Magus into Simon Peter; then the greatest conversions and miracles of change may be wrought in an instant by an ordinary ministry; and when Simon Magus was affrighted by S. Peter about the horror of his sin, and told that he was in the gall of bitterness, and thereupon desired the apostle to pray for him, if S. Peter had but absolved him, which he certainly might upon that affright he put the sorcerer in, he had made him a saint presently, and needed not to have spoken so uncertainly concerning him, 'Pray, if peradventure the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee.' For without peradventure he might have made a quicker dispatch and a surer work, by giving him absolution upon his present submission, and the desire of his prayers, and his visible apparent fear of being in the gall of bitterness; all which must needs be as much or more than the Roman schools define 'attrition' to be. But,

65. *β.* The priest pardons upon no other terms than those upon which God pardons; for if he does, then he is not the minister of God, but the supreme lord; and must do it by his own measures, if he does it not by the measures of God. For God does never pardon him that is only attrite; and this is confessed, in that they require the man to go to the priest, that he may be made contrite: which is all one as if he were bidden to go to the priest to be made chaste or liberal, temperate or humble in an instant.

66. *γ.* And if it be said that although God does not pardon him that is attrite, unless it be together with the keys, that is, unless the priest absolves him; but then, it being all that God requires in

that case, the priest does no more than God warrants; it is done by God's measures; the attrition or imperfect repentance of the penitent, and the keys of the church being all which God requires: this indeed if it could be proved were something, but there is no tittle of it in scripture or antiquity; it being no where said that attrition and absolution alone are sufficient, and is an unreasonable dream but of yesterday.

67. δ. For if attrition be good of itself, and a sufficient disposition to receive pardon from the church, then it is also sufficient to obtain pardon of God without the church, in case of necessity. For unless it be for Him in case of necessity sufficient, to desire absolution, then the outward act does more than the inward, and the ceremony were more than the grace, and the priest could do more than God would; for the priest would and could pardon him, whom God would not pardon without the priest; and the will could not be accepted for the deed, when the deed were impossible to be done; and God would require of us more than we have, more than He hath given us; and a man should live or die not by himself, but should be judged by the actions of others. All which contain in them impossible affirmatives, and therefore proceed from a false principle.

68. ε. But then if attrition in some cases without the sacrament were good, it is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon, as contrition; for contrition (say the Roman schools) is not sufficient of itself without the keys; that is, unless it contain in it a resolution to confess and beg absolution. Now this resolution is no resolution, unless it be reduced to act when it can; it is a mockery if it does not; and it is to be excused in no case, but in that of necessity. And just so it is in attrition, as I have proved. In vain therefore it is for any good man to persuade his penitent to heighten his repentance, and to be contrite; for he may at a cheaper rate be assured of his pardon, if he makes the priest his friend: but as for contrition by this doctrine, it is more than needs.

69. ζ. But then it is strange that attrition which of itself is insufficient, shall yet do the work of pardon with the priest's absolution; and yet that that which is sufficient (as contrition is affirmed to be in the council of Trent[y]) shall not do it without absolution, in act or desire; that is, in act always, unless it be impossible: this encourages the imperfect, and discourages the perfect, tying them both to equal laws, whether they need it or need it not.

70. η. But I demand; can the priest hearing of a penitent man's confession, whom he justly and without error perceives only to be attrite, can he (I say) refuse to absolve him, can he retain his sins, till he perceives him to be contrite? Certainly in the primitive church when they deferred to give him the peace of the church for three, for seven, for ten, for thirteen years together, their purpose

[y] Sess. xiv. cap. 4. [tom. x. col. 91.]

then was to work in him contrition, or the most excellent repentance. But however, if he can refuse to absolve such a man, then it is because absolution will not work for him what is defective in him; it will not change it into contrition, for if it could, then to refuse to absolve him were highly uncharitable and unreasonable. But if he cannot refuse to absolve such a person, it is because he is sufficiently disposed, he hath done all that God requires of him to dispose himself to it; and if so, then the sacrament as they call it, that is, the priest's absolution, does nothing to the increasing his disposition, it is sufficient already. Add to this, if in the case of attrition the priest may not deny to absolve the imperfect penitent, then it is certain God will absolve him in case the priest does not; for if the priest be bound and refuses to do it, this ought not, it cannot prejudice the penitent, but himself only. He therefore shall not perish for want of the priest's absolution; and if it could be otherwise, then the parishioner might be damned for the curate's fault, which to affirm were certain blasphemy and heresy. What the priest is bound to do, God will do if the priest will not. The result is this,—That if this imperfect repentance, which they call attrition, be a sufficient disposition to absolution, then the priest's ministry is not operative for the making it sufficient; and indeed it were strange it should, that absolution should make contrition, and yet contrition be necessary in order to absolution; that the form should make the matter, that one essential or integral part should make another; that what is to be before, must be made by that which comes after. But if this attrition be not a sufficient disposition to absolution, then the priest may not absolve such imperfect penitents. So that the priest cannot make it sufficient, if of itself it be insufficient; and if it be of itself sufficient, then his absolution does but declare it so, it effects it not.

71. *θ.* And after all, it is certain that the words of absolution effect no more than they signify. If therefore they do pardon the sin, yet they do not naturally change the disposition or the real habit of the sinner. And if the words can effect more, they may be changed to signify what they do effect; for to signify is less than to effect. Can therefore the church use this form of absolution, 'I do by the power committed unto me change thy attrition into contrition'? The answer to this is not yet made; for their pretence is so new, and so wholly unexamined, that they have not yet considered any thing of it. It will therefore suffice for our institution in this useful, material, and practical question, that no such words were instituted by Christ, nor any thing like them; no such were used by the primitive church, no such power pretended. And as this new doctrine of the Roman church contans in it huge estrangements and distances from the spirit of chrisianity, is another kind of thing than the doctrine and practice of the apostolical and succeeding ages of the church did publish or exercise: so it is a perfect destruction to the necessity of holy life, it is a device only to advance the priest's office, and to de-

press the necessity of holy dispositions; it is a trick to make the graces of God's holy spirit to be bought and sold; and that a man may at a price become holy in an instant, just as if a teacher of music should undertake to convey skill to his scholar, and sell the art, and transmit it in an hour; it is a device to make dispositions by art, and in effect requires little or nothing of duty to God, so they pay regard to the priest. But I shall need to oppose no more against it, but those excellent words, and pious meditation of Salvian[z], *Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur quibus mors æterna debetur, nec transitoria opus est satisfactione pro malis illis propter quæ paratus est ignis æternus,* 'it is not a light contrition by which those debts can be redeemed to which eternal death is due, neither can a transitory satisfaction serve for those evils for which God hath prepared the vengeance of eternal fire.'

§ 6. Of penances, or satisfactions.

72. In the primitive church, the word 'satisfaction' was the whole word for all the parts and exercises of repentance; according to those words of Lactantius[a], *Pœnitentiam proposuit, ut si peccata nostra confessi Deo satisfecerimus, veniam consequamur,* 'He propounded repentance, that if we confessing our sins to God make amends or satisfaction, we may obtain pardon.' Where it is evident that 'satisfaction' does not signify in the modern sense of the word, a full payment to the divine justice; but by the exercises of repentance a deprecation of our fault, and a begging pardon. Satisfaction and pardon are not consistent, if satisfaction signify rigorously; when the whole debt is paid, there is nothing to be forgiven. The bishops and priests in the primitive church would never give pardon till their satisfactions were performed. To confess their sins, to be sorrowful for them, to express their sorrow, to punish the guilty person, to do actions contrary to their former sins, this was their amends or satisfaction; and this ought to be ours. So we find the word used in best classic authors. So Plautus[b] brings in Alcmena angry with Amphitruo,

——— Quin ego illum aut deseram,
Aut satisfaciat mihi ille, atque adjuret insuper
Nolle esse dicta, quæ in me insontem protulit.

i.e. 'I will leave him, unless he give me satisfaction, and swear that he wishes that to be unsaid which he spake against my innocence:' for that was the form of giving satisfaction, to wish it undone, or unspoken, and to add an oath that they believe the person did not deserve that wrong: as we find it in Terence[c],

Novi ego vestra hæc: nollem factum: dabitur jusjurandum, esse te
Indignum injuria hac.

[z] [Al. Euseb. Emissen. ad monach. hom. v. p. 582 G.]
[a] [Similia habentur, Div. inst., lib. vi. cap. 24.]
[b] [Amphitr., act. iii. sc. 2. lin. 7.]
[c] Adelph. [act. ii. sc. 1. lin. 11.]

Concerning which, who please to see more testimonies of the true sense and use of the word satisfactions, may please to look upon Lambinus in *Plauti Amphitr.*[d], and Lævinus Torrentius upon Suetonius *in Julio*[e].

Exomologesis, or 'confession,' was the word which (as I noted formerly) was of most frequent use in the church. *Si de exomologesi retractas, gehennam in corde considera quam tibi exomologesis extinguet;* he that retracts his sins by confessing and condemning them, extinguishes the flames of hell; so Tertullian[f]. The same with that of S. Cyprian[g], *Deo patri et misericordi precibus et operibus suis satisfacere possunt,* 'they may satisfy God our Father and merciful, by prayers and good works;' that is, they may by these deprecate their fault, and obtain mercy and pardon for their sins. *Peccatum suum satisfactione humili et simplici confitentes,* so Cyprian[h], 'confessing their sins with humble and simple satisfaction;' plainly intimating that 'confession' or *exomologesis* was the same with that which they called 'satisfaction.' And both of them were nothing but the public exercise of repentance (according to the present usages of their churches) as appears evidently in those words of Gennadius[i], *Pœnitentiæ satisfactionem esse causas peccatorum excidere, nec earum suggestionibus aditum indulgere,* 'to cut off the causes of sins, and no more to entertain their whispers and temptations, is the satisfaction of repentance:' and like this is that of Lactantius[k], *Potest reduci et liberari si eum pœniteat actorum, et ad meliora conversus satisfaciat Deo,* 'the sinner may be brought back and freed, if he repents of what is done, and satisfies or makes amends to God by being turned to better courses.' And the whole process of this is well described by Tertullian[l], *Exomologesis est qua delictum Domino nostrum confitemur, non quidem ut ignaro, sed quatenus satisfactio confessione disponitur, confessione pœnitentia nascitur, pœnitentia Deus mitigatur,* 'we must confess our sins to God, not as if He did not know them already, but because our satisfaction is disposed and ordered by confession, by confession our repentance hath birth and production, and by repentance God is appeased.'

73. Things being thus, we need not immerge ourselves in the trifling controversies of our later schools about the just value of every work, and how much every penance weighs, and whether God is so satisfied with our penal works that in justice He must take off so much as we put on, and is tied also to take our accounts. Certain it is, if God should weigh our sins with the same value as we weigh our own good works, all our actions and sufferings would be found infinitely too light in the balance. Therefore it were better that we should do what we can, and humbly beg of God to weigh them both

[d] [*In loc. citat. not. b, supra.*]
[e] [cap. 74. p. 51.—4to. Antuerp. 1591.]
[f] De pœnit., cap. 12. [p. 128 C.]
[g] [Ep. xvi. p. 37.]
[h] De lapsis. [leg. epist. lix. p. 138.]
[i] Lib. de dogm. eccles. [cap. liv. p. 32.]
[k] [Ubi supra, not. a.]
[l] De pœnit., c. 9. [p. 127 A.]

with vast allowances of mercy. All that we can do is to be sorrowful for our sins, and to leave them, and to endeavour to obey God in the time to follow; and to take care *ut aliquo actu administretur pœnitentia*[m], 'that our repentance be exercised with certain acts proper to it.' Of which these are usually reckoned as the principal.

74. SORROW AND MOURNING.—So S. Cyprian[n], *Satisfactionibus et lamentationibus justis peccata redimuntur*, 'our sins are redeemed or washed off by the satisfactions of just sorrow or mourning.' And Pacianus[o] gives the same advice, "Behold, I promise that if you return to your Father by a true satisfaction, wandering no more, adding nothing to your former sins, and saying something humble and mournful, We have sinned in Thy sight, O Father, we are not worthy of the name of sins, presently the unclean beast[p] shall depart from thee, and thou shalt no longer be fed with the filthy nourishment of husks." And S. Maximus[q] calls this mourning and weeping for our sins, *mœstam pœnitentiæ satisfactionem*, 'the sorrowful amends or satisfaction of repentance.' The meaning of this is, that when we are grieved for our sins and deplore them, we hate them, and go from them, and convert to God who only can give us remedy.

75. CORPORAL AFFLICTIONS.—Such as are, fastings, watchings, haircloth upon our naked bodies, lyings upon the ground, journeys on foot, doing mean offices, serving sick and wounded persons, solitariness, silence, voluntary restraints of liberty, refusing lawful pleasure, choosing at certain times the less pleasing meats, laborious postures in prayer, saying many and devout prayers with our arms extended in the fashion of Christ hanging on the cross, which indeed is a painful and afflictive posture, but safe and without detriment to our body: add to these the austerities used by some of the ancients in their ascetic devotions, who sometimes rolled themselves naked upon nettles or thorns, shut themselves in tombs, bound themselves to pillars, endured heats and colds in great extremity, chastisements of the body, and all ways of subduing it to the empire of the soul. Of which antiquity is infinitely full; and of which at last they grew so fond and enamoured, that the greatest part of their religion was self-affliction; but I choose to propound only such prudent severities as were apt to signify a godly sorrow, to destroy sin, and to deprecate God's anger in such ways of which they had experience, or warrant express, or authentic precedents; their *exomologesis* being, as Tertullian[r] describes it, a discipline of humbling and throwing a man down, *conversationem injungens misericordiæ illicem*, 'enjoining a life that will allure to pity:' *de ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco*

[m] Tertull. de pœnit. [ubi supra.]
[n] Serm. de lapsis. [leg. Epist. lix. p. 134.]
[o] Paræn. ad pœnit. [cap. xii. p. 273.]
[p] ['pecus.']
[q] Hom. in die ciner. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. v. part. 1. p. 13.]
[r] De pœnit., c. 9. [not. l, supra.]

et cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare. Penitential sorrow expresses itself in the very clothes and gestures of the body; that is, a great sorrow is apt to express itself in every thing, and infects every part of a man with its contact. *Ut Alexandrum regem videmus, qui cum interemisset Clitum familiarem suum, vix a se abstinuit manus; tanta vis fuit pœnitendi*[s]; 'when Alexander had killed his friend Clitus, he scarce abstained from killing himself: so great is the effort and violence of repentance:' and this is no other thing than what the apostle[t] said, "If one member of the body is afflicted, all the rest suffer with it:" and if the heart be troubled, he that is gay in any other part goes about to lessen his trouble, and that takes off, it does not promote repentance.

76. But the use of this is material; it is a direct 'judging of ourselves,' and a perverting the wrath of God. Not that these penances are a payment for the reserve of the temporal guilt, remaining after the sin is pardoned; that's but a dream, for the guilt and the punishment are not to be distinguished in any material event; so long as a man is liable to punishment, so long he is guilty: and so long he is unpardoned, as he is obnoxious to the divine anger. God cannot, will not punish him that is innocent; and he that is wholly pardoned is in the place and state of a guiltless person. Indeed God punishes as He pleases, and pardons as He pleases, by parts, and as He is appeased, or as He inclines to mercy; but our general measure is,—As our repentance is, so is our pardon, and every action of repentance does something of help to us, and this of self-affliction, when it proceeds from a hearty detestation of sin, and indignation against ourselves for having provoked God, is a very good exercise of repentance; of itself it profits little, but as it is a fruit of repentance, in the virtue of it it is accepted towards its part of expiation, and they that have refused this have felt worse;

Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit[u].

But when God sees us smite ourselves in indignation for our sins, because we have no better way to express and act our repentances, God hath accepted it, and hath Himself forborne to smite us, and we have reason to believe He will do so again. For these expressions extinguish the delicacies of the flesh, from whence our sins have too often had their spring: and when the offending party accuses himself first, and smites first, and calls for pardon, there is nothing left to the offended person to do, but to pity and pardon. For we see that sometimes God smites a sinner with a temporal curse, and brings the man to repentance, and pardons all the rest; and therefore much rather will He do it when we smite ourselves. For this is the highest process of confession. God is pleased that we are ashamed of our sin, that we justify God, and give sentence

[s] Vide Cic. Tusc. iv. [cap. 37.] [t] [1 Cor. xii. 26.] [u] [Martial., spect. x.]

against ourselves, that we accuse ourselves, and acknowledge ourselves worthy of His severest wrath: if therefore we go on and punish the sinner too, it is all, it is the greatest thing we can do: and although it be not necessary in any one instance to be done, unless where the authority of our superior does intervene; yet it is accepted in every instance, if the principle be good, that is, if it proceeds from our indignation against sin; and if it be not rested in as a thing of itself, and singly a service of God, which indeed He hath no where in particular required; and lastly, if it be done prudently and temperately. If these cautions be observed in all things else, it is true that the most laborious repentance, if other things be answerable, is the best, for it takes off the softness of the flesh, and the tenderness of the lower man, it abates the love of the world, and enkindles the love of heaven, it is ever the best token of sincerity and an humble repentance, and does promote it too, still in better degrees effecting what it doth signify. As music in a banquet of wine, and caresses and indications of joy and festivity are seasonable and proper expressions at a solemnity of joy: so are all the sad accents and circumstances and effects and instruments of sorrow, proper in a day of mourning. All nations weep not in the same manner, and have not the same interjections of sorrow: but as every one of us use to mourn in our greatest losses, and in the death of our dearest relatives, so it is fit we should mourn in the dangers and death of our souls; that they may, being refreshed by such salutary and medicinal showers, spring up to life eternal.

77. In the several ages of the church they had several methods of these satisfactions; and they requiring a longer proof of their repentance than we usually do, did also by consequent enjoin and expect greater and longer penitential severities.—Concerning which these two things are certain;

78. *α*) The one is, that they did not believe them simply necessary to the procuring of pardon from God; which appears in this, that they did absolve persons in the article of death, though they had not done their satisfactions. They would absolve none that did not express his repentance some way or other; but they did absolve them that could do no exterior penances, by which it is plain that they made a separation of that which was useful and profitable only from that which is necessary.

79. *β*) The other thing which I was to say is this; that though these corporal severities were not esteemed by them simply necessary, but such which might in any and in every instance be omitted in ordinary cases, and commuted for others more fit and useful; yet they chose these austerities as the best signification of their repentance towards men, such in which there is the greatest likelihood of sincerity and a hearty sorrow, such which have in them the least objection, such in which a man hath the clearest power, and the most frequent opportunity, such which every man can do, which have in

them the least inlet to temptation, and the least powers to abuse a man; and they are such which do not only signify, but effect and promote repentance. But yet they are acts of repentance, just as beating the breasts, or smiting the thigh, or sighing, or tears, or tearing the hair, or refusing our meat, are acts of sorrow: if God should command us to be sorrowful, this might be done (when it could be done at all) though none of these were in the expression and signification. The Jews did in all great sorrows or trouble of mind rent their garments: as we may be as much troubled as they, though we do not tear our clothes, so we may be as true penitents as were the holy primitives, though we do not use that σκληραγωγία, that 'hardship,' which was then the manner of their penitential solemnities; but then the repentance must be exercised by some other acts proper to the grace.

80. PRAYERS.—*Preces undique et undecunque lucrum,* says one. Prayers are useful upon all occasions; but especially in repentances and afflictive duties or accidents. "Is any man afflicted? Let him pray," saith S. James[x]; and since nothing can deserve pardon, all the good works in the world done by God's enemy cannot reconcile him to God, but pardon of sins is as much a gift as eternal life is; there is no way more proper to obtain pardon, than a devout, humble, persevering prayer. And this also is a part of repentance,

—— pœnæque genus vidisse precantem;

when we confess our sins, and when we pray for pardon, we concenter many acts of virtue together. There is the hatred of sin, and the shame for having committed it; there is the justification of God, and the humiliation of ourselves; there is confession of sins, and hope of pardon, there is fear and love, sense of our infirmity, and confidence of the divine goodness, sorrow for the past, and holy purposes and desires and vows of living better in time to come. Unless all this be in it, the prayers are not worthy fruits of a holy repentance. But such prayers are a part of amends, it is a satisfaction to God in the true and modest sense of the word: so S. Cyprian[y] affirms, speaking of the three children in the fiery furnace, *Domino satisfacere nec inter ipsa gloriosa virtutum suarum martyria destiterunt,* 'they did not cease to satisfy the Lord in the very midst of their glorious martyrdoms;' for so saith the scripture. *Stans Azarias precatus est,* 'Azarias standing in the flames did pray, and made his *exomologesis* or penitential confession to God with his two partners.' Thus also Tertullian[z] describes the manner of the primitive repentance; *animum mœroribus dejicere, illa quæ peccavit tristi tractatione mutare, cæterum pastum et potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet sed animæ causa; plerumque vero jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacry-*

[x] [James v. 13.] [y] Serm. de lapsis. [p. 135 fin.] [z] De pœnit., c. 9. [p. 127.]

mari, mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum suum; presbyteris advolvi et caris Dei adgeniculari; omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere, 'to have our minds cast down with sorrow, to change our sins into severity, to take meat and drink without art, simple and pure,' viz., bread and water, 'not for the belly's sake, but for the soul; to nourish our prayers most commonly with fasting, to sigh and cry, and roar to God our Lord day and night; to be prostrate before the ministers and priests, to kneel before all the servants of God, and to desire all the brethren to pray to God for them.' *Oportet orare impensius et rogare,* so S. Cyprian[a], 'we must pray and beg more earnestly,' and as Pacianus adds, according to the words of Tertullian before cited, *multorum precibus adjuvare*[b], we must 'help our prayers with the assistance of others.' "Pray to God," said Simon Peter to Simon Magus, "if peradventure the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee;" "Pray for me," said Simon Magus to S. Peter, "that the things which thou hast spoken may not happen to me;" and in this case the prayers of the church, and of the holy men that minister to the church, as they are of great avail in themselves, so they were highly valued and earnestly desired and obtained by the penitents in the first ages of the church.

81. ALMS.—Alms and fasting are the wings of prayer, and make it pierce the clouds; that is, humility and charity are the best advantages and sanctification of our desires to God. This was the counsel of Daniel[c] to Nebuchadnezzar, *Eleemosynis peccata tua redime,* 'redeem thy sins by alms,' so the vulgar Latin reads it; not that money can be the price of a soul, for 'we are not redeemed with silver and gold[d],' but that the charity of alms is that which God delights in and accepts as done to Himself, and procures His pardon, according to the words of Solomon[e], *In veritate et misericordia expiatur iniquitas,* 'in truth and mercy iniquity is pardoned:' that is, in the confession and alms of a penitent there is pardon: for "Water will quench a flaming fire; and alms maketh an atonement for sin[f];" this is that love which, as S. Peter[g] expresses it, 'hideth a multitude of sins.' "Alms deliver from death, and shall purge away every sin; those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life," said old Tobias[h]: which truly explicates the method of this repentance; to give alms for what is past, and to sin no more, but to work righteousness, is an excellent state and exercise of repentance; for he that sins and gives alms, spends his money upon sin, not upon God, and like a man in a calenture drinks deep of the vintage even when he bleeds for cure.

82. But this command, and the affirmation of this effect of alms,

[a] [De lapsis, p. 137.]
[b] [lege 'adjuvari.'—p. 465, not. o, sup.]
[c] [Dan. iv. 27.]
[d] [1 Pet. i. 18.]
[e] [Prov. xvi. 6.]
[f] [Ecclus. iii. 30.]
[g] [1 Pet. iv. 8.]
[h] [Tobit xii. 9.]

we have best from our blessed Saviour[l], "Give alms, and all things are clean unto you." Repentance does καθαρίζειν τὸ ἐντὸς, 'it cleanses that which is within;' for to that purpose did our blessed Saviour speak that parable to the pharisees, of 'cleansing cups and platters.' The parallel to it is here in S. Luke. Alms does also cleanse the inside of a man; for it is an excellent act and exercise of repentance[k]. *Magna est misericordiæ merces, cui Deus pollicetur se omnia peccata remissurum*[l], 'great is the reward of mercy, to which God hath promised that He will forgive all sins.' To this of alms is reduced all actions of piety, and a zealous kindness, κόπος ἀγάπης, 'the labour of love,' all studious endearing of others, and obliging them by kindness, a going about seeking to do good; such which are called in scripture, *opera justitiæ*, 'the works of righteousness,' that is, such works in which a righteous and good man loves to be exercised and employed. But there is another instance of mercy besides alms, which is exceeding proper to the exercise of repentance; and that is,

83. FORGIVING INJURIES.—*Ut absolvaris ignosce*, 'pardon thy brother, that God may pardon thee.' "Forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven," so says the gospel[m], and this Christ did press with many words and arguments; because there is a great mercy and a great effect consequent to it, He put a great emphasis and earnestness of commandment upon it. And there is in it a great necessity; for we all have need of pardon, and it is impudence to ask pardon, if we refuse to give pardon to them that ask it of us: and therefore the apostles, to whom Christ gave so large powers of forgiving or retaining sinners, were also qualified for such powers by having given them a deep sense and a lasting sorrow, and a perpetual repentance for and detestation of their sins; their repentance lasting even after their sin was dead. Therefore S. Paul calls himself the chiefest or first of sinners; and in the epistle of S. Barnabas[n], the apostle affirms ὅτι ἐξελέξατο τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους Ἰησοῦς ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἀνομωτέρους, 'that Jesus chose for His own apostles men more wicked than any wickedness,' and by such humility and apprehensions of their own needs of mercy, they were made sensible of the needs of others, and fitted to a merciful and prudent dispensation of pardon.

84. RESTITUTION:—This is an act of repentance indispensably necessary; integral part of it, if it be taken for a restitution of the simple or original theft or debt; for it is an abstinence from evil, or a leaving off to commit a sin; the crime of theft being injurious by a continual efflux and emanation, and therefore not repented of till the progression of it be stopped. But then there is a restitution

[l] [Luke xi. 41.]
[k] Vide Rule of Holy Dying, c. 2. sect. 3.
[l] Lact., lib. vi. [c. 12.—tom. i. p. 470.]
[m] [Luke vi. 37.]
[n] [cap. v. p. 16.]

also, which is to be reckoned amongst the fruits of repentance, or penances and satisfactions. Such as was that of Zaccheus[o], "If I have wronged any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold." In the law of Moses thieves convicted by law were tied to it; but if a thief, or an injurious person did repent before his conviction, and made restitution of the wrong, he was tied only to the payment of one fifth part above the principal, by way of amends for the injury; and to do this is an excellent fruit of repentance, and a part of self-judicature, 'a judging ourselves that we be not judged of the Lord:' and if the injured person be satisfied with the simple restitution, then this fruit of repentance is to be gathered for the poor.

85. These are the fruits of repentance, which grow in paradise, and will bring health to the nations; for these are a just deletery to the state of sin, they oppose a good against an evil; against every evil; they make amends to our brother exactly, and to the church competently, and to God acceptably, through His mercy in Jesus Christ. These are all we can do in relation to what is past; some of them are parts of direct obedience, and consequently of return to God, and the others are parts, and exercises, and acts of turning from the sin. Now although, so we turn from sin, it matters not by what instruments so excellent a conversion is effected; yet there must care be taken that in our return there be [1]hatred of sin, and [2]love of God, and [3]love of our brother. The first is served by all or any penal duty internal or external; but sin must be confessed, and it must be left: the second is served by future obedience, by prayer, and by hope of pardon; and the last by alms and forgiveness: and we have no liberty or choice but in the exercise of the penal or punitive part of repentance: but in that every man is left to himself, and hath no necessity upon him, unless where he hath first submitted to a spiritual guide, or is noted publicly by the church. But if our sorrow be so trifling, or our sins so slightly hated, or our flesh so tender, or our sensuality so unmortified, that we will endure nothing of exterior severity to mortify our sin, or to punish it, to prevent God's anger, or to allay it; we may chance to feel the load of our sins in temporal judgments, and have cause to suspect the sincerity of our repentance, and consequently to fear the eternal. "We feel the bitter smart of this rod and scourge" of God, "because there is in us neither care to please Him with our good deeds, nor to satisfy Him, or make amends for our evil[p];" that is, we neither live innocently nor penitently. Let the delicate and the effeminate do their penances in scarlet, and 'Tyrian purple and fine linen, and faring deliciously every day;' but he that passionately desires pardon, and with sad apprehensions fears the event of his sins and God's displeasure, will not refuse to suffer any thing that may procure a mercy, and endear God's favour to him. No man is a true penitent but he that upon any terms is willing to

[o] [Luke xix. 8.] [p] S. Cypr. ep. viii. et xxvi. [al. xi. et xxxi.—pp. 23, 63 sqq.]

accept his pardon.—I end this with the words of S. Austin[q], "It suffices not to change our life from worse to better, unless we make amends, and do our satisfactions for what is past:" that is, no man shall be pardoned but he that turns from sin, and mortifies it, that confesses it humbly and forsakes it: that accuses himself and justifies God; that prays for pardon, and pardons his offending brother; that will rather punish his flesh than nurse his sin; that judges himself, that he may be acquitted by God: so these things be done, let every man choose his own instruments of mortification, and the instances and indications of his penitential sorrow.

§ 7. The former doctrine reduced to practice.

86. *a*) He that will judge of his repentance by his sorrow, must not judge of his sorrow by his tears, or by any one manner of expression. For sorrow puts on divers shapes, according to the temper of the body, or the natural, or accidental affections of the mind, or to the present consideration of things. Wise men and women do not very often grieve in the same manner, or signify the trouble of intellectual apprehensions by the same indications. But if sin does equally smart, it may be equally complained of in all persons whose natures are alike querulous and complaining; that is, when men are forced into repentance, they are very apprehensive of their present evils, and consequent dangers, and past follies; but if they repent more wisely, and upon higher considerations than the affrights of women and weak persons, they will put on such affections as are the proper effects of those apprehensions by which they were moved. But although this be true in the nature, and secret and proportioned causes of things, yet there is no such simplicity and purity of apprehensions in any person, or any instance whatsoever, but there is something of sense mingled with every tittle of reason, and the consideration of ourselves mingles with our apprehensions of God; and when philosophy does something, our interest does more; and there are so few that leave their sins upon immaterial speculations, that even of them that pretend to do it, there is oftentimes no other reason inducing them to believe they do so, than because they do not know the secrets of their own hearts, and cannot discern their intentions: and therefore when there is not a material, sensible grief in penitents, there is too often a just cause of suspecting their repentances; it does not always proceed from an innocent or a laudable cause, unless the penitent be indisposed in all accidents to such effects and impresses of passion.

87. *β*) He that cannot find any sensitive and pungent material

[q] Homil. l. c. 15. [scil. inter homil. l. hom. ult. (al. serm. eccli. de pœnit.) § 12.—tom. v. col. 1362 D.—'Non sufficit mores in melius commutare, et a factis malis recedere; nisi etiam de his quæ facta sunt, satisfiat Deo per pœnitentiæ dolorem, per humilitatis gemitum, per contriti cordis sacrificium, cooperantibus eleemosynis.']

grief for his sins may suspect himself, because so doing, he may serve some good ends: but on no wise may we suspect another upon that account: for we may be judges of ourselves, but not of others; and although we know enough of ourselves to suspect every thing of ourselves, yet we do not know so much of others, but that there may (for aught we know) be enough to excuse or acquit them in their enquiries after the worthiness of their repentance.

88. γ) He that enquires after his own repentance, and finds no sharpnesses of grief or active sensitive sorrow, is only so far to suspect his repentance, that he use all means to improve it; which is to be done by a long, serious, and lasting conversation with arguments of sorrow, which like a continual dropping, will intenerate the spirit, and make it malleable to the first motives of repentance. No man repents but he that fears some evil to stand at the end of his evil course; and whoever feareth, unless he be abused by some collateral false persuasion, will be troubled for putting himself into so evil a condition and state of things: and not to be moved with sad apprehensions is nothing else but not to have considered, or to have promised to himself pardon upon easier conditions than God hath promised. Therefore let the penitent often meditate of the four last things, death and the day of judgment; the portion of the godly, and the sad intolerable portion of accursed souls: of the greatness and extension of the duty of repentance, and the intension of its acts, or the spirit and manner of its performance; of the uncertainty of pardon in respect of his own secret and sometimes undiscerned defects; the sad evils that God hath inflicted sometimes even upon penitent persons; the volatile nature of pleasure, and the shame of being a fool in the eyes of God and good men; the unworthy usages of ourselves, and evil returns to God for His great kindnesses. Let him consider that the last night's pleasure is not now at all, and how infinite a folly it is to die for that which hath no being; that one of the greatest torments of hell will be the very indignation at their own folly, for that foolish exchange which they have made; and there is nothing to allay the misery, or to support the spirit of a man who shall so extremely suffer for so very a nothing; that it is an unspeakable horror for a man eternally to be restless in the vexations of an everlasting fever, and that such a fever is as much short of the eternal anger of God, as a single sigh is of that fever; that a man cannot think what eternity is, nor suffer with patience for one minute the pains which are provided for that eternity. And to apply all this to himself, for aught every great sinner knows, this shall be in his lot; and if he dies before his sin is pardoned, he is too sure it shall be so: and whether his sin is pardoned or no, few men ever know till they be dead; but very many men presume, and they commonly, who have the least reason. He that often and long considers these things, will not have cause to complain of too merry a heart: but when men repent only in feasts, and

company, and open house, and carelessness, and inconsideration, they will have cause to repent that he hath not repented.

89. δ) Every true penitential sorrow is rather natural than solemn; that is, it is the product of our internal apprehensions, rather than outward order and command. He that repents only by solemnity, at a certain period, by the expectation of to-morrow's sun, may indeed act a sorrow, but cannot be sure that he shall then be sorrowful. Other acts of repentance may be done in their proper period, by order, and command, upon set days, and indicted solemnities; such as is, fasting, and prayer, and alms, and confession, and disciplines, and all the instances of humiliation: but sorrow is not to be reckoned in this account, unless it dwells there before. When there is a natural abiding sorrow for our sins, any public day of humiliation can bring it forth, and put it into activity; but when a sinner is gay and intemperately merry upon Shrove-tuesday, and resolves to mourn upon Ash-wednesday; his sorrow hath in it more of the theatre than the temple, and is not at all to be relied upon by him that resolves to take severe accounts of himself.

90. ε) In taking accounts of our penitential sorrow, we must be careful that we do not compare it with secular sorrow, and the passions effected by natural or sad accidents. For he that measures the passions of the mind by disproportionate objects, may as well compare music and a rose, and measure weights by the bushel, and think that every great man must have a great understanding, or that an ox hath a great courage because he hath a great heart. He that finds fault with his repentance because his sorrow is not so great in it as in the saddest accidents of the world, should do well to make them equal if he can; if he can, or if he cannot, his work is done. If he can, let it be done, and then the enquiry and the scruple is at an end: if he cannot, let him not trouble himself; for what cannot be done, God never requires of us to do.

91. ζ) Let no man overvalue a single act of sorrow, and call it repentance, or be at rest as soon as he hath wiped his eyes. For 'to be sorrowful' (which is in the commandment) is something more than an act of sorrow; it is a permanent effect, and must abide as long as its cause is in being; not always actual and pungent, but habitual and ready, apt to pass into its symbolical expressions upon all just occasions. And it must always have this signification, viz.,

92. η) No man can be said ever truly to have grieved for his sins, if he at any time after does remember them with pleasure. Such a man might indeed have had an act of sorrow, but he was not sorrowful, except only for that time; but there was no permanent effect, by which he became an enemy to sin; and when the act is past, the love to sin returns, at least in that degree that the memory of it is pleasant. No man tells it as a merry story that he once broke his leg; or laughs when he recounts the sad groans and intolerable sharpnesses of the stone. If there be pleasure in the telling it,

there is still remaining too much kindness towards it, and then the sinner cannot justly pretend that ever he was a hearty enemy to it: for the great effect of that is to hate it; to leave it, and to hate it. Indeed when the penitent enquires concerning himself, and looks after a sign that he may discern whether he be as he thinks he is, really a hater of sin; the greatest and most infallible mark which we have to judge by, is the leaving it utterly [q]. But yet in this thing there is some difference: for,

93. Some do leave sin, but do not hate it; they will not do it, but they wish it were lawful to do it; and this, although it hath in it a great imperfection, yet it is not always directly criminal; for it only supposes a love to the natural part of the action, and a hatred of the irregularity. The thing they love, but they hate the sin of it. But others are not so innocent in their leaving of sin; they leave it because they dare not do it, or are restrained by some overruling accident; but like the heifers that drew the ark, they went lowing after their calves left in their stalls; so do these leave their heart behind, and if they still love the sin, their leaving it is but an imperfect and unacceptable service, a sacrifice without a heart. Therefore sin must be hated too, that is, it must be left out of hatred to it; and consequently must be used as naturally we do what we do really hate, that is, do evil to it, and always speak evil of it, and secretly have no kindness for it.

94. *θ*) Let every penitent be careful that his sorrow be a cure to his soul, but no disease to his body: an enemy to his sin, but not to his health.

——— Exigit autem
Interdum ille dolor plus quam lex ulla dolori
Concessit [r];———

For although no sorrow is greater than our sin, yet some greatness of sorrow may destroy those powers of serving God, which ought to be preserved to all the purposes of charity and religion. This caution was not to be omitted, although very few will have use of it: because if any should be transported into a pertinacious sorrow by great considerations of their sin, and that sorrow meet with an ill temper of body, apt to sorrow and afflictive thoughts, it would make religion to be a burden, and all passions turn into sorrow, and the service of God to consist but of one duty, and would naturally tend to very evil consequents. For whoever upon the conditions of the gospel can hope for pardon, he cannot maintain a too great actual sorrow long upon the stock of his sins: it will be allayed with hope, and change into new shapes, and be a sorrow in other faculties than where it first began, and to other purposes than those to which it did then minister. But if his sorrow be too great, it is because the man hath little or no hope.

[q] [See Mal. ii. 16, marginal reading.]

[r] [Juv. sat. x. lin. 314.]

95. ι) But if it happens that any man falls into an excessive sorrow, his cure must be attempted, not directly, but collaterally: not by lessening the consideration of his sins; nor yet by comparing them with the greater sins of others, like the grave man in the satire[s],

> Si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
> Ostendis, taceo, nec pugnis cædere pectus
> Te veto, nec plana faciem contundere palma;
> Quandoquidem accepto claudenda est janua damno;

for this is but an instance of the other, this lessens the sin indirectly: but let it be done by heightening the consideration of the divine mercy and clemency; for even yet this will far exceed. And this is highly to be taken heed of. For besides that there is no need of taking off his opinion from the greatness of the sin; it is dangerous to teach a man to despise a sin at any hand. For if after his great sorrow, he can be brought to think his sin little, he will be the sooner brought to commit it again, and think it none at all: and when he shall think his sorrow to have been unreasonable, he will not so soon be brought to an excellent repentance another time. But the prophet's[t] great comfort may safely be applied, *Misericordia Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis*, 'God's mercy is greater than all the malice of men, and will prevail over it.' But this is to be applied so as to cure only the wounds of a conscience that ought to be healed, that is, so as to advance the reputation and glories of the divine mercy: but at no hand to create confidences in persons incompetent. If the man be worthy, and capable, and yet tempted to a prevailing and excessive sorrow; to him, in this case, and so far, the application is to be made. In other cases there is no need, but some danger.

96. κ) Although sorrow for sin must be constant and habitual, yet to particular acts of sin when a special sorrow is apportioned, it cannot be expected to be of the same manner and continuance, as it ought to be in our general repentances for our many sins, and our evil habits. For every single folly of swearing rashly, or vainly, or falsely, there ought to be a particular sorrow, and a special deprecation; but it may be another will intervene, and a third will steal in upon you, or you are surprised in another instance; or you are angry with yourself for doing so, and that anger transports you to some undecent expression, and as a wave follows a wave, we shall find instances of folly crowd in upon us. If we observe strictly we shall prevent some, but we shall observe too many to press us; if we observe not, they will multiply without notice and without number. But in either case it will be impossible to attend to every one of them with a special lasting sorrow: and yet one act of sorrow is too little for any one chosen sin; as I have proved formerly. In this

[s] [Juv.] sat. xiii. [lin. 126.]

[t] [Not found.]

case when we have prayed for pardon of each, confessed it, acknowledged the folly of it, deprecated the punishment, suffered the shame, and endured the sorrow, and begged for aids against it, and renewed our force; it will fall into the heap of the state and generality of repentance; that is, it will be added to the portentous number of follies for which in general and indefinite comprehensions we must beg for pardon humbly and earnestly all the days of our life. And I have no caution to be added here, but this only: viz., that we be not too hasty to put it into the general heap, but according to the greatness, or the danger, or its mischief, or its approach towards a habit, so it is to be kept in fetters by itself alone. For he that quickly passes it into the general heap, either cares too little for it, or is too soon surprised by a new one, which would not so easily have happened if he had been more severe to the first.

97. λ) It is a great matter that in our enquiries concerning our penitential sorrow, we be able to discern what is the present motive and incentive of it, whether fear or love, whether it be 'attrition' or 'contrition.' For by this we can tell best in what state or period of pardon we stand. I do not say we are to enquire what motive began our sorrow, for fear begins most commonly; but we are to regard what is the present inducement, what continues the hatred; that is, whither our first fears have borne us? If fear only be the agent, at the best it is still imperfect; and our pardon a great way off from being finished; and our repentance, or state of reformation, nothing promoted. But of these things I have in the former doctrine given accounts. To which I only add this, as being an advice or caution flowing from the former discourses;—

98. μ) He that upon any pretence whatsoever puts off his repentances to the last or the worst of his days, hath just reason to suspect that even when he doth repent, he hath not the grace of contrition, that is, that he repents for fear, not for love; and that his affections to sin remains. The reason is, because what proceeds from an intolerable and a violent cause, as repentance in sickness and danger of death, or in the day of our calamity does; is of itself for the present defective in a main part, and cannot arrive at pardon, till the love of God be in it: so Christ said of Mary Magdalen [u], 'Much hath been forgiven her, because she loved much;' but from a great fear to pass into love is a work of time, the effect of a long progression in repentance, and is not easy to be done in those straitnesses of time and grace, which is part of the evil portion of dying sinners. Therefore besides those many and great considerations which I have before represented; upon this account alone repentance must not be put off to our death-bed, because our fear must pass into love, before our sins are taken off by pardon.

——— proponimus illuc
Ire, fatigatas ubi Dædalus exuit alas [v].

[u] [Luke vii. 47.]

[v] [Juv. sat. iii. 25.]

We have a great way to go, a huge progression to make, a mighty work to be done, to which time is as necessary as labour and observation; and therefore we must not put it off till what begins in fear cannot pass into love, and therefore is too likely to end in sorrow; their fears overtake such men; it is too much to be feared that what they fear will happen to them.

99. *v*) And after all, it is to be remembered that sorrow for sins is not repentance, but a sign, an instrument of it, an inlet to it; without which indeed, repentance cannot be supposed; as manhood must suppose childhood; perfect supposes that it was imperfect: but repentance is after sin, of the same extent of signification, and contains more duties and labour to the perfection of its parts than innocence. Repentance is like the sun, which enlightens not only the tops of the eastern hills, or warms the wall-fruits of Italy; it makes the little balsam tree to weep precious tears with staring upon its beauties; it produces rich spices in Arabia, and warms the cold hermit in his grot, and calls the religious man from his dorter[x] in all the parts of the world where holy religion dwells; at the same time it digests the American gold, and melts the snows from the Riphæan mountains, because he darts his rays in every portion of the air, and the smallest atom that dances in the air is tied to a little thread of light, which by equal emanations fills all the capacities of every region. So is repentance; it scatters its beams and holy influences: it kills the lust of the eyes, and mortifies the pride of life; it crucifies the desires of the flesh, and brings the understanding to the obedience of Jesus: the fear of it bids war against the sin, and the sorrow breaks the heart of it: the hope that is mingled with contrition enkindles our desires to return; and the love that is in it procures our pardon, and the confidence of that pardon does increase our love, and that love is obedience, and that obedience is sanctification, and that sanctification supposes the man to be justified before; and he that is justified must be justified still; and thus repentance is a holy life. But the little drops of a beginning sorrow, and the pert resolution to live better, never passing into act and habit; the quick and rash vows of the newly returning man, and the confusion of face espied in the convicted sinner, if they proceed no further, are but like the sudden fires of the night, which glare for a while within a little continent of air big enough to make a fire-ball, or the revolution of a minute's walk. These when they are alone, and do not actually, and with effect minister to the wise counsels and firm progressions of a holy life, are as far from procuring pardon, as they are from a life of piety and holiness.

§ 8. The practice of confession.

100. *ξ*) In the making confession of our sins, let us be most careful to do it so as may most glorify God, and advance the reputation of His wisdom, His justice

[x] ['dortoir,' Fr. dormitory.]

and His mercy. For if we consider it, in all judicatories of the world, and in all the arts and violences of men which have been used to extort confessions, their purposes have been that justice should be done, that the public wisdom and authority should not be dishonoured; that public criminals should not be defended or assisted by public pity, or the voice of the people sharpened against the public rods and axes, by supposing they have smitten the innocent. Confession of the crime prevents all these evils, and does well serve all these good ends.

> Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
> Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri[y]—

so the heathens did suppose was done in the lower regions. The judge did examine and hear their crimes and crafts, and even there compelled them to confess, that the eternal justice may be publicly acknowledged; for all the honour that we can do to the divine attributes, is publicly to confess them, and make others so to do; for so God is pleased to receive honour from us. Therefore repentance being a return to God, a ceasing to dishonour Him any more, and a restoring Him (so far as we can) to the honour we deprived Him of; it ought to be done with as much humility and sorrow, with as clear glorifications of God and condemnations of ourselves as we can. To which purpose,

101. *o*) He that confesseth his sins, must do it with all sincerity and simplicity of spirit, not to serve ends, or to make religion the minister of design; but to destroy our sin, to shame and punish ourselves, to obtain pardon, and institution; always telling our sad story just as it was in its acting, excepting where the manner of it and its nature or circumstances require a veil; and then the sin must not be concealed, nor yet so represented as to keep the first immodesty alive in him that acted it, or to become a new temptation in him that hears it. But this last caution is only of use in our confessions to the minister of holy things; for our confession to God as it is to other purposes, so must be in other manners: but I have already given accounts of this. I only add, that

102. *π*) All our confessions must be accusations of ourselves, and not of others. For if we confess to God, then to accuse another may spoil our own duty, but it can serve no end; for God already knows all that we can say to lessen, or to aggravate the sin: if we confess to men, then to name another, or by any way to signify or reveal him, is a direct defamation; and unless the naming of the sin do of itself declare the assisting party, it is at no hand to be done, or to be enquired into. But if a man hath committed incest, and there is but one person in the world with whom he could commit it; in this case the confessing his sin does accuse another; but then such a

[y] [Virg. Æn. vi. 566.]

guide of souls is to be chosen to whom that person is not known; but if by this or some other expedient the fame of others be not secured, it is best to confess that thing to God only, and so much of the sin as may aggravate it to an equal height with its own kind in special, may be communicated to him of whom we ask comfort, and counsel, and institution. If to confess to a priest were a divine commandment, this caution would have in it some difficulty, and much variety; but since the practice is recommended to us wholly upon the stock of prudence and great charity, the doing it ought not in any sense to be uncharitable to others.

103. ρ) He that hath injured his neighbour, must confess to him; and he that hath sinned against the church, must make amends and confess to the church, when she declares herself to be offended. For when a fact is done which cannot naturally be undone, the only duty that can remain is to rescind it morally, and make it not to be any longer or any more. For as our conservation is a continual creation, so is the perpetuating of a sin a continuation of its being and actings, and therefore to cease from it is the death of the sin for the present and for the future; but to confess it, to hate it, to wish it had never been done, is all the possibility that is left to annihilate the act which naturally can never be undone; and therefore to all persons that are injured, to confess the sin, must needs be a duty, because it is the first part of amends, and sometimes all that is left; but it is that which God and man requires, before they are willing to pardon the offender. For until the erring man confesses, it does not appear who is innocent, and who is guilty, or whether the offended person have any thing to forgive. And this is the meaning of these preceptive words of S. James[z], "Confess your sins one to another;" that is, to the church who are scandalized, and who can forgive and pray for the repenting sinner; and confess to him that is injured, that you may do him right, that so you may cease to do wrong, that you may make your way for pardon, and offer amends. This only, and all of this, is the meaning of the precept. Δεῖ πάντα πιστὸν λέγειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἀποτάττεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἐλέγχειν τοῦ ἔτι μὴ[a] ποιεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ, κατὰ[b] τὸ εἰρημένον, Λέγε σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου πρῶτος ἵνα δικαιωθῇς· καὶ τὸ, Δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορος ἐν πρωτολογίᾳ, say the Greek commentaries[c] upon Acts xix. 18. 'Every faithful man must declare or confess his sins, and must stand in separation[d] that he may be reproved, and that he may promise he will not do the same again, according to that which is said, Do thou first declare thy sins, that thou mayest be justified; and again, A just man in the beginning of his speech is an accuser of himself.' No man is a true penitent, if he refuses or neglects to confess his sins to

[z] [James v. 16.]

[a] [μηκέτι, Œcum.]

[b] [τὰ αὐτὰ, ἵνα δίκαιος γένηται κατὰ, κ.τ.λ.]

[c] [Theophylact. in loc. p. 162.—Œcumen. in loc. p. 86.]

[d] [ἀποτάττεσθαι, 'illis (sc. peccatis) renunciare,' interpr. Sifan.]

God in all cases, or to his brother if he have injured him, or to the church if she be offended, or where she requires it; for wheresoever a man is bound to repent, there he is bound to confession; which is an acknowledgment of the injury, and the first instance and publication of repentance. In other cases, confession may be of great advantage; in these it is a duty.

104. σ) Let no man think it a shame to confess his sin; or if he does, yet let not that shame deter him from it. There is indeed a shame in confession, because nakedness is discovered; but there is also a glory in it, because there is a cure too: there is repentance and amendment. This advice is like that which is given to persons giving their lives in a good cause, requiring them not to be afraid; that is, not to suffer such a fear as to be hindered from dying. For if they suffer a great natural fear, and yet in despite of that fear die constantly and patiently, that fear as it increases their suffering, may also accidentally increase their glory, provided that the fear be not criminal in its cause, nor effective of any unworthy comportment. So is the shame in confession; a great mortification of the man, and highly punitive of the sin; and such that unless it hinders the duty, is not to be directly reproved: but it must be taken care of that it be a shame only for the sin, which by how much greater it is, by so much the more earnestly the man ought to fly to all the means of remedy and instruments of expiation: and then the greater the shame is which the sinner suffers, the more excellent is the repentance which suffers so much for the extinction of his sin. But at no hand let the shame affright the duty; but let it be remembered that this confession is but the memory of the shame, which began when the sin was acted, and abode but as a handmaid of the guilt, and goes away with it. Confession of sins opens them to man, but draws a veil before them that God will the less behold them. And it is a material consideration, that if a man be impatient of the shame here, when it is revealed but to one man, who is also by all the ties of religion and by common honesty obliged to conceal them; or if he account it intolerable that a sin public in the scandal and the infamy, should be made public by solemnity to punish and to extinguish it, the man will be no gainer by refusing to confess, when he shall remember that sins unconfessed are most commonly unpardoned; and unpardoned sins will be made public before all angels, and all the wise and good men of the world, when their shame shall have nothing to make it tolerable.

105. τ) When a penitent confesses his sin, the holy man that ministers to his repentance and hears his confession, must not without great cause lessen the shame of the repenting man; he must directly encourage the duty, but not add confidence to the sinner. For whatsoever directly lessens the shame, lessens also the hatred of sin, and his future caution, and the reward of his repentance; and takes off that which was an excellent defensative against

the sin. But with the shame, the minister of religion is to do as he is to do with the man's sorrow: so long as it is a good instrument of repentance, so long it is to be permitted and assisted, but when it becomes irregular, or disposed to evil events, it is to be taken off; and so must the shame of the penitent man, when there is danger lest the man be swallowed up by too much sorrow and shame, or when it is perceived that the shame alone is a hindrance to the duty. In these cases, if the penitent man can be persuaded directly and by choice, for ends of piety and religion to suffer the shame, then let his spirit be supported by other means; but if he cannot, let there be such a confidence wrought in him, which is derived from the circumstances of the person, or the universal calamity and iniquity of man, or the example of great sinners like himself, that have willingly undergone the yoke of the Lord, or from consideration of the divine mercies, or from the easiness and advantages of the duty; but let nothing be offered to lessen the hatred, or the greatness of the sin, lest a temptation to sin hereafter be sowed in the furrows of the present repentance.

106. υ) He that confesseth his sins to the minister of religion, must be sure to express all the great lines of his folly and calamity; that is, all that by which he may make a competent judgment of the state of his soul. Now if the man be of a good life, and yet in his tendency to perfection is willing to pass under the method and discipline of greater sinners, there is no advice to be given to him, but that he do not curiously tell those lesser irregularities which vex his peace rather than discompose his conscience: but what is most remarkable in his infirmities, or the whole state, and the greatest marks and instances and returns of them, he ought to signify, for else he can serve no prudent end in his confession.

107. But secondly, if the man have committed a great sin, it is a high prudence, and an excellent instance of his repentance, that he confess it, declaring the kind of it, if it be of that nature that the spiritual man may conceal it. But if upon any other account he be bound to reveal every notice of the fact, let him transact that affair wholly between God and his own soul. And this of declaring a single action as it is of great use in the repentance of every man, so it puts on some degrees of necessity, if the man be of a sad, amazed, and an afflicted conscience. For there are some unfortunate persons who have committed some secret facts of shame and horror, at the remembrance of which they are amazed, of the pardon of which they have no sign, for the expiation of which they use no instrument, and they walk up and down like distracted persons, to whom reason is useless, and company is unpleasant, and their sorrow is not holy, but very great, and they know not what to do because they will not ask. I have observed some such; and the only remedy that was fit to be prescribed to such persons, was to reveal their sin to a spiritual man, and by him to be put into such a state of remedy and comfort as is

proper for their condition. It is certain that many persons have perished for want of counsel and comfort, which were ready for them if they would have confessed their sin; for he that concealeth his sin, *non dirigetur*, saith Solomon[e], 'he shall not be counselled or directed.'

108. And it is a very great fault amongst a very great part of Christians, that in their enquiries of religion, even the best of them ordinarily ask but these two questions, 'Is it lawful? Is it necessary?' If they find it lawful, they will do it without scruple or restraint; and then they suffer imperfection, or receive the reward of folly: for it may be lawful, and yet not fit to be done; it may be it is not expedient; and he that will do all that he can do lawfully, would, if he durst, do something that is not lawful[f].—And as great an error is on the other hand in the other question. He that too strictly enquires of an action whether it be necessary or no, would do well to ask also whether it be good? whether it be of advantage to the interest of his soul? For if a christian man or woman; that is, a redeemed, blessed, obliged person, a great beneficiary, endeared to God beyond all the comprehensions of a man's imagination, one that is less than the least of all God's mercies, and yet hath received many great ones and hopes for more, if he should do nothing but what is necessary, that is, nothing but what he is compelled to; then he hath the obligations of a son, and the affections of a slave, which is the greatest undecency of the world in the accounts of christianity. If a Christian will do no more than what is necessary, he will quickly be tempted to omit something of that also. And it is highly considerable that in the matter of souls, 'necessity' is a divisible word, and that which in disputation is not necessary, may be necessary in practice: it may be but charity to one and duty to another, that is, when it is not a necessary duty, it may be a necessary charity. And therefore it were much the better if every man without further enquiry would in the accounts of his soul consult a spiritual guide, and whether it be necessary or no, yet let him do it because it is good; and even they who will not for God's sake do that which is simply the best, yet for their own sakes they will or ought to do that which is profitable and of great advantage. Let men do that which is best to themselves; for it is all one to God, save only that He is pleased to take such instances of duty and forwardness of obedience, as the best significations of the best love. And of this nature is confession of sins to a minister of religion, it is one of the most charitable works in the world to ourselves; and in this sense we may use the words of David[g], "If thou doest well unto thyself, men," (and God) "will speak good of thee," and do good to thee. He that will do every thing that is lawful, and nothing but what is necessary, will be an enemy when he dares, and a friend when he cannot help it.

[e] [Prov. xxviii. 13, ed. vulg.]

[f] [Abp. Leighton (on 1 Pet. iii. 11) goes farther; "He that will do always all he lawfully may, shall often do something that lawfully he may not."—Cf. vol. ii. p. 114.]

[g] [Ps. xlix. 18]

109. But if the penitent person hath been an habitual sinner, in his confessions he is to take care that the minister of religion understand the degrees of his wickedness, the time of his abode in sin, the greatness of his desires, the frequency of his acting them, not told by numbers, but by general significations of the time, and particular significations of the earnestness of his choice. For this transaction being wholly in order to the benefit and conduct of his soul, the good man that ministers must have as perfect moral accounts as he can, but he is not to be reckoned withal by natural numbers and measures, save only so far as they may declare the violence of desires, and the pleasures and choice of the sin. The purpose of this advice is this; that since the transaction of this affair is for counsel and comfort, in order to pardon and the perfections of repentance, there should be no scruple in the particular circumstances of it, but that it be done heartily and wisely, that is, so as may best serve the ends to which it is designed; and that no man do it in despite of himself, or against his will, for the thing itself is not a direct service of God immediately enjoined, but is a service to ourselves to enable us to do our duty to God, and to receive a more ready and easy and certain pardon from Him. They indeed who pretend it as a necessary duty, have by affixing rules and measures to it of their own, made that which they call necessary to be intolerable and impossible. Indeed it is certain that when God hath appointed a duty, He also will describe the measures, or else leave us to the conduct of our own choice and reason in it. But where God hath not described the measures, we are to do that which is most agreeable to the analogy of the commandment, or the principal duty, in case it be under a command: but if it be not, then we are only to choose the particulars so as may best minister to the end which is designed in the whole ministration.

110. ϕ) It is a very pious preparation to the holy sacrament, that we confess our sins to the minister of religion: for since it is necessary that a man be examined, and a self-examination was prescribed to the Corinthians in the time of their lapsed discipline, that though there were divisions amongst them, and no established governors, yet from this duty they were not to be excused, and they must in destitution of a public minister do it themselves, but this is in case only of such necessity: the other is better; that is, it is of better order and more advantage that this part of repentance and holy preparation be performed under the conduct of a spiritual guide. And the reason is pressing. For since it is life or death that is there administered, and the great dispensation of the keys is in that ministry, it were very well if he that ministers did know whether the person presented were fit to communicate or no; and if he be not, it is charity to reject him, and charity to assist him that he may be fitted. There are many sad contingencies in the constitution of ecclesiastical affairs, in which every man that needs this help, and

would fain make use of it, cannot; but when he can meet with the blessing, it were well it were more frequently used, and more readily entertained. I end these advices with the words of Origen[g], *Extra veniam est qui peccatum cognovit, nec cognitum confitetur; confitendum autem semper est, non quod peccatum supersit ut semper sit confitendum, sed quia peccati veteris et antiqui utilis sit indefessa confessio;* 'he shall have no pardon who knows his sin and confesses it not; but we must confess always, not that the sin always remains, but that of an old sin an unwearied confession is useful and profitable.' But this is to be understood of a general accusation, or of a confession to God; for in confessions to men, there is no other usefulness of repeating our confessions, excepting where such repetition does aggravate the fault of relapsing, and ingratitude, in case the man returns to those sins for which he hoped that before he did receive a pardon.

§ 9. The practice of repentance and corporal austerities.

BUT because in all repentances there is something penal, it is not amiss that there be some enquiries after the measures and rules of acting that part of repentance which consists in corporal austerities, and are commonly called penances.

111. *a*) He that hath a great sorrow, need neither be invited nor instructed in the matter of his austerities. For a great sorrow and its own natural expressions and significations, such as are fastings, and abstinence, and tears, and indignation, and restlessness of mind, and prayers for pardon, and mortification of the sin, are all that which will perfect this part of repentance. Only sometimes they need caution for the degrees. Therefore

112. *β*) Let the penitent be careful that he do not injure his health, or oppress his spirit, by the zeal of this part of repentance. *Sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut supersint quos peccasse pœniteat*[h]. For all such fierce proceedings are either superstitious,—or desperate,—or indiscreet,—or the effect of a false persuasion concerning them, that they are a direct service of God, that they are simply necessary, and severely enjoined. All which are to be rescinded, or else the penances will be of more hurt than usefulness. Those actions are to minister to repentance; and therefore if they contradict any duty, they destroy what they pretend to serve. For penances as they relate to the sin that is committed, is just to be measured as penitential sorrow is, of which it is a signification and expression. When the sorrow is natural, sensitive, pungent, and material, the penances will be so too. A great sorrow refuses to eat, to sleep, to be cheerful, to be in company, according as the degree is, and as the circumstances of the persons are. But sometimes sorrow is to be chosen, and invited by arts, and ministered to by external instruments, and arguments of invitation; and just so are the penances,

[g] In Ps. xxxvi. hom. i. [not found.]

[h] [Cf. vol. vi. p. 548.]

they are then to be chosen, so as may make the person a sorrowful mourner, to make him take no delight in sin, but to conceive, and to feel a just displeasure: for if men feel no smart, no real sorrow or pain for their sins, they will be too much in love with it: impunity is ἀφορμὴ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, 'the occasion and opportunity of sin,' as the apostle[i] intimates: and they use to proceed in finishing the methods of sin and death, who

Non unquam reputant quantum sibi gaudia constent[j],

reckon their pleasures, but never put any smart, or danger, or fears, or sorrows into the balance. But the injunction or susception of penances is a good instrument of repentance, because a little evil takes off the pleasure of the biggest sin in many instances, and we are too apprehensive of the present, that this also becomes a great advantage to this ministry. We refuse great and infinite pleasures hereafter, so we may enjoy little, and few, and inconsiderable ones at present; and we fear not the horrible pains of hell, so we may avoid a little trouble in our persons or our interest. Therefore it is to be supposed that this way of undertaking a present punishment and smart for our sins (unless every thing when it becomes religious is despoiled of all its powers which it had in nature, and what is reason here is not reason there) will be of great effect and power against sin, and be an excellent instrument of repentance. But it must be so much, and it must be no more; for penances are like fire and water, good so long as they are made to serve our needs, but when they go beyond that, they are not to be endured. For since God in the severest of His anger does not punish one sin with another, let not us do worse to ourselves than the greatest wrath of God in this world will inflict upon us. A sin cannot be a punishment from God. For then it would be that God should be the author of sin, for He is of punishment. If then any punishment be a sin, that sin was unavoidable, derived from God; and indeed it would be a contradiction to the nature of things to say that the same thing can in the same formality be a punishment and a sin, that is, an action, and a passion, voluntary as every sin is, and involuntary as every punishment is; that it should be done by us, and yet against us, by us and by another, and by both entirely: and since punishment is the compensation or the expiation of sin, not the aggravation of the divine anger; it were very strange if God by punishing us should more provoke Himself[k], and instead of satisfying His justice, or curing the man, make His own anger infinite, and the patient much the worse. Indeed it may happen that one sin may cause or procure another, not by the efficiency of God, or any direct action of His: but first, withdrawing those assistances which would have restrained a sinful progression; secondly, by suffering him to fall into evil

[i] [vid. p. 213, supra.] [j] [Juv. vi. 364.] [k] Vide chap. vi. n. 42.

temptation, which is too hard for him consisting in his present voluntary indisposition; thirdly, by the nature of sin itself, which may either [1] effect a sin by accident, as a great anger may by the withdrawing God's restraining grace be permitted to pass to an act of murder; or [2] it may dispose to others of like nature, as one degree of lust brings in another; or [3] it may minister matter of fuel to another sin, as intemperance to uncleanness: or [4] one sin may be the end of another, as covetousness may be the servant of luxury. In all these ways, one sin may be effected by another; but in all these, God is only conniving, or at most, takes off some of those helps which the man hath forfeited, and God was not obliged to continue. Thus God hardened Pharaoh's heart, even by way of object and occasion; God hardened him by shewing him a mercy, by taking off his fears when He removed the judgment; and God ministered to him some hope that it be so still. But God does not inflict the sin: the man's own impious hands do that, not because he cannot help it, but because he chooses and delights in it. Now if God in justice to us will not punish one sin directly by another: let not us in our penitential inflictions commit a sin in indignation against our sin; for that is just as if a man out of impatience of pain in his side, should dash his head against a wall.

113. γ) But if God pleases to inflict a punishment, let us be careful to exchange it into a penance by kissing the rod, and entertaining the issues of the divine justice by approbation of God's proceeding, and confession of our demerit and justification of God. It was a pretty accident and mixture of providence and penance, that happened to the three accusers of Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem[l]; they accused him falsely of some horrid crimes, but in verification of their indictment bound themselves by a curse: the first, that if his accusation were false, he might be burned to death; the second, that he might die of the king's evil[m]; the third, that he might be blind. God in His anger found out the two first, and their curse happened to them that 'delighted in cursing and lies.' The first was burnt alive in his own house: and the second perished by the loathsome disease: which when the third espied, and found God's anger so hasty and so heavy, so pressing and so certain, he ran out to meet the rod of God; and repented of his sin so deeply, and wept so bitterly, so continually, that he became blind with weeping: and the anger of God became an instance of repentance; the judgment was sanctified, and so passed into mercy and a pardon: he did indeed meet with his curse, but by the arts of repentance the curse became a blessing. And so it may be to us, *Præveniamus faciem ejus in confessione*[n], let us prevent His anger by sentencing ourselves: or if we do not, let us follow the sad accents of the angry voice of God, and imitate His justice by condemning that which God condemns,

[l] Euseb., lib. vi. cap. 7. [al. 9. p. 267.]

[m] [σκαιᾷ νόσῳ.]

[n] [See title-page of this volume.]

and suffering willingly what He imposes; and turning His judgments into voluntary executions, by applying the suffering to our sins, and praying it may be sanctified. For since God smites us that we may repent, if we repent then, we serve the end of the divine judgment: and when we perceive God smites our sin, if we submit to it, and are pleased that our sin is smitten, we are enemies to it after the example of God; and that is a good act of repentance.

114. δ) For the quality or kind of penances, this is the best measure: those are the best which serve most ends; not those which most vex us, but such which will most please God. If they be only actions punitive and vindictive, they do indeed punish the man, and help so far as they can to destroy the sin; but of these alone S. Paul[o] said well, "Bodily exercise profiteth but little;" but of the latter sort, he added, "but godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come:" and this indeed is our exactest measure. Fastings alone, lyings upon the ground, disciplines and direct chastisements of the body, which have nothing in them but toleration and revenge, are of some use; they vex the body, and crucify the sinner, but the sin lives for all them: but if we add prayer, or any action symbolical, as meditation, reading, solitariness, silence, there is much more done towards the extinction of the sin. But he that adds alms, or something that not only is an act contrary to a former state of sin, but such which is apt to deprecate the fault, to obey God, and to do good to men, 'he hath chosen the better part, which will not easily be taken from him.' Fasting, prayer, and alms together, are the best penances, or acts of exterior repentance in the world. If they be single, fasting is of the least force, and alms done in obedience and the love of God is the best.

115. ε) For the quantity of penances, the old rule is the best that I know, but that it is too general and indefinite. It is S. Cyprian's[p], *Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus,* 'if our sins were great, so must our sorrow or penances be; as one is, so must be the other.' For sorrow and penances I reckon as the same thing in this question; save only that in some instances of corporal inflictions, the sin is opposed in its proper matter; as intemperance is by fasting; effeminacy by suffering hardships; whereas sorrow opposes it only in general: and in some other instances of penances, there is a duty distinctly and directly served, as in prayer and alms. But although this rule be indefinite and unlimited, we find it made more minute by Hugo de S. Victore[q], *Si in correctione minor est afflictio quam in culpa fuit delectatio, non est dignus pœnitentiæ tuæ fructus.* Our sorrow, either in the direct passion, or in its voluntary expressions, distinctly or conjunctly, must at least equal the pleasure we took in the committing of a sin. And this rule is indeed very good,

[o] [1 Tim. iv. 8.]
[p] [p. 142, not. b, supra.]
[q] [De sacram. fid., lib. ii. part. 14. cap. i.—tom. iii. f. 309 a.]

if we use it with these cautions. First, that this be understood principally in our repentances for single sins; for in these only the rule can be properly and without scruple applied, where the measures can be best observed. For in habitual and long courses of sin there is no other measures but to do very much, and very long, and until we die, and never think ourselves safe but while we are doing our repentances. Secondly, that this measure be not thought equal commutation for the sin, but be only used as an act of deprecation and repentance, of the hatred of sin and opposition to it; for he that sets a value upon his punitive actions of repentance, and rests in them, will be hasty in finishing the repentance, and leaving it off even while the sin is alive. For in these cases it is to be regarded, that penances, or the punitive actions of repentance, are not for the extinction of the punishment immediately, but for the guilt. That is, there is no remains of punishment after the whole guilt is taken off: but the guilt itself goes away by parts, and these external actions of repentance have the same effect in their proportion which is wrought by the internal. Therefore as no man can say that he hath sufficiently repented of his sins by an inward sorrow and hatred: so neither can he be secure that he hath made compensation by the suffering penances; for if one sin deserves an eternal hell, it is well if upon the account of any actions, and any sufferings, we be at last accepted and acquitted.

116. ζ) In the performing the punitive parts of external repentance, it is prudent that we rather extend them than intend them: that is, let us rather do many single acts of several instances, than dwell upon one with such intension of spirit as may be apt to produce any violent effects upon the body or the spirit. In all these cases, prudence and proportion to the end is our best measures. For these outward significations of repentance are not in any kind or instance necessary to the constitution of repentance; but apt and excellent expressions and significations, exercises and ministries of repentance. Prayer and alms are of themselves distinct duties, and therefore come not in their whole nature to this reckoning: but the precise acts of corporal punishment are here intended. And that these were not necessary parts of repentance, the primitive church believed, and declared, by absolving dying persons, though they did not survive the beginnings of their public repentance. But that she enjoined them to suffer such severities in case they did recover, she declared that these were useful and proper exercises and ministries of the grace itself. And although inward repentance did expiate all sins, even in the mosaical covenant, yet they had also a time and manner of its solemnity, their day of expiation, and so must we have many. But if any man will refuse this way of repentance, I shall only say to him the words of S. Paul[r] to them who rejected the ecclesiastical customs and usages, "We have no such custom, neither

[r] [1 Cor. xi. 16.]

the churches of God." But let him be sure that he perform his internal repentance with the more exactness; as he had need look to his own strengths that refuses the assistance of auxiliaries. But it is not good to be too nice and inquisitive, when the whole article is matter of practice. For what doth God demand of us but inward sincerity of a returning, penitent, obedient heart, and that this be exercised and ministered unto by fit and convenient offices to that purpose? This is all, and from this we are to make no abatements.

THE PRAYER.

O ETERNAL God, gracious and merciful, the fountain of pardon and holiness, hear the cries and regard the supplications of Thy servant. I have gone astray all my days, and I will for ever pray unto Thee and cry mightily for pardon. Work in Thy servant such a sorrow that may be deadly unto the whole body of sin, but the parent of an excellent repentance. O suffer me not any more to do an act of shame; nor to undergo the shame and confusion of face, which is the portion of the impenitent and persevering sinners at the day of sad accounts. I humbly confess my sins to Thee, do Thou hide them from all the world; and while I mourn for them, let the angels rejoice; and while I am killing them by the aids of Thy spirit, let me be written in the book of life, and my sins be blotted out of the black registers of death; that my sins being covered and cured, dead and buried in the grave of Jesus, I may live to Thee my God a life of righteousness, and grow in it till I shall arrive at a state of glory.

II.

I have often begun to return to Thee; but I turned short again, and looked back upon Sodom, and loved to dwell in the neighbourhood of the horrible regions. Now, O my God, hear; now let me finish the work of a holy repentance. Let Thy grace be present with me, that this day I may repent acceptably, and to-morrow, and all my days; not weeping over my returning sins, nor deploring new instances; but weeping bitterly for the old, loathing them infinitely, denouncing war against them hastily, prosecuting that war vigorously, resisting them every hour, crucifying them every day, praying perpetually, watching assiduously, consulting spiritual guides and helps frequently, obeying humbly, and crying mightily, I may do every thing by which I can please Thee, that I may be rescued from

the powers of darkness, and the sad portions of eternity which I have deserved.

III.

O give unto Thy servant intentions so real, a resolution so strong, a repentance so holy, a sorrow so deep, a hope so pure, a charity so sublime, that no temptation or time, no health or sickness, no accident or interest may be able in any circumstance of things or persons to tempt me from Thee and prevail. Work in me a holy and an unreprovable faith, whereby I may overcome the world, and crucify the flesh, and quench the fiery darts of the devil; and let this faith produce charity, and my sorrow cause amendment, and my fear produce caution, and that caution beget a holy hope: let my repentance be perfect and acceptable, and my affliction bring forth joy, and the pleasant fruit of righteousness. Let my hatred of sin pass into the love of God, and this love be obedience, and this obedience be universal, and that universality be lasting and perpetual; that I may rejoice in my recovery, and may live in health, and proceed in holiness, and abide in Thy favour, and die with a blessing, the death of the righteous, and may rest in the arms of the Lord Jesus, and at the day of judgment may have my portion in the resurrection of the just, and may enter into the joy of my Lord, to reap from the mercies of God in the harvest of a blessed eternity, what is here sown in tears and penitential sorrow, being pardoned, and accepted, and saved by the mercies of God in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Σωτηρία τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.

DEUS JUSTIFICATUS.

OR,

A VINDICATION

OF THE

GLORY OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

IN THE QUESTION OF

ORIGINAL SIN.

IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF QUALITY[a].

BY JER. TAYLOR, D.D.

Nam neque tam facilis res ulla est, quin ea primum
Difficilis magis ad credendum constet.—Lucret. [ii. 1087.]

[a] [This treatise was originally published by Royston without the author's leave (see 'The Stationer's Postscript to the Reader' at the end of the treatise, which appeared with the first edition); and the title page stood as follows, 'Deus Justificatus, or a vindication of the glory of the divine attributes in the question of original sin; against the presbyterian way of understanding it.' And in the next page the address, 'To the right honourable and religious lady, the lady Christian, countesse dowager of Devonshire.'—The lady's name was suppressed by Taylor when he republished the treatise, with other works, a year later, (see also p. 504, note z, below,) but reappears in the folio of 1673.]

THE PREFACE.

MADAM,

WHEN I reflect upon the infinite disputes which have troubled the public meetings of christendom concerning original sin, and how impatient and vexed some men lately have been when I offered to them my endeavours and conjectures concerning that question, with purposes very differing from what were seen in the face of other men's designs, and had handled it so that God might be glorified in the article, and men might be instructed and edified in order to good life; I could not but think that wise heathen said rarely well in his little adagy, relating to the present subject, Εἰς παραδοξίαν ἔφυμεν[a], 'mankind was born to be a riddle,' and our nativity is in the dark; for men have taken the liberty to think what they please, and to say what they think; and they affirm many things, and can prove but few things; and take the sayings of men for the oracles of God, and bold affirmatives for convincing arguments; and saint Paul's text must be understood by saint Austin's commentary, and saint Austin shall be heard in all, because he spake against such men who in some things were not to be heard; and after all, because his doctrine was taken for granted by ignorant ages, and being received so long, was incorporated into the resolved doctrine of the church with so great a firmness; it became almost a shame to examine what the world believed so unsuspectingly; and he that shall first attempt it, must resolve to give up a great portion of his reputation to be torn in pieces by the ignorant and by the zealous, by some of the learned, and by all the envious; and they who love to teach in quiet, being at rest in their chairs and pulpits, will be froward when they are awakened, and rather than they will be suspected to have taught amiss, will justify an error by the reproaching of him that tells them truth which they are pleased to call new.

If any man differs from me in opinion, I am not troubled at it, but tell him that truth is in the understanding, and charity is in the will, and is or ought to be there before either his or my opinion in these controversies can enter, and therefore that we ought to love alike, though we do not understand alike; but when I find that men are angry at my ingenuity and openness of discourse, and endeavour to hinder the event of my labours in the ministry of souls, and are impatient of contradiction or variety of explication and understanding of questions, I think myself concerned to defend the truth which

[a] [Εἰς παραδοξολογίαν ἔφυμεν.—Æschines contra Ctesiphontem.—Or. Att., tom. iii. p. 514. 8vo. Oxon. 1822.]

I have published, to acquit it from the suspicion of evil appendages, to demonstrate not only the truth but the piety of it, and the necessity, and those great advantages which by this doctrine so understood may be reaped, if men will be quiet and patient, void of prejudice and not void of charity.

This, madam, is reason sufficient why I offer so many justifications of my doctrine before any man appears in public against it; but because there are many who do enter into the houses of the rich and the honourable, and whisper secret oppositions and accusations rather than arguments against my doctrine; the good women that are zealous for religion, and make up in the passions of one faculty what is not so visible in the actions and operations of another, are sure to be affrighted before they be instructed, and men enter *caveat's* in that court before they try the cause. But that is not all; for I have found[b] that some men, to whom I gave and designed my labours, and for whose sake I was willing to suffer the persecution of a suspected truth, have been so unjust to me, and so unserviceable to yourself[c], madam, and to some other excellent and rare personages, as to tell stories, and give names to my proposition, and by secret murmurs hinder you from receiving that good which your wisdom and your piety would have discerned there, if they had not affrighted you with telling that a snake lay under the plantane, and that this doctrine, which is as wholesome as the fruits of paradise, was enwrapped with the infoldings of a serpent, subtle and fallacious.

Madam, I know the arts of these men; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by M. Sackvill, the late earl of Dorset's uncle: that the cunning sects of the world (he named the jesuits and the presbyterians) did more prevail by whispering to ladies, than all the church of England and the more sober protestants could do by fine force and strength of argument. For they by prejudice or fears, terrible things, and zealous nothings, confident sayings and little stories, governing the ladies' consciences, who can persuade their lords, their lords will convert their tenants, and so the world is all their own. I should wish them all good of their profits and purchases if the case were otherwise than it is; but because they are questions of souls, of their interest and advantages, I cannot wish they may prevail with the more religious and zealous personages: and therefore, madam, I have taken the boldness to write this tedious letter to you[d], that I may give you a right understanding and an easy explication of this great question; as conceiving myself the more bound to do it to your satisfaction[e], not only because you are zealous for the religion of this church, and are a person as well of reason as of religion[f], but also because you have passed divers obligations upon me, for which all my services are too little a return.

[b] ['try the cause. I have found,' &c. A.]
[c] ['to your honour' A.]
[d] ['to your honour' A.]
[e] ['to your honour' A.]
[f] ['as of honour' A.]

DEUS JUSTIFICATUS,

OR A VINDICATION OF THE GLORY OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES IN THE QUESTION OF ORIGINAL SIN, IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF QUALITY [a].

In order to which,

First, I will plainly describe the great lines of difference and danger which are in the errors and mistakes about this question.

Secondly, I will prove the truth and necessity of my own, together with the usefulness and reasonableness of it.

Thirdly, I will answer those little murmurs by which (so far as I can yet learn) these men seek to invade the understandings of those who have not leisure or will to examine the thing itself in my own words and arguments.

Fourthly, and if any thing else falls in by the by in which I can give satisfaction to a person of your great worthiness, I will not omit it, as being desirous to have this doctrine stand as fair in your eyes as it is in all its own colours and proportions.

But first, madam, be pleased to remember that the question is not whether there be any such thing as original sin [b]; for it is certain and confessed on all hands almost. For my part, I cannot but confess that to be which I feel, and groan under, and by which all the world is miserable.

Adam turned his back upon the sun, and dwelt in the dark and the shadow: he sinned, and fell into God's displeasure, and was made naked of all his supernatural endowments, and was ashamed and sentenced to death, and deprived of the means of long life, and of the sacrament and instrument of immortality, I mean the tree of life; he then fell under the evils of a sickly body, and a passionate, ignorant, uninstructed soul; his sin made him sickly, his sickness made him peevish, his sin left him ignorant, his ignorance made him foolish and unreasonable: his sin left him to his nature, and by his nature, whoever was to be born at all, was to be born a child, and to do before he could understand, and be bred under laws to which he was always bound, but which could not always be exacted; and he was to choose when he could not reason, and

[a] ['or, A Vindication of the Divine Attributes.' A.]

[b] [See Coleridge on this passage, 'Aids to Refl.,' aph. x. 'On spir. religion.']

had passions most strong when he had his understanding most weak, and was to ride a wild horse without a bridle, and the more need he had of a curb, the less strength he had to use it. And this being the case of all the world, what was every man's evil, became all men's greater evil; and though alone it was very bad, yet when they came together it was made much worse: like ships in a storm, every one alone hath enough to do to outride it; but when they meet, besides the evils of the storm, they find the intolerable calamity of their mutual concussion, and every ship that is ready to be oppressed with the tempest, is a worse tempest to every vessel against which it is violently dashed. So it is in mankind, every man hath evil enough of his own; and it is hard for a man to live soberly, temperately, and religiously; but when he hath parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies, buyers and sellers, lawyers and physicians, a family and a neighbourhood, a king over him or tenants under him, a bishop to rule in matters of government spiritual, and a people to be ruled by him in the affairs of their souls; then it is that every man dashes against another, and one relation requires what another denies; and when one speaks, another will contradict him; and that which is well spoken, is sometimes innocently mistaken, and that upon a good cause produces an evil effect; and by these and ten thousand other concurrent causes, man is made more than most miserable.

But the main thing is this; when God was angry with Adam, the man fell from the state of grace; for God withdrew His grace, and we returned to the state of mere nature, of our prime creation. And although I am not of Petrus Diaconus his mind, who said that when we all fell in Adam, we fell into the dirt, and not only so, but we fell also upon a heap of stones; so that we not only were made naked, but defiled also, and broken all in pieces: yet this I believe to be certain, that we by his fall received evil enough to undo us, and ruin us all; but yet the evil did so descend upon us, that we were left in powers and capacities to serve and glorify God; God's service was made much harder, but not impossible; mankind was made miserable, but not desperate, we contracted an actual mortality, but we were redeemable from the power of death; sin was easy and ready at the door, but it was resistible; our will was abused, but yet not destroyed; our understanding was cozened, but yet still capable of the best instructions; and though the devil had wounded us, yet God sent His Son, who like the good Samaritan poured oil and wine into our wounds, and we were cured before we felt the hurt, that might have ruined us upon that occasion. It is sad enough, but not altogether so intolerable and decretory as some would make it, which the Sibylline oracle[c] describes to be the effect of Adam's sin;

[c] [Sic apud Lactant. ii. 13; fol. Cæsenæ, 1646. Aliter in edd. recent.]

Ἄνθρωπον πέπλασθαι θεοῦ παλαμαῖς ἐνὶ αὐταῖς
Ὃν τε πλάνησεν ὄφις δολίως ἐπὶ μοῖραν ἀνέλθειν
Τοῦ θανατοῦ, γνῶσιν τε λαβεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τε κακοῦ τε.

Man was the work of God, framed by His hands;
Him did the serpent cheat, that to death's bands
He was subjected for his sin: for this was all,
He tasted good and evil by his fall.

But to this we may superadd that which Plutarch found to be experimentally true, *Mirum quod pedes moverunt ad usum rationis, nullo autem fræno passiones;* the foot moves at the command of the will and by the empire of reason, but the passions are stiff even then when the knee bends, and no bridle can make the passions regular and temperate. And indeed, madam, this is in a manner the sum total of the evil of our abused and corrupted nature; our soul is in the body as in a prison; it is there *tanquam in aliena domo*, it is a sojourner, and lives by the body's measures, and loves and hates by the body's interests and inclinations; that which is pleasing and nourishing to the body, the soul chooses and delights in: that which is vexatious and troublesome, it abhors, and hath motions accordingly; for passions are nothing else but acts of the will carried to or from material objects, and effects and impresses upon the man made by such acts; consequent motions and productions from the will. It is an useless and a groundless proposition in philosophy, to make the passions to be the emanations of[d] distinct faculties, and seated in a differing region; for as the reasonable soul is both sensitive and vegetative, so is the will elective and passionate, the region both of choice and passions; that is, when the object is immaterial, or the motives such, the act of the will is so merely intellectual, that it is then spiritual, and the acts are proper and symbolical, and the act of it we call election or volition[e]; but if the object is material or corporal, the acts of the will are passion, that is[f], adhesion and aversation, and these it receives by the needs and inclinations of the body. An object can diversify an act, but never distinguish faculties: and if we make it one faculty that chooses a reasonable object, and another that chooses the sensual; we may as well assign a third faculty for the supernatural and religious: and when to choose a sensual object is always either reasonable or unreasonable, and every adherence to pleasure, and mortification or refusing of it, is subject to a command and the matter of duty, it will follow that even the passions also are issues of the will: by passions meaning the actions of prosecution or refusal of sensitive objects, the acts of the concupiscible and irascible appetite, not the impresses made by these upon the body, as trembling, redness, paleness, heaviness and the like. And therefore to say the passions rule the will, is an improper saying; but it hath no truth

[d] ['the emanations of' deest A.] [e] ['and the act... volition,' deest A.]
[f] ['passion, that is,' deest A.]

in its meaning but this; that the will is more passionate than wise; it is more delighted with bodily pleasures than spiritual: but as the understanding considers both, and the disputation about them is in that faculty alone; so the choice of both is in the will alone[g]. Now because many of the body's needs are naturally necessary, and the rest are made so by being thought needs, and by being so naturally pleasant, and that this is the body's day, and it rules here in its own place and time; therefore it is that the will is so great a scene of passion, and we so great servants of our bodies.

This was the great effect of Adam's sin, which became therefore to us a punishment, because of the appendent infirmity that went along with it; for Adam being spoiled of all the rectitudes and supernatural heights of grace, and thrust back to the form of nature, and left to derive grace to himself by a new economy, or to be without it; and his posterity left just so as he was left himself: he was permitted to the power of his enemy that betrayed him, and put under the power of his body, whose appetites would govern him, and when they would grow irregular could not be mastered by any thing that was about him or born with him, so that his case was miserable and naked, and his state of things was imperfect and would be disordered.

But now, madam, things being thus bad, are made worse by the superinduced doctrines of men, which when I have represented to your ladyship, and told upon what accounts I have reproved them, you[h] will find that I have reason.

There are one sort of Calvin's scholars, whom we for distinction's sake call Supralapsarians, who are so fierce in their sentences of predestination and reprobation, that they say God looked upon mankind only as His creation and His slaves, over whom He having absolute power, was very gracious that He was pleased to take some few, and save them absolutely; and to the other greater part He did no wrong, though He was pleased to damn them eternally, only because He pleased; for they were His own; and *Qui jure suo utitur nemini facit injuriam*, says the law of reason, every one may do what he please with his own. But this bloody and horrible opinion is held but by a few; as tending directly to the dishonour of God, charging on Him alone that He is the cause of men's sins on earth, and of men's eternal torments in hell. It makes God to be powerful, but His power not to be good; it makes Him more cruel to men than good men can be to dogs and sheep; it makes Him give the final sentence of hell without any pretence or colour of justice; it represents Him to be that which all the world must naturally fear, and naturally hate, as being a God delighting in the death of innocents (for so they are when He resolves to damn them), and then

[g] ['An object . . alone.' deest A.] [h] ['I reprove them, your honour' A.]

most tyrannically cruel and unreasonable; for it says that to make a postnate pretence of justice, it decrees that men inevitably shall sin, that they may inevitably, but justly, be damned; like the Roman lictors[l] who because they could not put to death Sejanus' daughters as being virgins, deflowered them after sentence, that by that barbarity they might be capable of the utmost cruelty. It makes God to be all that for which any other thing or person is or can[k] be hated; for it makes Him neither to be good, nor just, nor reasonable; but a mighty enemy to the biggest part of mankind: it makes Him to hate what Himself hath made, and to punish that in another which in Himself He decreed should not be avoided: it charges the wisdom of God with folly, as having no means to glorify His justice but by doing unjustly, by bringing in that which Himself hates, that He might do what Himself loves; doing as Tiberius did to Brutus and Nero, the sons of Germanicus[l], *Varia fraude induxit ut concitarentur ad convicia, et concitati proderentur*, 'provoking them to rail, that he might punish their reproachings.' This opinion reproaches the words of the spirit[m] of scripture, it charges God with hypocrisy and want of mercy, making Him a father of cruelties, not of mercy; and is a perfect overthrow of all religion, and all laws, and all government; it destroys the very being and nature of all election, thrusting a man down to the lowest form of beasts and birds, to whom a spontaneity of doing certain actions is given by God, but it is in them so natural, that it is unavoidable.—Now concerning this horrid opinion, I for my part shall say nothing but this; that he that says there was no such man as Alexander, would tell a horrible lie, and be injurious to all story, and to the memory and fame of that great prince; but he that should say, It is true there was such a man as Alexander, but he was a tyrant and a blood-sucker, cruel and injurious, false and dissembling, an enemy of mankind, and for all the reasons of the world to be hated and reproached, would certainly dishonour Alexander more, and be his greatest enemy. So I think in this; that the atheists who deny there is a God, do not so impiously against God as they that charge Him with foul appellatives, or maintain such sentences, which if they were true, God could not be true. But these men, madam, have nothing to do in the question of original sin, save only that they say that God did decree that Adam should fall, and all the sins that he sinned, and all the world after him, are no effects of choice, but of predestination, that is, they were the actions of God rather than man.

But because these men even to their brethren seem to speak evil things of God, therefore the more wary and temperate of the Calvinists bring down the order of reprobation lower; affirming that God looked upon all mankind in Adam as fallen into His displeasure,

[l] [Tac. ann. v. 9.—Suet. Tiber., c. lxi.]
[k] ['to be all that thing that can' A.]
[l] Sueton. in vita Tiber. [c. liv.]
[m] ['words and the spirit' A.]

hated by God, truly guilty of his sin, liable to eternal damnation, and they being all equally condemned, He was pleased to separate some, the smaller number far, and irresistibly bring them to heaven; but the far greater number He passed over, leaving them to be damned for the sin of Adam: and so they think they salve God's justice; and this was the design and device of the synod of Dort.

Now to bring this to pass they teach concerning original sin,

1. That by this sin our first parents fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties, and parts of soul and body.

2. That whatsoever death was due to our first parents for this sin, they being the root of all mankind, and the guilt of this sin being imputed, the same is conveyed to all their posterity by ordinary generation.

3. That by this original corruption we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil; and that from hence proceed all actual transgressions.

4. This corruption of nature remains in the regenerate, and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself and all the motions thereof, are truly and properly sin.

5. Original sin being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal.

These are the sayings of the late Assembly at Westminster.

Against this heap of errors and dangerous propositions I have made my former discoursings, and statings of the question of original sin. These are the doctrines of the presbyterian, whose face is towards us, but it is over against us in this and many other questions of great concernment.

Nemo tam prope proculque nobis[n].

He is nearest to us and furthest from us; but because I have as great a love to their persons, as I have a dislike to some of their doctrines; I shall endeavour to serve truth and them, by reproving those propositions which make truth and them to stand at distance[o].

[n] [—— nec urbe tota
Quisquam est tam prope tam proculque nobis.
Martial., lib. ii. epigr. 87.]

[o] ['These are the doctrines of the presbyterian, but as unlike truth as his assemblies are to our church. For concerning him I may say,
Nemo tam prope proculque nobis;
he is the likest and the unlikest to a son of our church in the world; he is the nearest to us and furthest from us; and to all the world abroad he calls himself our friend, while at home he hates us and destroys us.' A.]

Now I shall first speak to the thing in general and its designs, then I shall make some observations upon the particulars.

I. This device of our presbyterians and of the synod of Dort is but an artifice to save their proposition harmless, and to stop the outcries of scripture and reason, and of all the world against them. But this way of stating the article of reprobation is as horrid in the effect[p] as the other. For,

First, is it by a natural consequent that we are guilty of Adam's sin, or is it by the decree of God? Naturally it cannot be; for then the sins of all our forefathers, who are to their posterity the same that Adam was to his, must be ours; and not only Adam's first sin, but his others are ours upon the same account. But if it be by the decree of God, by His choice and constitution, that it should be so (as Mr. Calvin[q] and Dr. Twisse[r], that I may name no more for that side, do expressly teach) it follows that God is the author of our sin; so that I may use Mr. Calvin's words, "How is it that so many nations with their children should be involved in the fall without remedy, but because God would have it so?" And if that be the matter, then to God, as to the cause, must that sin and that damnation be accounted.

And let it then be considered whether this be not as bad as the worst. For the Supralapsarians say God did decree that the greatest part of mankind should perish, only because He would. The Sublapsarians say that God made it by His decree necessary, that all we who were born of Adam should be born guilty of original sin, and He it was who decreed to damn whom He pleased for that sin, in which He decreed they should be born; and both these He did for no other consideration but because He would. Is it not therefore evident, that He absolutely decreed damnation to these persons? For he that decrees the end, and he that decrees the only necessary and effective means to the end, and decrees that it shall be the end of that means, does decree absolutely alike, though by several dispensations; and then all the evil consequents which I reckoned before to be the monstrous productions of the first way, are all daughters of the other, and if Solomon were here, he could not tell which were the truer mother.

Now that the case is equal between them, some of their own

[p] ['in effect' A.]

[q] Instit., l. iii. c. 23. sect. 7. [p. 254.]

[r] Vind. grat., lib. i. part. 1. digres. 4. cap. 3. [p. 38 sqq.—William Twisse, was elected fellow of New college in Oxford 1596. About 1614 going into Germany, in capacity of chaplain to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James the first, and continuing there for some time, he had opportunity of improving himself greatly by conversation with the foreign divines. In the beginning of the civil war in England he sided with the presbyterians, was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, and finally became their prolocutor. Antony Wood speaks highly of him as a writer. "The most learned men," he says, "even of his adverse party, did confess that there was nothing extant more accurate, exact, and full, touching the Arminian controversies, than what was written by this our author Twisse."]

chiefest do confess, so Dr. Twisse. If God may ordain men to hell for Adam's sin, which is derived unto them by God's only constitution, He may as well do it absolutely without any such constitutions. The same also is affirmed by Maccovius[s], and by Mr. Calvin[t]. And the reason is plain; for he that does a thing for a reason which himself makes, may as well do it without a reason: or he may make his own will to be the reason, because the thing, and the motive of the thing, come in both cases equally from the same principle, and from that alone.

Now, madam, be pleased to say whether I had not reason and necessity for what I have taught. You are a happy mother of a fair and hopeful posterity[u], your children and nephews[x] are dear to you as your right eye, and yet you cannot love them so well as God loves them; and it is possible that a mother should forget her children, yet God even then will not, cannot; but if our father and mother forsake us, God taketh us up. Now madam consider, could you have found in your heart when the nurse and midwives had bound up the heads of any of your children, when you had borne them with pain and joy upon your knees, could you have been tempted to give command that murderers should be brought to flay them alive, to put them to exquisite tortures, and then in the midst[y] of their saddest groans, throw any one of them into the flames of a fierce fire, for no other reason but because he was born at London[z], or upon a Friday, when the moon was in her prime, or for what other reason you had made, and they could never avoid? could you have been delighted in their horrid shrieks and outcries, or have taken pleasure in their unavoidable and their intolerable calamity? could you have smiled if the hangman had snatched your eldest son from his nurse's breasts, and dashed his brains out against the pavement; and would you not have wondered that any father or mother could espy the innocence and pretty smiles of your sweet babes, and yet tear their limbs in pieces, or devise devilish artifices to make them roar with intolerable convulsions? Could you desire to be thought good, and yet have delighted in such cruelty? I know I may answer for you; you would first have died yourself. And yet I say again, God loves mankind better than we can love one another, and He is essentially just, and He is infinitely merciful, and He is all goodness, and therefore though we might possibly do evil things, yet He cannot; and yet this doctrine of the presbyterian reprobation says He both can and does things, the very apprehension of which hath caused many in despair to drown or hang themselves.

[s] Disp. xviii. [? xv. sc. 'Miscell. quæstt.'—8vo. Franek. 1631.]

[t] Instit., lib. iii., cap. 23. sect. 23. [legendum videtur, sect. 7. p. 254.]

[u] ['of an honourable posterity' A.]

[x] [See p. 274, note e, above.—'Nephew' in our translation of the Bible means 'grandson.']

[y] ['middest' A.]

[z] ['at Latimers' A.—The name of the earl of Devon's seat in Buckinghamshire. See note to p. 493 above.].

Now if the doctrine of absolute reprobation be so horrid, so intolerable a proposition, so unjust and blasphemous to God, so injurious and cruel to men, and that there is no colour or pretence to justify it, but by pretending our guilt of Adam's sin, and damnation to be the punishment: then because from truth nothing but truth can issue; that must needs be a lie, from which such horrid consequences do proceed. For the case in short is this: if it be just for God to damn any one of Adam's posterity for Adam's sin, then it is just in Him to damn all, for all His children are equally guilty: and then if He spares any, it is mercy, and the rest who perish have no cause to complain. But if all these fearful consequences which reason and religion so much abhor, do so certainly follow from such doctrines of reprobation, and these doctrines wholly rely upon this pretence, it follows that the pretence is infinitely false and intolerable; and that (so far as we understand the rules and measures of justice[a]) it cannot be just for God to damn us for being in a state of calamity, to which state we entered no way but by His constitution and decree.

"You see, madam, I had reason to reprove that doctrine which said it was just in God to damn us for the sin of Adam.

II. Though this be the main error; yet there are some other collateral things which I can by no means approve; such is that,

First, that by the sin of Adam our parents became wholly defiled in all the faculties and powers of their souls and bodies: and,

Secondly, that by this we also are disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil: and,

Thirdly, that from hence proceed all actual transgressions: and,

Fourthly, that our natural corruption in the regenerate still remains, though it be pardoned and mortified[b], and is still properly a sin.

Against this I opposed these propositions; that the effect of Adam's sin was in himself bad enough; for it devested him of that state of grace and favour where God placed him; it threw him from paradise, and all the advantages of that place, it left him in the state of nature; but yet his nature was not spoiled by that sin; he was not wholly inclined to all evil, neither was he disabled and made opposite to all good; only his good was imperfect, it was natural, and fell short of heaven; for till his nature was invested with a new nature, he could go no further than the design of his first nature, that is, without Christ, without the spirit of Christ, he could never arrive at heaven, which is his supernatural condition; but 1) there still remained in him a natural freedom of doing good or evil. 2) In every one that was born, there are great inclinations to some good. 3) Where our nature was averse to good, it is not the direct sin of nature, but the imperfection of it, the reason being, because God superinduced laws against our natural inclination, and yet there

[a] ['so far . . justice' deest A.] [b] ['though . . . mortified' deest A.]

was in nature nothing sufficient to make us contradict our nature in obedience to God; all that being to come from a supernatural and divine principle.—These I shall prove together, for one depends upon another.

And first, that the liberty of will did not perish to mankind by the fall of Adam, is so evident, that S. Austin[c], who is an adversary in some parts of this question, but not yet, by way of question and confidence asks, *Quis autem nostrum dicat quod primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere,* 'which of us can say that the liberty of our will did perish by the sin of the first man?' And he adds a rare reason, "For it is so certain that it did not perish in a sinner, that this thing only is it by which they do sin, especially when they delight in their sin, and by the love of sin that thing is pleasing to them which they list to do." And therefore when we are charged with sin, it is worthy of enquiry, whence it is that we are sinners? Is it by the necessity of nature, or by the liberty of our will? If by nature and not choice, then it is good and not evil; for whatsoever is our nature is of God's making, and consequently is good; but if we are sinners by choice and liberty of will, whence had we this liberty? If from Adam, then we have not lost it; but if we had it not from him, then from him we do not derive all our sin; for by this liberty alone we sin.

If it be replied that we are free to sin, but not to good; it is such a foolery, and the cause of the mistake so evident, and so ignorant, that I wonder any man of learning or common sense should own it. For if I be free to evil, then I can choose evil, or refuse it; if I can refuse it, then I can do good; for to refuse that evil is good, and it is in the commandment, 'Eschew evil;' but if I cannot choose or refuse it, how am I free to evil? For *voluntas* and *libertas,* 'will' and 'liberty' in philosophy are not the same: I may will it, when I cannot will the contrary; as the saints in heaven, and God himself wills good; they cannot will evil, because to do so is imperfection, and contrary to felicity; but here is no liberty; for liberty is with power to do or not to do, to do this or the contrary; and if this liberty be not in us, we are not in the state of obedience or of disobedience; which is the state of all them who are alive, who are neither in hell nor heaven. For it is to many purposes useful that we consider,—That in natural things to be determined shews a narrowness of being; and therefore liberty of action is better, because it approaches nearer to infinity: but in moral things liberty is a direct imperfection, a state of weakness, and supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love; the imperfection of the agent, or the unworthiness of the object. Liberty of will is like the motion of a magnetic needle toward the north, full of trepidation till it be fixed where it would fain dwell for ever. Either the object is but good in one regard, or we have

[c] Lib. i. ad Bonifac., c. 2. [tom. x. col. 413.]

but an uncertain apprehension, or but a beginning love to it, or it could never be that we could be free to choose, that is, to love it or not to love it. And therefore it is so far from being true that by the fall of Adam we lost our liberty, that it is more likely to be the consequent of it, as being a state of imperfection; proper indeed to them who are to live under laws, and to such who are to work for a reward, and may fail of it; but cannot go away till we either lose all hopes of good by descending into hell, or are past all fear or possibility of evil by going to heaven. But that this is our case[d], if I had no other argument in the world, and were never so prejudicate and obstinate a person, I think I should be perfectly convinced by those words of S. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 37. The apostle speaks of a good act tending not only to the keeping of a precept, but to a counsel of perfection; and concerning that he hath these words, "Nevertheless, he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin, doth well." The words are plain, and need no explication: if this be not a plain liberty of choice, and a power of will, those[e] words mean nothing, and we can never hope to understand one another's meaning. But if sin be avoidable, then we have liberty of choice. If it be unavoidable, it is not imputable by the measures of laws and justice; what it is by empire and tyranny, let the adversaries enquire and prove: but since all theology, all schools of learning consent in this, that an invincible or unavoidable ignorance does wholly excuse from sin, why an invincible and an unavoidable necessity shall not also excuse, I confess I have not yet been taught.

But if by Adam's sin we be so utterly indisposed, disabled, and opposite to all good, wholly inclined to evil, and from hence come all actual sins; that is, that by Adam we are brought to that pass that we cannot choose but sin; it is a strange severity that this should descend upon persons otherwise most innocent, and that this which is the most grievous of all evils. For[f] *prima et maxima peccantium pœna est peccasse*, said Seneca[g]; to be given over to sin, is the worst calamity, the most extreme anger, never inflicted directly at all for any sin (as I have otherwhere[h] proved[i]) and not indirectly but upon the extremest anger; which cannot be supposed unless God be more angry with us for being born men, than for choosing to be sinners.

The consequent of these arguments is this; that our faculties are not so wholly spoiled by Adam's fall but that we can choose good or evil, that our nature is not wholly disabled and made opposite to all good. But to nature are left and given as much as to the handmaid Agar; nature hath nothing to do with the inheritance, but she and her sons have gifts given them; and by nature we have laws of virtue

[d] [. . . 'in hell nor heaven. But that our case is otherwise' A.]
[e] ['then' A.]
[f] ['For' deest A.]
[g] [Epist. xcvii.—tom. ii. p. 480.]
[h] ['otherwise' A.]
[i] Doctrine and Practice of Repentance.

and inclinations to virtue, and naturally we love God, and worship Him, and speak good things of Him, and love our parents, and abstain from incestuous mixtures, and are pleased when we do well, and affrighted within when we sin in horrid instances against God; all this is in nature, and much good comes from nature; *Neque enim quasi lassa et effœta natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat*[j], 'nature is not so old, so obsolete and dried a trunk as to bring no good fruits upon its own stock;' and the Frenchmen have a good proverb, *Bonus sanguis non mentitur*, 'a good blood never lies;' and some men are naturally chaste, and some are abstemious, and many are just and friendly, and noble and charitable: and therefore all actual sins do not proceed from this sin of Adam; for if the sin of Adam left us in liberty to sin, and that this liberty was before Adam's fall; then it is not long[k] of Adam's fall that we sin; by his fall it should rather be (according to their principles[l]) that we cannot choose but do this or that, and then it is no sin. But to say that our actual sins should any more proceed from Adam's fall, than Adam's fall should proceed from itself, is not to be imagined; for what made Adam sin when he fell? If a fatal decree made him sin, then he was nothing to blame.

> Fati ista culpa est; nemo fit fato nocens[m];
>
> No guilt upon mankind can lie
> For what's the fault of destiny.

And Adam might with just reason lay the blame from himself, and say as Agamemnon did in Homer[n],

> ——— ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι
> Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς, καὶ μοῖρα, καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐριννύς.

It was not I that sinned, but it was fate or a fury, it was God and not I, it was not my act, but the effect of the divine decree, and then the same decree may make us sin, and not the sin of Adam be the cause of it. But if a liberty of will made Adam sin, then this liberty to sin being still left us, this liberty and not Adam's sin is the cause of all our actual.

Concerning the other clause in the presbyterian article, that our natural corruption in the regenerate still remains, and is still a sin, and properly a sin: I have, I confess, heartily opposed it[o], and shall, besides my arguments, confute it with my blood, if God shall call me; for it is so great a reproach to the Spirit and power of Christ, and to the effects of baptism, to scripture and to right reason, that all good people are bound in conscience to be zealous against it.

For when Christ came to reconcile us to His Father, He came to take away our sins, not only to pardon them, but to destroy them; and if the regenerate, in whom the Spirit of Christ rules, and in whom

[j] Plin. ep. 12. [leg. l. vi. ep. 21. p. 202.]
[k] [See p. 421, note a, above.]
[l] ['according ... principles' deest A.]
[m] [Sen. Œdip. lin. 1019.]
[n] [Il. τ'. 86.]
[o] [See note to p. 335, above.]

all their habitual sins are dead, are still under the servitude and in the stocks of original sin, then it follows, not only that our guilt of Adam's sin is greater than our own actual, the sin that we never consented to is of a deeper grain than that which we have chosen and delighted in, and God was more angry with Cain that he was born of Adam, than that he killed his brother; and Judas by descent from the first Adam contracted that sin which he could never be quit of: but he might have been quit of his betraying the second Adam, if he would not have despaired:—I say not only these horrid consequences do follow, but this also will follow,—That Adam's sin hath done some mischief that the grace of Christ can never cure; and generation stains so much, that regeneration cannot wash it clean. Besides all this, if the natural corruption remains in the regenerate and be properly a sin, then either God hates the regenerate, or loves the sinner, and when he dies he must enter into heaven with that sin, which he cannot lay down but in the grave, as the vilest sinner lays down every sin; and then an unclean thing can go to heaven, or else no man can. And lastly, to say that this natural corruption, though it be pardoned and mortified, yet still remains, and is still a sin, is perfect nonsense; for if it be mortified, it is not, it hath no being; if it is pardoned, it was indeed, but now is no sin; for till a man can be guilty of sin without obligation to punishment, a sin cannot be a sin that is pardoned; that is, if the obligation to punishment or the guilt be taken away, a man is not guilty. Thus far, madam, I hope you will think I had reason.

One thing more I did and do reprove in their Westminster articles; and that is, that original sin, meaning our sin derived from Adam, is contrary to the law of God, and doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner, binding him over to God's wrath, &c.; that is, that the sin of Adam imputed to us is properly, formally, and inherently a sin. If it were properly a sin in us, our sin, it might indeed be damnable; for every transgression of the divine commandment is so: but because I have proved it cannot bring eternal damnation, I can as well argue thus, 'This sin cannot justly bring us to damnation, therefore it is not properly a sin;' as to say, 'This is properly a sin, therefore it can bring us to damnation.' Either of them both follow well: but because they cannot prove it to be a sin properly, or any other ways but by a limited imputation to certain purposes; they cannot say it infers damnation. But because I have proved it cannot infer damnation, I can safely conclude it is not formally, properly, and inherently a sin in us.

> Nec placet[p], o superi, cum vobis vertere cuncta
> Propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
>
> Nor did it please our God, when that our state
> Was changed, to add a crime unto our fate.

[p] ['Hoc placet' &c.—Lucan. vii. 58.]

I have now, madam, though much to your trouble, quitted myself of my presbyterian opponents, so far as I can judge fitting for the present. But my friends also take some exceptions; and there are some objections made, and blows given me as it happened to our blessed Saviour, *in domo illorum qui diligebant me* [p]; in the house of my mother and in the societies of some of my dearest brethren. For the case is this.

They join with me in all this that I have said; viz., that original sin is ours only by imputation; that it leaves us still in our natural liberty, and though it hath devested us of our supernaturals, yet that our nature is almost the same, and by the grace of Jesus as capable of heaven as it could ever be by derivation of original righteousness from Adam. In the conduct and in the description of this question, being usually esteemed to be only scholastical, I confess they (as all men else) do usually differ; for it was long ago observed, that there are sixteen [q] several famous opinions in this one question of original sin. But my brethren are willing to confess that for Adam's sin alone no man did or shall ever perish: and that it is rather to be called a stain than a sin. If they were all of one mind and one voice in this article, though but thus far, I would not move a stone to disturb it; but some draw one way and some another, and they that are aptest to understand the whole secret, do put fetters and bars upon their own understanding, by an importune regard to the great names of some dead men, who are called 'masters upon earth,' and whose authority is as apt to mislead us into some propositions as their learning is useful to guide us in others. But so it happens, that because all are not of a mind, I cannot give account of every disagreeing man; but of that which is most material, I shall.—Some learned persons are content I should say no man is damned for the sin of Adam alone, but yet that we stand guilty in Adam, and redeemed from this damnation by Christ; and if that the article were so stated, it would not intrench upon the justice or the goodness of God; for His justice would be sufficiently declared, because no man can complain of wrong done him when the evil that he fell into by Adam is taken off by Christ; and His goodness is manifest in making a new *census* for us, taxing and numbering us in Christ, and giving us free redemption by the blood of Jesus: but yet that we ought to confess that we are liable to damnation by Adam, and saved from thence by Christ; that God's justice may be glorified in that, and His goodness in this; but that we are still real sinners till washed in the blood of the Lamb; and 'without God,' and without hopes of heaven, till then: and that if this article be thus handled, the presbyterian fancy will disappear; for they can be confuted without denying Adam's sin to be damnable; by saying it is pardoned in Christ, and in Christ all men are restored, and He is the head of the predestina-

[p] [Zach. xiii. 6, ed. vulg.]

[q] [So vol. v. p. 426.]

tion; for in Him God looked upon us when He designed us to our final state; and this, say they, is much for the honour of Christ's redemption.

To these things, madam, I have much to say; something I will trouble your ladyship withal at this time, that you and all that consider the particulars may see I could not do the work of God and truth if I had proceeded in that method. For,

1. It is observable that those wiser persons, who will by no means admit that any one is or ever shall be damned for original sin, do by this means hope to salve the justice of God; by which they plainly imply that to damn us for this is hard and intolerable, and therefore they suppose they have declared a remedy. But then this also is to be considered, if it be intolerable to damn children for the sin of Adam, then it is intolerable to say it is damnable; if that be not just or reasonable, then this is also unjust and unreasonable; for the sentence and the execution of the sentence are the same emanation and issue of justice, and are to be equally accounted of. For,

2. I demand, had it been just in God to damn all mankind to the eternal pains of hell for Adam's sin, committed before they had a being, or could consent to it, or know of it? If it could be just, then any thing in the world can be just, and it is no matter who is innocent or who is criminal directly and by choice, since they may turn devils in their mother's bellies; and it matters not whether there be any laws or no, since it is all one that there be no law, and that we do not know whether there be or no; and it matters not whether there be any judicial process, for we may as well be damned without judgment, as be guilty without action: and besides, all those arguments will press here which I urged in my first discourse. Now if it had been unjust actually to damn us all for the sin of one, it was unjust to sentence us to it; for if He did give sentence against us justly, He could justly have executed the sentence, and this is just if that be. But,

3. God did put this sentence in execution; for if that be true which these learned men suppose, that by Adam's sin we fell into a damnable condition, but by Christ we are rescued from an actual damnation for it; then it will follow that[r] when He sent the holy Jesus into the world to die for us and to redeem us, He satisfied His Father's anger for original sin as well as for actual, He paid for our share as well as for Adam's, for our share of that sin which he committed, as well as for those which we committed and not he[s]; He paid all the price of that as well as of this damnation; and the horrible sentence was bought off: and God was so satisfied that His justice had full measure for the damnation to which we stood liable, God I say had full measure for all[t]; for so all men say who speak

r ['if that . . . follow, that' deest A.]
s ['He paid . . . and not he,' deest A.]
t ['for the damnation . . . for all' deest A.]

the voice of the church in the matter of Christ's satisfaction: so that now although there was the goodness of God in taking the evil from us; yet how to reconcile this process with His justice, viz., that for the sin of another God should sentence all the world to the portion of devils to eternal ages, and that He would not be reconciled to us, or take off this horrible sentence, without a full price to be paid to His justice by the Saviour of the world, this, this is it that I require may be reconciled to that notion which we have of the divine justice.

4. If no man shall ever be damned for the sin of Adam alone, then I demand whether are they born quit from the guilt? or when are they quitted? If they be born free, I agree to it: but then they were never charged with it, so far as to make them liable to damnation. If they be not born free, when are they quitted? by baptism, before, or after? He that says before or after, must speak wholly by chance and without pretence of scripture or tradition, or any sufficient warrant; and he cannot guess when it is. If in baptism he is quitted, then he that dies before baptism, is still under the sentence, and what shall become of him? If it be answered that God will pardon him some way or other, at some time or other, I reply, Yea, but who said so? for if the scriptures have said that we are all in Adam guilty of sin and damnation, and the scriptures have told us no ways of being quit of it but by baptism and faith in Christ; is it not plainly consequent that till we believe in Christ, or at least till in the faith of others we are baptized into Christ, we are reckoned still in Adam, not in Christ, that is, still we are under damnation, and not heirs of heaven but of wrath only?

5. How can any one bring himself into a belief that none can be damned for original sin, if he be of this persuasion that it makes us liable to damnation? For if you say as I say, that it is against God's justice to damn us for the fault of another, then it is also against His justice to sentence us to that suffering which to inflict is injustice. If you say it is believed upon this account, because Christ was promised to all mankind, I reply that yet all mankind shall not be saved; and there are conditions required on our part, and no man can be saved but by Christ, and he must come to Him or be brought to Him, or it is not told us how any one can have a part in Him, and therefore that will not give us the confidence is looked for. If it be at last said that we hope in God's goodness that He will take care of innocents, and that they shall not perish, I answer that if they be innocents, we need not appeal to His goodness, for His justice will secure them. If they be guilty and not innocents, then it is but vain to run to God's goodness, which in this particular is not revealed; when to condemn them is not against[u] His justice which is revealed: and to hope God will save them whom He hates, who are gone from Him in Adam, who are born heirs of His wrath, slaves of the devil, servants of sin (for these epithets are given to all

[u] ['when it is against' A.]

the children of Adam by the opponents in this question) is to hope for that against which His justice visibly is engaged, and for which hope there is no ground, unless this instance of divine goodness were expressed in revelation; for so even wicked persons on their death-bed are bidden to hope, without rule and without reason or sufficient grounds of trust. But besides; that we hope in God's goodness in this case is not ill; but I ask, is it against God's goodness that any one should perish for original sin? If it be against God's goodness, it is also against His justice; for nothing is just that is not also good. God's goodness may cause His justice to forbear a sentence, but whatsoever is against God's goodness, is against God, and therefore against His justice also; because every attribute in God is God himself. For it is not always true to say 'this is against God's goodness, because the contradictory is agreeable to God's goodness;' neither is it always false to say that two contradictories may both be agreeable to God's goodness: God's goodness is of such a latitude that it may take in both parts of the contradiction: contradictories cannot both be against God's goodness, but they may both be in with it[x]. Whatsoever is against the goodness of God is essentially evil; but a thing may be agreeable to God's goodness, and yet the other part not be against it. For example, it is against the goodness of God to hate fools and idiots: and therefore He can never hate them. But it is agreeable to God's goodness to give heaven to them and the joys beatifical: and if He does not give them so much, yet if He does no evil to them hereafter, it is also agreeable to His goodness: to give them heaven, or not to give them heaven, though they be contradictories, yet are both agreeable to His goodness. But in contraries the case is otherwise; for though not to give them heaven is consistent with the divine goodness, yet to send them to hell is not.—The reason of the difference is this: because to do contrary things must come from contrary principles, and whatsoever is contrary to the divine goodness is essentially evil: but to do or not to do, supposes but one positive principle; and the other negative, not having a contrary cause, may be wholly innocent as proceeding from a negative. But to speak more plain, is it against God's goodness that infants should be damned for original sin? Then it could never have been done, it was essentially evil, and therefore could never have been decreed or sentenced. But if it be not against God's goodness that they should perish in hell, then it may consist with God's goodness; and then to hope that God's goodness will rescue them from His justice, when the thing may agree with both, is to hope without ground; God may be good, though they perish for Adam's sin; and if so, and that He can be just too, upon the account of what attribute shall these innocents be rescued, and we hope for mercy for them?

[x] ['For it is not always . . . in with it.' In A thus, 'For it is one thing to say, This is against God's goodness, and the contrary is agreeable to God's goodness.']

6. If Adam's posterity be only liable to damnation, but shall never be damned for Adam's sin, then all the children of heathens dying in their infancy, shall escape as well as baptized christian children: which if any of my disagreeing brethren shall affirm, he will indeed seem to magnify God's goodness, but he must fall out with some great doctors of the church whom he would pretend to follow. And besides, he will be hard put to it to tell what advantage christian children have over heathens, supposing them all to die young; for being bred up in the christian religion is accidental, and may happen to the children of unbelievers, or may not happen to the children of believers; and if baptism adds nothing to their present state, there is no reason infants should be baptized; but if it does add to their present capacity (as most certainly it does very much) then that heathen infants should be in a condition of being rescued from the wrath of God, as well as christian infants, is a strange unlooked-for affirmative, and can no way be justified or made probable, but by affirming it to be against the justice of God to condemn any for Adam's sin. Indeed if it be unjust (as I have proved it is) then it will follow that none shall suffer damnation by it. But if the hopes of the salvation of heathen infants be to be derived only from God's goodness, though God's goodness cannot fail, yet our argument may fail; for it will not follow, because God is good, therefore heathen infants shall be saved; for it might as well follow, God is good, therefore heathens shall be no heathens, but all turn Christians; these things do not follow affirmatively; but negatively they do. For if it were against God's goodness that they should be reckoned in Adam unto eternal death, then it is also against His justice, and against God all the way; and then they who affirm they were so reckoned, must shew some revelation to assure us that although it be just in God to damn all heathens, yet that He is so good that He will not. For so long as there is no revelation of any such goodness, there is this principle to contest against it, I mean, their affirming that they are in Adam justly liable to damnation; and therefore without disparagement to the infinite goodness of God, heathen infants may perish: for it is never against God's goodness to throw a sinner into hell[y].

7. But to come yet closer to the question. Some good men and wise suppose that the sublapsarian presbyterians can be confuted in their pretended grounds of absolute reprobation, although we grant that Adam's sin is damnable to his posterity, provided we say, that though it was damnable, yet it shall never damn us. Now though I wish it could be done, that they and I might not differ so much as in a circumstance, yet first it is certain that the men they speak of

[y] ['and then..hell.' In A thus, 'And then either we should find some revelation of God's honour in scripture, or at least there would be no principle such as is this pretence of being guilty of damnation in Adam, to contest against it.']

can never be confuted upon the stock of God's justice, because as the one says it is just that God should actually damn all for the sin of Adam: so the other says it is just that God should actually sentence all to damnation; and so there the case is equal. Secondly, they cannot be confuted upon the stock of God's goodness; because the emanations of that are[s] wholly arbitrary, and though there are negative measures of it, as there is of God's infinity, and we know God's goodness to be inconsistent with some things, yet there are no positive measures of this goodness; and no man can tell how much it will do for us; and therefore without a revelation, things may be sometimes hoped, which yet may not be presumed; and therefore here also they are not to be confuted: and as for the particular scriptures, unless we have the advantage of essential reason taken from the divine attributes, they will oppose scripture to scripture, and have as much advantage to expound the opposite places as the Jews have in their questions of the Messias; and therefore *si meos ipse corymbos necterem*, if I might make mine own arguments in their society, and with their leave, I would upon that very account suspect the usual discourses of the effects and economy of original sin.

8. For where will they reckon the beginning of predestination? will they reckon it in Adam after the fall, or in Christ immediately promised? If in Adam, then they return to the presbyterian way, and run upon all the rocks before reckoned, enough to break all the world in pieces. If in Christ they reckon it (and so they do) then thus I argue;—If we are all reckoned in Christ before we were born, then how can we be reckoned in Adam when we are born? I speak as to the matter of predestination to salvation or damnation: for as for the intermedial temporal evils and dangers spiritual, and sad infirmities, they are our nature, and might with justice have been all the portion God had given to Adam, and therefore may be so to us, and consequently not at all to be reckoned in this enquiry. But certainly as to the main.

9. If God looks upon us all in Christ, then by Him we are rescued from Adam, so much is done for us before we were born. For if this is not to be reckoned till after we were born, then Adam's sin prevailed really in some periods, and to some effects for which God in Christ had provided no remedy: for it gave no remedy to children till after they were born, but irremediably they were born children of wrath; but if a remedy were given to children before they were born, then they are born in Christ, not in Adam; but if this remedy was not given to children before they were born, then it follows that we were not at first looked upon in Christ, but in Adam, and consequently he was *caput prædestinationis*, 'the head of predestination,' or else there were two, the one before we were born, the other after. So that

> —— hæret lethalis arundo[t],

[s] ['being' A.]

[t] [Virg. Æn. iv. 73.]

the arrow sticks fast, and it cannot be pulled out unless by other instruments than are commonly in fashion. However it be, yet methinks this a very good probable argument.

As Adam sinned before any child was born, so was Christ promised before; and that our Redeemer shall not have more force upon children that they should be born beloved and quitted from wrath, than Adam our progenitor shall have to cause that we be born hated and in a damnable condition, wants so many degrees of probability, that it seems to dishonour the mercy of God and the reputation of His goodness and the power of His redemption.

For this serves as an antidote and antinomy of their great objection pretended by these learned persons: for whereas they say they the rather affirm this because it is an honour to the redemption which our Saviour wrought for us, that it rescued us from the sentence of damnation which we had incurred: to this I say, that the honour of our blessed Saviour does no way depend upon our imaginations and weak propositions; and neither can the reputation and honour of the divine goodness borrow aids and artificial supports from the dishonour of His justice; and it is no reputation to a physician to say he hath cured us of an evil which we never had; and shall we accuse the Father of mercies to have wounded us for no other reason but that the Son may have the honour to have cured us? I understand not that. He that makes a necessity that he may find a remedy, is like the Roman[c] whom Cató found fault withal; he would commit a fault that he might beg a pardon; he had rather write bad Greek that he might make an apology, than write good Latin and need none. But however, Christ hath done enough for us, even all that we did need; and since it is all the reason in the world we should pay Him all honour, we may remember that it is a greater favour to us that by the benefit of our blessed Saviour, who was the lamb slain from the beginning of the world, we were reckoned in Christ, and born in the accounts of the divine favour; I say, it is a greater favour that we were born under the redemption of Christ, than under the sentence and damnation of Adam, and to prevent an evil is a greater favour than to cure it; so that if to do honour to God's goodness and to the graces of our Redeemer, we will suppose a need, we may do Him more honour to suppose that the promised seed of the woman did do us as early a good as the sin of Adam could do us mischief; and therefore that in Christ we are born quitted from any such supposed sentence, and not that we bring it upon our shoulders into the world with us. But this thing relies only upon their suppositions.

For if we will speak of what is really true and plainly revealed; from all the sins of all mankind Christ came to redeem us; He came to give us a supernatural birth; to tell us all His Father's will; to reveal to us those glorious promises upon the expectation of which we might be enabled to do every thing that is required. He came

[c] [See vol. vi. p. 171.]

to bring us grace, and life, and spirit; to strengthen us against all the powers of hell and earth; to sanctify our afflictions, which from Adam by natural generation descended on us; to take out the sting of death, to make it an entrance to immortal life; to assure us of resurrection; to intercede for us, and to be an advocate for us, when we by infirmity commit sin; to pardon us when we repent. Nothing of which could be derived to us from Adam by our natural generation. Mankind now taken in his whole constitution and design, is like the birds of paradise which travellers tell us of in the Molucca islands; born without legs, but by a celestial power they have a recompence made to them for that defect; and they always hover in the air and feed on the dew of heaven: so are we birds of paradise, but cast out from thence, and born without legs, without strength to walk in the laws of God or to go to heaven; but by a power from above we are adopted in our new birth to a celestial conversation, we feed on the dew of heaven. "The just does live by faith," and breathes in this new life by the spirit of God. For from the first Adam nothing descended to us but an infirm body, and a naked soul, evil example and a body of death, ignorance and passion, hard labour and a cursed field, a captive soul and an imprisoned body; that is, a soul naturally apt to comply with the appetites of the body and its desires, whether reasonable or excessive: and though these things were not direct sins to us in their natural abode and first principle, yet they are proper inherent miseries and principles of sin to us in their emanation. But from this state Christ came to redeem us all by His grace and by His spirit, by His life and by His death, by His doctrine and by His sacraments, by His promises and by His revelations, by His resurrection and by His ascension, by His interceding for us and judging of us; and if this be not a conjugation of glorious things great enough to amaze us, and to merit from us all our services, and all our love, and all the glorifications of God, I am sure nothing can be added to it by any supposed need of which we have no revelation. There is as much done for us as we could need, and more than we could ask,

> Nempe quod[d] optanti Divum promittere nemo
> Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro!
>
> Vivite felices animæ quibus est fortuna peracta
> Jam sua[e].—

The meaning of which words I render, or at least recompense with the verse of a psalm[f],

> To Thee, O Lord, I'le[g] pay my vow,
> My knees in thanks to Thee shall bow,
> For Thou my life keep'st from the grave,
> And dost my feet from falling save,
> That with the living in Thy sight
> I may enjoy eternal light.

[d] ['Turne, quod,' &c.—Virg. Æn.ix.6.]
[e] [Virg. Æn. iii. 493.]
[f] Ps. lvi. by Bp. King.
[g] [Sic ed.]

For thus what Ahasuerus[h] said to Esther, *Veteres literas muta*[h], 'change the old letters,' is done by the birth of our blessed Saviour. Eva is changed into Ave, and although it be true what Bensirach[i] said, "From the woman is the beginning of sin, and by her we all die," yet it is now changed by the birth of our Redeemer, from a woman is the beginning of our restitution, and in Him we all live. Thus are all the four quarters of the world renewed by the second Adam; ἀνατολὴ, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία, 'the east, west, north, and south,' are represented in the Second Adam as well as the first, and rather, and to better purposes, because 'if sin did abound, grace shall superabound.'

I have now, madam, given to you[k] such accounts as I hope, being added to my other papers, may satisfy not only your ladyship, but those to whom this account may be communicated. I shall only now beg your patience, since you have[l] been troubled with questions and enquiries, and objections, and little murmurs, to hear my answers to such of them as have been brought to me.

OBJECT. 1) I am complained of that 'I would trouble the world with a new thing, which let it be never so true, yet unless it were very useful, will hardly make recompence for the trouble I put the world to in this enquiry.'

I answer, that for the newness of it I have already given accounts, that the opinions which I impugn, as they are no direct parts of the article of original sin, so they are newer than the truth which I have asserted. But let what I say seem as new as the reformation did when Luther first preached against indulgences, the pretence of novelty did not, and we say ought not to have affrighted him; and therefore I ought also to look to what I say that it be true, and the truth will prove its age. But to speak freely, madam, though I have a great reverence for antiquity, yet it is the prime antiquity of the church, the ages of martyrs and holiness that I mean, and I am sure that in them my opinion hath much more warrant than the contrary. But for the descending ages, I give that veneration to the great names of them that went before us which themselves gave to their predecessors; I honour their memory, I read their books, I imitate their piety, I examine their arguments; for therefore they did write them, and where the reasons of the moderns and theirs seem equal, I turn the balance on the elder side, and follow them; but where a scruple or a grain of reason is evidently in the other balance, I must follow that. *Nempe qui ante nos ista moverunt, non domini nostri, sed duces sunt*, Seneca,

[h] [Esth. viii. 5.]
[i] [Ecclus. xxv. 33.]
[k] ['to your honour' A.]
[l] ['your honour hath' A.]

ep. xxxiii.[m], 'they that taught of this article before me are good guides, but no lords and masters;' for I must acknowledge none upon earth; for so am I commanded by my Master that is in heaven; and I remember what we were taught in Palingenius[n], when we were boys;

> Quicquid Aristoteles vel quivis dicat, eorum
> Dicta nihil moror a vero cum forte recedunt:
> Sæpe graves magnosque viros famaque verendos
> Errare et labi contingit, plurima secum
> Ingenia in tenebras consueti nominis alti
> Auctores, ubi connivent, deducere easdem.
>
> If Aristotle be deceived, and say that's true
> What nor himself nor others ever knew,
> I leave his text, and let his scholars talk
> Till they be hoarse or weary in their walk;
> When wise men err, though their fame ring like bells,
> I scape a danger when I leave their spells.

For although they that are dead some ages before we were born, have a reverence due to them, yet more is due to truth that shall never die; and God is not wanting to our industry any more than to theirs; but blesses every age with the understanding of His truths. *Ætatibus omnibus, omnibus hominibus communis sapientia est, nec illam ceu peculium licet antiquitati gratulari,* 'all ages, and all men have their advantages in their enquiries after truth; neither is wisdom appropriate to our fathers.' And because even wise men may be deceived, and therefore that when I find it, or suppose it so (for that's all one as to me and my duty) I must go after truth wherever it is; certainly it will be less expected from me to follow the popular noises and the voices of the people, who are not to teach us, but to be taught by us, and I believe myself to have reason to complain when men are angry at a doctrine because it is not commonly taught; that is, when they are impatient to be taught a truth, because most men do already believe a lie. *Recti apud nos locum tenet error ubi publicus factus est,* so Seneca, *epist.* cxxiii.[o], complained in his time. It is a strange title to truth which error can pretend, for its being public; and we refuse to follow an unusual truth, *quasi honestius sit quia frequentius;* and indeed it were well to do so in those propositions which[p] have no truth in them but what they borrow from men's opinions, and are for nothing tolerable, but that they are usual.

OBJECT. 2) 'But what necessity is there in my publication of this doctrine, supposing it were true; for all truths are not to be spoken at all times; and if a truth gives offence it is better to let men alone than to disturb the peace.'

I answer with the labouring man's proverb, a pennyworth of ease

[m] [tom. ii. p. 126.]
[n] [In poemate cui nomen 'Zodiacus vitæ,' lib. viii. sive 'scorpio,' p. 187.— 8vo. Basil. 1563.]
[o] [tom. ii. p. 614.]
[p] ['who' A.]

is worth a penny at any time; and a little truth is worth a little peace, every day of the week; and *cæteris paribus*, truth is to be preferred before peace; not every trifling truth to a considerable peace; but if the truth be material it makes recompence, though it brings a great noise along with it; and if the breach of peace be nothing but that men talk in private, or declaim a little in public; truly[q], madam, it is a very pitiful little proposition the discovery of which in truth will not make recompence for the prattling of disagreeing persons. Truth and peace make an excellent yoke, but the truth of God is always to be preferred before the peace of men, and therefore our blessed Saviour[r] came 'not to send peace, but a sword;' that is, He knew His doctrine would cause great divisions of heart, but yet He came to persuade us to peace and unity. Indeed if the truth be clear, and yet of no great effect in the lives of men, in government, or in the honour of God, then it ought not to break the peace; that is, it may not run out of its retirement to disquiet them to whom their rest is better than that knowledge. But if it be brought out already, it must not be deserted positively, though peace goes away in its stead. So that peace is rather to be deserted than any truth should be renounced or denied, but peace is rather to be procured or continued than some truth offered. This is my sense, madam, when the case is otherwise than I suppose it to be at present. 'For as for the present case, there must be two when there is a falling out or a peace broken; and therefore I will secure it now: for let any man dissent from me in this article, I will not be troubled at him; he may do it with liberty, and with my charity. If any man is of my opinion, I confess I love him the better, but if he refuses it, I will not love him less after than I did before; but he that dissents, and reviles me, must expect from me no other kindness but that I forgive him, and pray for him, and offer to reclaim him, and that I resolve nothing shall ever make me either hate him or reproach him. And that still in the greatest of his difference, I refuse not to give him the communion of a brother, I believe I shall be chidden by some or other for my easiness and want of fierceness, which they call zeal; but it is a fault of my nature, a part of my original sin:

> Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato,
> Mi natura aliquid semper amare dedit[s].
>
> Some weakness to each man by birth descends,
> To me too great a kindness nature lends.

2. But if the peace can be broken no more than thus, I suppose the truth which I publish will do more than make recompence for the noise that in clubs and conventicles is made over and above. So long as I am thus resolved there may be injury done to me, but there can be no duel or loss of peace abroad. For a single anger, or a displeasure on one side, is not a breach of peace on both; and a war

[q] ['truly then' A.] [r] [Matt. x. 34.] [s] Propert. [lib. ii. el. 22. 17.]

cannot be made by fewer than a bargain can, in which always there must be two at least.

OBJECT. 3) But as to the thing; if it be enquired, Τὶς λόγος εἰς οἰκοδομίαν χρείας, 'what profit, what use, what edification is there, what good to souls, what honour to God by this new explication of the article?'

I answer, that the usual doctrines of original sin are made the great foundation of the horrible proposition concerning absolute reprobation; the consequences of it reproach God with injustice, they 'charge God foolishly[t],' and deny His goodness and His wisdom in many instances: and whatsoever can upon the account of the divine attributes be objected against the fierce way of absolute decrees; all that can be brought for the reproof of their usual propositions concerning original sin. For the consequences are plain; and by them the necessity of my doctrine, and its usefulness may be understood. For

1. If God decrees us to be born sinners, then He makes us to be sinners, and then where is His goodness?

2. If God does damn any for that, He damns us for what we could not help, and for what Himself did, and then where is His justice?

3. If God sentence us to that damnation which He cannot in justice inflict, where is His wisdom?

4. If God for the sin of Adam brings upon us a necessity of sinning, where is our liberty? where is our nature? what is become of all laws, and of all virtue and vice? how can men be distinguished from beasts, or the virtuous from the vicious?

5. If by the fall of Adam we are so wholly ruined in our faculties that we cannot do any good, but must do evil, how shall any man take care of his ways? or how can it be supposed he should strive against all vice, when he can excuse so much upon his nature? or indeed how shall he strive at all? For if all actual sins are derived from the original, and which is[u] unavoidable, and yet an unresistible cause, then no man can take care to avoid any actual sin, whose cause is natural, and not to be declined; and then where is His providence and government?

6. If God does cast infants into hell for the sin of others, and yet did not condemn devils but for their own sin, where is His love to mankind?

7. If God chooseth the death of so many millions of persons who are no sinners upon their own stock, and yet swears that He does not love the death of a sinner, viz., sinning with his own choice; how can that be credible, He should love to kill innocents, and yet should love to spare the criminal? where then is His mercy, and where is His truth?

[t] [vid. Job i. 22.]

[u] ['and then is' A.]

8. If God hath given us a nature by derivation which is wholly corrupted, then how can it be that all which God made is good? For though Adam corrupted himself, yet in propriety of speaking we did not, but this was the decree of God; and then where is the excellency of His providence and power, where is the glory of the creation?

Because therefore that God is all goodness, and justice, and wisdom, and love, and that He governs all things and all men wisely and holily, and according to the capacities of their natures and persons; that He gives us a wise law, and binds that law on us by promises and threatenings; I had reason to assert these glories of the divine majesty, and remove the hindrances of a good life; since every thing can hinder us from living well, but scarcely can all the arguments of God and man, and all the powers of heaven and hell, persuade us to strictness and severity.

Qui serere ingenuum volet agrum,
Liberet[v] arva prius fruticibus,
Falce rubos filicemque resecet[v],
Ut nova fruge gravis Ceres eat.

He that will sow his field with hopeful seed,
Must every bramble, every thistle weed;
And when each hindrance to the grain is gone,
A fruitful crop shall rise of corn alone.

When therefore there were so many ways made to the devil, I was willing, amongst many others, to stop this also; and I dare say few questions in christendom can say half so much in justification of their own usefulness and necessity.

I know, madam, that they who are of the other side do and will disavow most of these consequences; and so do all the world all the evils which their adversaries say do follow from their opinions; but yet all the world of men that perceive such evils to follow from a proposition, think themselves bound to stop the progression of such opinions from whence they believe such evils may arise. If the church of Rome did believe that all those horrid things were chargeable upon transubstantiation, and upon worshipping of images, which we charge upon the doctrines, I do not doubt but they would as much disown the propositions as now they do the consequents; and yet I do as little doubt but that we do well to disown the first, because we espy the latter: and though the man be not, yet the doctrines are highly chargeable with the evils that follow: it may be the men espy them not, yet from the doctrines they do certainly follow; and there are not in the world many men who own that which is[w] evil in the pretence, but many do such as are dangerous in the effect; and this doctrine which I have reproved I take to be one of them.

[v] [al. 'liberat,' 'resecat.'] Boeth., lib. iii. metr. 1. [p. 1008.] [w] ['that is' A.]

OBJECT. 4.) 'But if original sin be not a sin properly, why are children baptized? and what benefit comes to them by baptism?'

1.) I answer, as much as they need and are capable of: and it may as well be asked, why were all the sons of Abraham circumcised, when in that covenant there was no remission of sins at all? For little things and legal impurities, and irregularities there were; but there being no sacrifice there but of beasts, whose blood could not take away sin, it is certain and plainly taught us in scripture that no rite of Moses was expiatory of sins. But 2) this objection can press nothing at all; for why was Christ baptized, who knew no sin? But yet 'so it behoved Him to fulfil all righteousness.' 3) Baptism is called regeneration, or the new birth; and therefore since in Adam children are born only to a natural life and a natural death, and by this they can never arrive at heaven, therefore infants are baptized, because until they be born anew, they can never have title to the promises of Jesus Christ, or be heirs of heaven, and coheirs of Jesus. 4) By baptism children are made partakers of the holy Ghost and of the grace of God; which I desire to be observed in opposition to the Pelagian heresy, who did suppose nature to be so perfect, that the grace of God was not necessary[x], and that by nature alone they could go to heaven; which because I affirm to be impossible, and that baptism is therefore necessary, because nature is insufficient and baptism is the great channel of grace; there ought to be no envious and ignorant load laid upon my doctrine, as if it complied with the Pelagian, against which it is so essentially and so mainly opposed in the main difference of his doctrine. 5) Children are therefore baptized, because if they live they will sin, and though their sins are not parponed beforehand, yet in baptism they are admitted to that state of favour, that they are within the covenant of repentance and pardon: and this is expressly the doctrine of S. Austin, *lib.* i. *de nupt. et concup., cap.* 26. *et cap.* 33. *et tract.* cxxiv. *in Joan.* But of this I have already given larger accounts in my Discourse of Baptism, part ii. p. 194, in the great Exemplar[y]. 6) Children are baptized for the pardon even of original sin; this may be affirmed 'truly,' but yet 'improperly:' for so far as it is imputed, so far also it is remissible; for the evil that is done by Adam, is also taken away in Christ; and it is imputed to us to very evil purposes, as I have already explicated: but as it was among the Jews, who believed then the sin to be taken away, when the evil of punishment is taken off; so is original sin taken away in baptism; for though the material part of the evil is not taken away, yet the curse in all the sons of God is turned into a blessing, and is made an occasion of reward, or an entrance to it. Now in all this I affirm all that is true, and all that is probable: for

[x] Vide August. de gestis Palestin. [sc. Pelagii in synodo Palestin., cap. 6.—tom. x. col. 200 sqq.] et lib. de natur. et grat. cap. 21. [col. 136.]—Opus imperf. in Julian., lib. i. cap. 54. [col. 898.] et lib. de peccat. orig. cap. 21. [col. 262 sq.]

[y] [vol. ii. p. 238, note o; which place see for the preceding references.]

in the same sense as original stain is a sin, so does baptism bring the pardon. It is a sin metonymically, that is, because it is the effect of one sin, and the cause of many; and just so in baptism it is taken away, that it is now the matter of a grace, and the opportunity of glory; and upon these accounts the church baptizes all her children.

OBJECT. 5) 'But to deny original sin to be a sin properly and inherently, is expressly against the words of S. Paul in the fifth chapter to the Romans.'

If it be, I have done; but that it is not, I have these things to say. 1) If the words be capable of any interpretation, and can be permitted to signify otherwise than is vulgarly pretended, I suppose myself to have given reasons sufficient why they ought to be: for an[z] interpretation that does violence to right reason, to religion, to holiness of life, and the divine attributes of God, is therefore to be rejected, and another chosen; for in all scriptures all good and all wise men do it. 2) The words in question, 'sin,' and 'sinner,' and 'condemnation,' are frequently used in scripture[a] in the lesser sense, and 'sin' is taken for the punishment of sin; and 'sin' is taken for him who bore the evil of the sin, and 'sin' is taken for legal impurity; and for Him who could not be guilty, even for Christ himself; as I have proved already[b]: and in the like manner 'sinners' is used, by the rule of conjugates and denominatives; but it is so also in the case of Bathsheba the mother of Solomon[c]. 3) For the word 'condemnation,' it is by the apostle himself limited to signify temporal death; for when the apostle[d] says, 'Death passed upon all men, inasmuch as all men have sinned;' he must mean temporal death; for eternal death did not pass upon all men; or if he means eternal death, he must not mean that it came for Adam's sin: but 'inasmuch as all men have sinned,' that is, upon all those upon whom eternal death did come, it came because they also have sinned. For if it had come for Adam's sin, then it had absolutely descended upon all men; because from Adam all men descended, and therefore all men upon that account were equally guilty: as we see all men die naturally[e]. 4) The apostle here speaks of sin imputed; therefore not of sin inherent: and if imputed only to such purposes as he here speaks of, viz., to temporal death, then it is neither a sin properly, nor yet imputable to eternal death so far as is or can be implied by the apostle's words. And in this I am not a little confirmed by the discourse of S. Irenæus to this purpose, lib. iii. cap. 35[f], *Propter hoc et initio transgressionis Adæ, &c.*, 'therefore in the beginning of Adam's transgression (as the scripture tells) God did not curse Adam but the earth in his labours, as one of the ancients

[z] ['any' A.]
[a] [1 Kings i. 21; Zech. xiv. 19; 2 Cor. v. 21; Isa. liii. 10; Heb. ix. 28.]
[b] [p. 248 above.]
[c] [1 Kings i. 21.]
[d] [Rom. v. 12.]
[e] ['For if . . naturally' deest A.]
[f] [al. xxiii. § 3. p. 221.]

saith; God removed the curse upon the earth that it might not abide on man. But the condemnation of his sin he received, weariness and labour, and to eat in the sweat of his brows, and to return to dust again: and likewise the woman had for her punishment, tediousness, labours, groans, sorrows of child-birth, and to serve her husband; that they might not wholly perish in the curse, nor yet despise God while they remained without punishment. But all the curse run upon the serpent who seduced them; . . And this our Lord in the gospel saith to them on His left hand, Go ye cursed into everlasting fire which My Father prepared for the devil and his angels: signifying that not to man in the prime intention was eternal fire prepared, but to him who was the seducer; . . but this they also shall justly feel who like them without repentance and departing from them persevere in the works of malice[g].' 5) The apostle says[h], 'By the disobedience of one many were made sinners:' by which it appears[i] that we in this have no sin of our own, neither is it at all our own formally and inherently; for though efficiently it was his, and effectively ours as to certain purposes of imputation; yet it could not be a sin to us formally; because it was *unius inobedientia*, 'the disobedience of one man,' therefore in no sense could it be properly ours: for then it were not *unius*, but *inobedientia singulorum*, 'the disobedience of all men[j].' 6) Whensoever another man's sin is imputed to his relative, therefore because it is another's and imputed, it can go no further but to effect certain evils, to afflict the relative, and[k] to punish the cause; not formally to denominate the descendent or relative to be a sinner; for it is as much a contradiction to say that I am formally by him a sinner, as that I did really do his action. Now 'to impute' in scripture, signifies to reckon as if he had done it; 'not to impute' is to treat him so as if he had not done it. So far then as the imputation is, so far we are reckoned as sinners; but Adam's sin being by the apostle signified to be imputed but to the condemnation or sentence to a temporal death; so far we are sinners in him; that is, so as that for his sake death was brought upon us; and indeed the word *imputare*, 'to impute,' does never signify more, nor always so much. *Imputare vero frequenter ad significationem exprobrantis accedit, sed citra reprehensionem*, says Laurentius Valla[l]; it is like an exprobration, but short of a reproof; so Quintilian[m], *Imputas*[n] *nobis propitios ventos, et secundum mare, ac civitatis opulentæ liberalitatem*, 'thou dost impute,' that is, upbraid to us, 'our prosperous voyages, and a calm sea, and the liberality of a rich city.' *Imputare* signifies oftentimes the same that *computare*, 'to reckon or account:' *Nam hæc in quarta*[o] *non imputantur*, say the

[g] ['And in this . . . malice.' deest A.]
[h] [Rom. v. 19.]
[i] ['so that it appears' A.]
[j] ['for then . . . all men.' deest A.]
[k] ['but' A.]
[l] [Elegant. lat. ling., vi. 44.]
[m] [Declam. xii. c. 25. tom. ii. p. 266.]
[n] [lege 'imputa.']
[o] [scil. 'in quarta parte hæreditatis.' —Marcus, ubi infra.]

lawyers, 'they are not imputed,' that is, they are not computed or reckoned. Thus Adam's sin is imputed to us, that is, it is put into our reckoning, and when we are sick and die, we pay our symbols, the portion of evil that is laid upon us; and what Marcus[n] said, I may say in this case with a little variety, *Legata in hæreditate . . . sive legatum datum sit hæredi, sive percipere, sive. deducere vel retinere passus est, ei imputantur,* 'the legacy whether it be given or left to the heir, whether he may take it or keep it, is still imputed to him;' that is, it is within his reckoning.—But no reason, no scripture, no religion does enforce, and no divine attribute does permit, that we should say that God did so impute Adam's sin to his posterity, that He did really esteem them to be guilty of Adam's sin; equally culpable, equally hateful. For if in this sense it be true that in him we sinned; then we sinned as he did, that is, with the same malice, in the same action; and then we are as much guilty as he; but if we have sinned less, then we did not sin in him; for to sin in him, could not by him be lessened to us; for what we did in him we did by him, and therefore as much as he did; but if God imputed this sin less to us than to him, then this imputation supposes it only to be a collateral and indirect account to such purposes as He pleased: of which purposes we judge by the analogy of faith, by the words of scripture, by the proportion and notices of the divine attributes. 7) There is nothing in the design or purpose of the apostle that can or ought to infer any other thing; for his purpose is to signify that by man's sin death entered into the world; which the son of Sirach, Ecclus. xxv. 24, expresses thus, *A muliere factum est initium peccati, et inde est quod morimur,* 'from the woman is the beginning of sin, and from her it is that we all die:' and again, Wisd. ii. 24, "By the envy of the devil death came into the world;" this evil being universal, Christ came to the world, and became our head, to other purposes, even to redeem us from death; which He hath begun and will finish: and to become to us our parent in a new birth, the author of a spiritual life. And this benefit is of far more efficacy by Christ, than the evil could be by Adam; and as by Adam we are made sinners, so by Christ we are made righteous, not just so, but so and more; and therefore as our being made sinners signifies that by him we die, so being by Christ made righteous must at least signify that by Him we live: and this is so evident to them who read S. Paul's words, Rom. v., from verse 12 to verse 19 inclusively, that I wonder any man should make a farther question concerning them; especially since Erasmus and Grotius, who are to be reckoned amongst the greatest and the best expositors of scripture[o] that any age since the apostles and their immediate successors hath brought forth, have so understood and rendered it.

But madam, that your honour may read the words and their sense

[n] [Citante Laurent. Valla, ubi supra.]

[o] [Compare p. 330, note y, above.]

together, and see that without violence they signify what I have said, and no more, I have here subjoined a paraphrase of them, in which if I use any violence I can very easily be reproved.

Rom. v. 12. "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned," i.e.

As by the disobedience of Adam sin had its beginning; and by sin death, that is, the sentence and preparations, the solennities and addresses of death, sickness, calamity, diminution of strengths, old age, misfortunes, and all the affections of mortality, for the destroying of our temporal life; and so this mortality and condition or state of death passed actually upon all mankind; for Adam being thrown out of paradise, and forced to live with his children where they had no trees of life as he had in paradise, was remanded to his mortal, natural state; and therefore death passed upon them, mortally seized on all, "for that all have sinned;" that is, the sin was reckoned to all, not to make them guilty like Adam; but Adam's sin passed upon all, imprinting this real calamity on us all: but yet death descended also upon Adam's posterity for their own sins; for since all did sin, all should die.—But some Greek copies leave out the second καὶ, which indeed seems superfluous and of no signification; but then the sense is clearer, and the following words are the second part of a similitude, "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin: so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." But ἐφ' ᾧ signifies[p] neutrally: and the meaning is, 'As Adam died in his own sin, so death passed upon all men for their own sin: in the sin which they sinned, in that sin they died: as it did at first to Adam, by whom sin first entered, and by sin death; so death passed upon all men upon whom sin passed: that is, in the same method, they who did sin should die.' But then he does not seem to say that all did sin: for he presently subjoins that "death reigned (even upon those who did not sin) after the similitude of Adam's transgression;" but this was upon another account, as appears in the following words. But others expound ἐφ' ᾧ to signify masculinely, and to relate to Adam, viz., that in him we all sinned. Now although this is less consonant to the mind of the apostle, and is harsh and improper both in the language and in the sense, yet if it were so, it could mean but this, that the sin of Adam was of universal obligation; and in him we are reckoned as sinners, obnoxious to his sentence; for by his sin human nature was reduced to its own mortality[q].

13. "For until the law, sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed where there is no law."

Cf. p. 245 supra.]

[q] ['But some . . . mortality. deest A.]

And marvel not that death did presently descend on all mankind, even before a law was given them with an appendent penalty, viz., with the express intermination of death; for they did do actions unnatural and vile enough, but yet these things which afterwards upon the publication of the law were imputed to them upon their personal account, even unto death, were not yet so imputed. For nature alone gives rules, but does not directly bind to penalties. But death came upon them before the law for Adam's sin: for with him God being angry, was pleased to curse him also in his posterity, and leave them also in their mere natural condition, to which yet they disposed themselves, and had deserved but too much by committing evil things; to which things, although before the law, death was not threatened, yet for the anger which God had against mankind, He left that death which He threatened to Adam expressly, by implication to fall upon the posterity.

14. "Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses (even over them that had not sinned) after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him which was to come."

And therefore it was that death reigned from Adam to Moses, from the first law to the second; from the time that a law was given to one man, till the time a law was given to one nation; and although men had not sinned so grievously as Adam did, who had no excuse, many helps, excellent endowments, mighty advantages, trifling temptations, communication with God himself, no disorder in his faculties, free-will, perfect immunity from violence, original righteousness, perfect power over his faculties; yet those men, such as Abel and Seth, Noah and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Joseph and Benjamin, who sinned less, and in the midst of all their disadvantages, were left to fall under the same sentence. But it is to be observed that these words, "even over them that had not sinned," according to some interpretations, are to be put into a parenthesis: and the following words, "after the similitude of Adam's transgression," are an ὑπέρβατον, and to be referred to the first words, thus, 'Death reigned from Adam to Moses . . after the similitude of Adam's transgression:' that is, as it was at first, so it was afterwards, 'Death reigned upon men (who had not sinned) after the similitude of Adam's transgression;' that is, like as it did in the transgression of Adam, so it did afterward; they in their innocence died as Adam did in his sin and prevarication, and this was in the similitude of Adam. As they who obtain salvation obtain it in the similitude of Christ, or by a conformity to Christ: so they who die do die in the likeness of Adam; Christ and Adam being the two representatives of mankind. For this, besides[q] that it was the present economy of the divine providence and government, it did also

[q] ['But it is . . For this, besides' &c. In A thus, 'And this, besides' &c.]

like Janus' look πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω, 'it looked forwards as well as backwards,' and became a type of Christ, or of Him that was to come. For as from Adam evil did descend upon his natural children, upon the account of God's entercourse with Adam; so did good descend upon the spiritual children of the second Adam.

15. "But not as the offence, so also is the free gift: for if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many."

This should have been the latter part of a similitude, but upon further consideration it is found that as in Adam we die, so in Christ we live, and much rather, and much more; therefore I cannot say, "as by one man" (vers. 12) "so by one man" (vers. 15), but much more; for not as the offence, so also is the free gift, for the offence of one did run over unto many, and those many, even as it were all, except Enoch, or some very few more, of whom mention peradventure is not made, are already dead upon that account, but when God comes by Jesus Christ to shew mercy to mankind, He does it in much more abundance; He may be angry 'to the third and fourth generation in them that hate Him,' but He will 'shew mercy unto thousands of them that love Him;' to a thousand generations, and in ten thousand degrees; so that now although a comparison proportionate was at first intended, yet the river here rises far higher than the fountain; and now no argument can be drawn from the similitude of Adam and Christ, but that as much hurt was done to human nature by Adam's sin, so very much more good is done to mankind by the incarnation of the Son of God.

16. "And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offences unto justification."

And the first disparity and excess is in this particular: for the judgment was δι' ἑνὸς ἁμαρτήσαντος, and ἐξ ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, 'by one man, sinning one sin;' that one sin was imputed; but by Christ, not only one sin was forgiven freely, but many offences were remitted unto justification; and secondly, a vast disparity there is in this; that the descendents from Adam were perfectly like him in nature, his own real natural production, and they sinned (though not so bad) yet very much, and therefore there was a great parity of reason that the evil which was threatened to Adam, and not to his children, should yet for the likeness of nature and of sin descend upon them. But in the other part the case is highly differing; for Christ being our patriarch in a supernatural[r] birth, we fall infinitely short of.

[r] ['spiritual' A.']

Him, and are not so like Him as we were to Adam, and yet that we in greater unlikeness should receive a greater favour, this was the excess of the comparison, and this is the free gift of God.

17. "For if by one offence" (so it is in the king's MS.,) or "if by one man's offence death reigned by one, much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ."

And this is the third degree, or measure of excess of efficacy on Christ's part, over it was[s] on the part of Adam. For if the sin of Adam alone could bring death upon the world, who by imitation of his transgression on the stock of their own natural choice did sin against God, though not after the similitude of Adam's transgression: much more shall we who not only receive the aids of the Spirit of grace, but receive them also in an abundant measure, receive also the effect of all this, even to reign in life by one Jesus Christ.

18. "Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life."

Therefore now to return to the other part of the similitude where I began; although I have shewn the great excess and abundance of grace by Christ, over the evil that did descend by Adam; yet the proportion and comparison lies in the main emanation of death from one, and life from the other; "judgment unto condemnation," that is, the sentence of death came upon all men by the offence of one; even so, by a like economy and dispensation, God would not be behind in doing an act of grace, as He did before of judgment: and as that judgment was[t] to condemnation by the offence of one: so the free gift and the grace came upon all to justification of life, by the righteousness of one.

19. "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

The sum of all is this; by the disobedience of one man *κατεστάθησαν οἱ πόλλοι*, 'many were constituted' or put into the order of sinners, they were made such by God's appointment, that is, not that God could be the author of a sin to any, but that He appointed the evil which is the consequent of sin to be upon their heads who descended from the sinner: and so it shall be on the other side; for by the obedience of one, even of Christ, many shall be made or constituted righteous. But still this must be with a supposition of what was said before, that there was a vast difference; for we are made much more righteous by Christ than we were sinners by Adam; and the

[s] [Sic edd.]

[t] ['was not' A.]

life we receive by Christ shall be greater than the death by Adam; and the graces we derive from Christ, shall be more and mightier than the corruption and declination by Adam; but yet as one is the head, so is the other: one is the beginning of sin and death, and the other of life and righteousness.

It were easy to add many particulars out of S. Paul, but I shall choose only to recite the Ethiopic version of the New testament translated into Latin by that excellent linguist and worthy person Dr. Dudley Loftus[u]; the words are these, "And therefore, as by the iniquity of one man sin entered into the world, and by THAT SIN death came upon all men, therefore because THAT SIN IS IMPUTED TO ALL MEN, even those who knew not what that sin was[x]. Until the law came, sin remained in the world, not known what it was, when sin was not reckoned because as yet at that time the commandment of the law was not come. Nevertheless death did after reign from Adam until Moses, as well in those that did sin as in those that did not sin by that sin of Adam, because every one was created in the similitude of Adam, and because Adam was a type of Him that was to come. But not according to the quantity of our iniquity was the grace of God to us. If for the offence of one man many are dead, how much more by the grace of God, and by the gift of Him who did gratify us, by one man, to wit, Jesus Christ, life hath abounded upon many? Neither for the measure of the sin which was of one man, was there the like reckoning or account of the grace of God. For if the condemnation of sin proceeding from one man caused that by that sin all should be punished, how much rather shall His grace purify us from our sins, and give to us eternal life? If the sin of one made death to reign, and by the offence of one man death did rule in us, how much more therefore shall the grace of one man Jesus Christ and His gift justify us and make us to reign in life eternal? And as by the offence of one man many[y] are condemned, likewise also by the righteousness of one man shall every son of man be justified and live. And as by one man many are made sinners," (or as the Syriac version renders it, 'there were many sinners,') "in like manner again . . many are made righteous."—Now this reddition of the apostle's discourse in this article is a very great light to the understanding of the words, which not the nature of the thing but the popular glosses have made difficult. But here it is plain that all the notice of this article which those churches derived from these words of S. Paul was this: that the sin of Adam brought death into the world: that it was his sin alone that did the great mischief: that this sin was made ours not by inherence, but by imputation: that they who suffered the calamity, did not know what the sin was: that there was a difference of men even in relation to this sin; and it passed upon some, more than upon others: that is, some were more miserable than others: that some

[u] [See vol. ii. p. 277, note.—The translation is in Walton's Polyglott.]

[x] [So punctuated in the latin also.]

[y] ['omnes.']

did not sin by that sin of Adam, and some did; that is, some there were whose manners were not corrupted by that example, and some were; that it was not our sin but his; that the sin did not multiply by the variety of subject, but was still but one sin; and that it was his and not ours: all which particulars are as so many verifications of the doctrine I have delivered, and so many illustrations of the main article. But in verification of one great part of it, I mean that concerning infants, and that they are not corrupted properly or made sinners by any inherent impurity, is clearly affirmed by S. Peter, whose words are thus rendered in the same Ethiopic testament, 1 Pet. ii. 2, "And be ye like unto newly-begotten infants, who are begotten every one without sin or malice, and as milk not mingled." And to the same sense those words of our blessed Saviour to the pharisees asking, 'Who sinned, this man or his parents,' John ix. The Syriac scholiast does give this paraphrase, "Some say it is an indirect question; for how is it possible for a man to sin before he was born? and if his parents sinned, how could he bear their sin? But if they say that the punishment of the parents may be upon the children, let them know that this is spoken of them that came out of Egypt, and is not universal." And those words of David, "In sin hath my mother conceived me," R. David Kimchi[y] and Abenesra[z] say that they are expounded of Eve, who did not conceive till she had sinned. But to return to the words of S. Paul[a].

The consequent of this discourse must needs at least be this; that it is impossible that the greatest part of mankind should be left in the eternal bonds of hell by Adam; for then, quite contrary to the discourse of the apostle, there had been abundance of sin, but a scarcity of grace; and the access had been on the part of Adam, not on the part of Christ; against which he so mightily and artificially contends. So that the presbyterian way is perfectly condemned by this discourse of the apostle; and the other more gentle way, which affirms that we were sentenced in Adam to eternal death, though the execution is taken off by Christ, is also no way countenanced by any thing in this chapter; for that the judgment which for Adam's sin came unto the condemnation of the world, was nothing but temporal death, is here affirmed; it being in no sense imaginable that the death which here S. Paul says "passed upon all men," and which "reigned from Adam to Moses," should be eternal death; for the apostle speaks of that death which was threatened to Adam; and of such a death which was afterwards threatened in Moses' law; and such a death which fell even upon the most righteous of Adam's posterity, Abel, and Seth, and Methuselah, that is, upon them who did not sin after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Since then all the judgment which the apostle says came by the sin of Adam, was sufficiently and plainly

[y] [In loc. p. 229.—4to. Paris. 1666.]
[z] [Citante Kimchi, ubi supra.]
[a] ['It were easy. . . words of S. Paul,' deest A.]

enough affirmed[b] to be death temporal, that God should sentence mankind to eternal damnation for Adam's sin, though in goodness through Christ He afterwards took it off, is not at all affirmed by the apostle; and because in proportion to the evil, so was the imputation of the sin, it follows that Adam's sin is ours metonymically and improperly; God was not finally angry with us, nor had so much as any designs of eternal displeasure upon that account; His anger went no further than the evils of this life, and therefore the imputation was not of a proper guilt, for that might justly have passed beyond our grave, if the sin had passed beyond a metonymy, or a juridical, external imputation. And of this God and man have given this further testimony; that as no man ever imposed penance for it, so God himself in nature did never for it afflict or affright the conscience; and yet the conscience never spares any man that is guilty of a known sin;

> Extemplo quodcunque malum[c] committitur, ipsi
> Displicet auctori;—
>
> He that is guilty of a sin
> Shall rue the crime that he lies in.

And why the conscience shall be for ever at so much peace for this sin, that a man shall never give one groan for his share of guilt in Adam's sin, unless some or other scares him with an impertinent proposition; why, I say, the conscience should not naturally be afflicted for it, nor so much as naturally know it, I confess I cannot yet make any reasonable conjecture, save this only, that it is not properly a sin, but only metonymically and improperly. And indeed there are some whole churches which think themselves so little concerned in the matter of original sin, that they have not a word of it in all their theology: I mean the Christians in the East Indies, concerning whom friar Luys de Urreta in his ecclesiastical story of Ethiopia[d] says, that the Christians in Ethiopia, under the empire of Preste Juan, never kept the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary, *No se entremetieron en essas teologias del pecado original, que nunca tuvieron los entendimientos muy metafisicos, antes como gente afable, benigna, llana, de entendimientos conversables, y alagueños, seguian la doctrina de los santos antiguos, y de los sagrados concilios, sin disputas, ni diferencias,* 'nor do they insert into their theology any propositions concerning original sin, nor trouble themselves with such metaphysical contemplations; but being of an affable, ingenuous, gentle[e] comportment and understanding, follow the doctrine of the primitive saints and holy councils without disputation or difference;' so says the story. But we unfortunately trouble ourselves by raising ideas of sin, and afflict ourselves with our own dreams, and will not believe

[b] ['was expressly affirmed' A.]
[c] [Leg. 'Exemplo ... malo.'—Juv. Sat. xiii. 1.]
[d] [lib. ii. p. 429.—4to. Valenc. 1610.]
[e] ['gentile' A.]

but it is a vision. And the height of this imagination hath wrought so high in the church of Rome, that when they would do great honours to the virgin Mary, they were pleased to allow to her an immaculate conception without any original sin, and a holy day appointed for the celebration of the dream. But the Christians in the other world are wiser, and trouble themselves with none of these things, but in simplicity honour the divine attributes, and speak nothing but what is easy to be understood. And indeed religion is then the best, and the world will be sure to have fewer atheists and fewer blasphemers, when the understandings of witty men are not tempted by commanding them to believe impossible articles and unintelligible propositions; when every thing is believed by the same simplicity it is taught; when we do not call that a mystery which we are not able to prove, and tempt our faith to swallow that whole which reason cannot chew.

One thing I am to observe more before I leave considering the words of the apostle. The apostle here having instituted a comparison between Adam and Christ, that as death came by one, so life by the other; "as by one we are made sinners, so by the other we are made righteous;" some from hence suppose they argue strongly to the overthrow of all that I have said, thus, 'Christ and Adam are compared; therefore as by Christ we are made really righteous, so by Adam we are made really sinners; our righteousness by Christ is more than imputed, and therefore so is our unrighteousness by Adam.' To this, besides what I have already spoken in my humble addresses to that wise and charitable prelate the lord bishop of Rochester, delivering the sense and objections of others; in which I have declared my sense of the imputation of Christ's righteousness; and besides that although the apostle offers a[g] similitude, yet he finds himself surprised, and that one part of the similitude does far exceed the other, and therefore nothing can follow hence, but that if we receive evil from Adam, we shall much more receive good from Christ; besides this, I say, I have something very material to reply to the form of the argument, which is a very trick and fallacy. For the apostle argues thus, 'As by Adam we are made sinners, so by Christ we are made righteous;' and that is very true, and much more; but to argue from hence, 'As by Christ we are made really righteous, so by Adam we are made really sinners,' is to invert the purpose of the apostle, who argues from the less to the greater; and to make it conclude affirmatively from the greater to the less in matter of power, is as if one should say, 'If a child can carry a ten pound weight, much more can a man: and therefore whatsoever a man can do, that also a child can do.' For though I can say, 'If this thing be done in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry[h]?' yet I must not say there-

[g] ['offers at a' A.]

[h] [Luke xxiii. 31.]

fore, 'If this be done in the dry tree, what shall be done in the green?' For the dry tree of the cross could do much more than the green tree in the garden of Eden. It is a good argument to say, 'If the devil be so potent to do a shrewd turn, much more powerful is God to do good:' but we cannot conclude from hence, 'But God can by His own mere power and pleasure save a soul, therefore the devil can by his power ruin one.' In a similitude, the first part may be, and often is, less than the second, but never greater; and therefore though the apostle said, 'As by Adam,' &c., 'so by Christ,' &c., yet we cannot say, 'As by Christ, so by Adam.' We may well reason thus, 'As by nature there is a reward to evil doers, so much more is there by God;' but we cannot by way of conversion reason thus, 'As by God there is an eternal reward appointed to good actions, so by nature there is an eternal reward for evil ones.' And who would not deride this way of arguing, 'As by our fathers we receive temporal good things; so much more do we by God: but by God we also receive an immortal soul; therefore from our fathers we receive an immortal body.' For not the consequent of a hypothetical proposition, but the antecedent, is to be the assumption of the syllogism; this therefore is a fallacy, which when those wise persons who are unwarily persuaded by it, shall observe, I doubt not but the whole way of arguing will appear unconcluding.

Object. 6) But it is objected 'that my doctrine is against the ninth article in the church of England;' and that I hear, madam, does most of all stick with you[i].

Of this, madam, I should not now have taken notice, because I have already answered it in some additional papers, which are already published; but that I was so delighted to hear and to know that a person of your interest and piety[k], of your zeal and prudence, is so earnest for the church of England, that I could not pass it by without paying you that regard and just acknowledgment which so much excellency deserves. But then, madam, I am to say, that I could not be delighted in your zeal for our excellent church, if I were not as zealous myself for it too. I have oftentimes subscribed that article, and though if I had cause to dissent from it, I would certainly do it in those just measures which my duty on one side, and the interest of truth on the other, would require to me; yet because I have no reason to disagree, I will not suffer myself to be supposed to be of a differing judgment from my dear mother, which is the best church of the world. Indeed, madam, I do not understand the words of the article as most men do; but I understand them as they can be true, and as they can very fairly signify, and as they agree with the word of God and right reason. But I remember that I have heard from a very good hand, and there are many alive this

[i] ['with your honour' A.]

[k] ['interest and honour' A]

day that may remember to have heard it talked of publicly, that when Mr. Thomas Rogers had in the year MDLXXXIV. published an exposition of the thirty-nine articles, many were not only then but long since very angry at him, that he by his interpretation had limited the charitable latitude which was allowed in the subscription to them[l]. For the articles being framed in the church but newly reformed, in which many complied with some unwillingness, and were not willing to have their consent broken by too great a straining, and even in the Convocation itself so many being of a differing judgment, it was very great prudence and piety to secure the peace of the church by as much charitable latitude as they could contrive; and therefore the articles in those things which were publicly disputed at that time, even amongst the doctors of the Reformation (such were the articles of predestination, and this of original sin) were described with incomparable wisdom and temper; and therefore I have reason to take it ill if any man shall deny me liberty to use the benefit of the church's wisdom. For I am ready a thousand times to subscribe the article, if there can be just cause to do it so often; but as I impose upon no man my sense of the article, but leave my reasons and him to struggle together for the best, so neither will I be bound to any one man, or any company of men, but to my lawful superiors, speaking there where they can and ought to oblige. Madam, I take nothing ill from any man but that he should think I have a less zeal for our church than himself, and I will by God's assistance be all my life confuting him; and though I will not contend with him, yet I will die with him in behalf of the church, if God shall call me; but for other little things and trifling arrests and little murmurs I value none of it.

> Quid verum atque decens curo, et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum;
> Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim,
>
> . . . . .
>
> Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri:
> Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor[m]:———

I could translate these also into bad English verse as I do the others; but that now I am earnest for my liberty, I will not so much as confine myself to the measures of feet. But in plain English I mean by rehearsing these Latin verses, that although I love every man, and value worthy persons in proportion to their labours and abilities, whereby they can and do serve God and God's church, yet I enquire for what is fitting, not what is pleasing; I search after ways to advantage souls, not to comply with humours, and sects, and interests; and I am tied to no man's private opinion any more than he is to mine; if he will bring scripture and right reason from any topic, he may govern me and persuade me; else I am free, as he is: but I hope I am beforehand with him in this question.

[l] [Fuller, Church history, cent. xvi. book ix sect. 6. n. 22.—See Rogers's preface to his Exposition.]

[m] [Hor. epist., lib. i. 1. 11.]

But one thing more I am willing to add. By the confession of all the schools of learning, it is taught that baptism hath infallibly all that effect upon infants which God designed and the church intends to them in the ministry of that sacrament; because infants cannot *ponere obicem*, they cannot impede the gift of God, and they hinder not the effect of God's spirit. Now all hindrances of the operation of the sacrament is sin: and if sin before the ministration be not morally rescinded, it remains, and remaining, is a disposition contrary to the effect of the sacrament. Every inherent sin is the *obex*, bars the gates that the grace of the sacrament shall not enter. Since therefore infants do not bar the gates, do not hinder the effect of the sacrament, it follows they have no sin inherent in them but imputed only. If it be replied that original sin though it be properly a sin, and really inherent, yet it does not hinder the effect of the sacrament; I answer, then it follows that original sin is of less malignity than the least actual sin in the world; and if so, then either by it no man is hated by God to eternal damnation, no man is by it an enemy of God, a son of wrath, an heir of perdition; or if he be, then at the same time he may be actually hated by God, and yet worthily disposed for receiving the grace and sacrament of baptism; and that sin which of all the sins of the world is supposed to be the greatest, and of most universal and permanent mischief, shall do the least harm, and is less opposed to God's grace, and indisposes a man less than a single wanton thought, or the first consent to a forbidden action; which he that can believe, is very much in love with his own proposition, and is content to believe it upon any terms[n].

I end with the words of Lucretius[o],

> Desine quapropter novitate exterritus ipsa
> Exspuere ex animo rationem, sed magis acri
> Judicio perpende, et si tibi vera videtur,
> Dede manus, aut si falsa est, accingere contra.
>
> Fear not to own what's said because 'tis new,
> Weigh well and wisely if the thing be true.
> Truth and not conquest is the best reward;
> 'Gainst falsehood only stand upon thy guard.

MADAM,

I HUMBLY beg you will be pleased to entertain these papers, not only as a testimony of my zeal for truth and peace below, and for the honour of God above; but also of my readiness to seize upon every occasion whereby I may express myself to be

your most obliged and most humble servant
in the religion of the holy Jesus,
JER. TAYLOR.

[n] ['But one thing . . . terms' deest A.]

[o] [lib. ii. lin. 1039.]

[THE STATIONER'S POSTSCRIPT TO THE READER[a].

I am not myself ignorant, having learned it from those whose words had in them reason and authority too, that the world is most benefited by those pieces which with greatest difficulty were gained from the modesty, or severity, or fears of their authors. The fruits that first drop from the tree, are not the longest ere they rot, and the corn that lies longest in the ground,

—bis quæ solem, bis frigora,—

most pleases the husbandman. I have some confidence that the reader who has yet given his name to no sect, will by the excellencies of this discourse I have now presented, be so fairly disposed to receive my excuse, when I tell him that I publish it without the reverend author's consent, that he will become rather a patron than an accuser of that great ambition he observes in me, to offer something that may instruct him, and please him too. Because so many papers pass the press that deserve to find it the place of their burial rather than their birth, I was persuaded my charity would have in it something more of merit. I intended a benefit to the reader, and if my design meet with reproof in the success, I am sure it deserved none in its principle, for I shall not miss my aim, if his intentions in receiving instruction be but as clear as mine were to assist him in my meaner capacity. The discourse in its own behalf will to the intelligent give sufficient assurance, that though the author's consent be wanting, nothing else is that should come from him to make it entire: for I know, what was fitted for the use and made able to endure the judgment of the honourable person who was the occasion of this, will with some security pass lesser judgments. And this favour the charitable reader will the more easily grant me, because it will be a good advantage towards the recovering the favour of the worthy person who wrote the discourse; whose displeasure I have reason to fear I have too far provoked by making his secrets public without his leave. But if the intelligent reader shall receive this little piece with the same kindness as the others that were sent from the same hand, the pleading of my own cause will put me to the less expense of words. And I know the reverend author governs all his passions with such an excellent charity, and levels all his designs of this kind to that great end of advancing piety and holy living, that my boldness will the more easily find pardon, because the right understanding of this question has a great influence upon all the parts of holy obedience; and the discourses of this letter, I have good authority to say, add much to the clearness and defence of his former writings upon this subject. The question as it is necessary to be understood now that it is set on foot, so it is very difficult to all those that first choose their interest, and then such conclusions as are consistent with that, and frame their arguments and premises last of all. And no man for this can charge me highly, but he must also affirm it is fit some things be concealed that would free the judgments of men from those prejudices of custom, partiality and humour, with which error has fortified herself in the understandings of many. The errors of this question are so dear to one kind of men, that nothing will more provoke their pens than to be contradicted in this proposition; and for the advantage of truth and the common benefit, it was my design that whatsoever was needful to be said to make the truth more clear, might first get possession of the understandings of men. Which could not certainly have been done if I had delayed my hand till I could, at that great distance from me where he lives, have consulted with the author, and received returns from him. And I have no less hope that the honourable person into whose cabinet I have too boldly admitted the common eye, will pardon my presumption, because it is the interest of religion, which is so dear to every rightly instructed Christian, that they will neither refuse for its advancement to give up their privileges, nor their life. And when she feels the benefit of being freed from those scruples which this discourse was designed to remove, she will not conceive her light will be made less by being common, but will be rather pleased to have obliged, by the emanations of a pen so learned, all those that shall receive benefit from it.

R. ROYSTON.]

[a] [See note to p. 493 above.]

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JOHN WARNER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,

AND

DOCTOR TAYLOR,

CONCERNING THE

CHAPTER OF ORIGINAL SIN

IN THE

UNUM NECESSARIUM.

I. JEREMY TAYLOR TO BISHOP WARNER.
II. BISHOP WARNER TO JEREMY TAYLOR.
III. JEREMY TAYLOR TO BISHOP WARNER.

I.

AN ANSWER TO A LETTER WRITTEN BY THE R. R. THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

R. R. FATHER AND MY GOOD LORD,

YOUR lordship's letter, dated July 28, I received not till Septemb. 11; it seems R. Royston detained it in his hands, supposing it could not come safely to me while I remain a prisoner now in Chepstow castle[a]. But I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person. It was necessary I should tell this to your lordship, that I may not be under a suspicion of neglecting to give accounts in those particulars which, with so much prudence and charity, you were pleased to represent in your letter concerning my discourse of Original Sin. My lord, in all your exceptions, I cannot but observe your candour and your paternal care concerning me. For when there was nothing in the doctrine but your greater reason did easily see the justice and the truth of it, and I am persuaded could have taught me to have said many more material things in confirmation of what I have taught; yet so careful is your charity of me, that you would not omit to represent to my consideration what might be said by captious and weaker persons, or by the more wise and pious who are of a different judgment.

But my lord, first you are pleased to note that this discourse runs not in the ordinary channel. True, for if it did, it must nurse the popular error: but when the disease is epidemical, as it is so much the worse, so the extraordinary remedy must be acknowledged to be the better. And if there be in it some things hard to be understood as it was the fate of S. Paul's epistles (as your lordship notes out of S. Peter) yet this difficulty of understanding proceeds not from the thing itself, nor from the manner of handling it, but from the indisposition and prepossession of men's minds to the contrary, who are angry when they are told that they have been deceived; for it is usual with men to be more displeased when they are told they were in error, than to be pleased with them who offer to lead them out of it.

But your lordship doth with great advantages represent an objection of some captious persons, which relates not to the material part of the question, but to the rules of art. If there be no such thing

[a] ['now . . . castle' deest A.]

as original sin transmitted from Adam to his posterity, then all that sixth chapter is a strife about a shadow, a *Non ens.*—Ans. It is true my lord, the question as it is usually handled is so. For when the Franciscan and Dominican do eternally dispute about the conception of the blessed Virgin, whether it was with or without original sin, meaning, by way of grace and special exemption, this is *de non ente;* for there was no need of any such exemption, and they supposing that commonly it was otherwise, troubled themselves about the exception of a rule which, in that sense which they supposed it, was not true at all: she was born as innocent from any impurity or formal guilt as Adam was created, and so was her mother, and so was all her family. When the Lutheran and the Roman dispute whether justice and original righteousness in Adam was natural or by grace, it is *de non ente,* for it was positively neither, but negatively only; he had original righteousness till he sinned, that is, he was righteous till he became unrighteous. When the Calvinist troubles himself and his parishioners with fierce declamations against natural inclinations or concupiscence, and disputes whether it remains in baptized persons, or whether it be taken off by election, or by the sacrament, whether to all Christians or to some few; this is a σκιαμαχία; for it is no sin at all in persons baptized or unbaptized, till it be consented to.

My lord, when I was a young man in Cambridge, I knew a learned professor of divinity, whose ordinary lectures in the lady Margaret's chair[b] for many years together, nine as I suppose or thereabouts, were concerning original sin, and the appendent questions; this indeed could not choose but be *Andabatarum conflictus*[c]. But then my discourse representing that these disputes are useless, and, as they discourse usually, to be *de non ente,* is not to be reproved. For I profess to evince that many of those things of the sense of which they dispute, are not true at all in any sense; I declare them to be *de non ente,* that is, I untie their intricate knots by cutting them in pieces. For when a false proposition is the ground of disputes, the process must needs be infinite unless you discover the first error. He that tells them they both fight about a shadow, and with many arguments proves the vanity of their whole process, they (if he says true) not he is the σκιάμαχος. When S. Austin was horribly puzzled about the traduction of original sin, and thought himself forced to say that either the father begat the soul, or that he could not transmit sin which is subjected in the soul, or at least he could not tell how it was transmitted; he had no way to be relieved but by being told that original sin was not subjected in the soul, because properly and for-

[b] [Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sydney Sussex college, was appointed lady Margaret's professor of divinity in Cambridge in the year 1621. His prælections on Original sin, with certain other of his works, were published after his death by his friend (but no relation) Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, fol. Lond. 1658.]

[c] ['Andabata,' a Roman fencer or gladiator who fought hood-winked on horseback.—Scheller.]

mally it was no real sin of ours at all; but that it was only by imputation and to certain purposes, not any inherent quality or corruption; and so in effect all his trouble was *de non ente*. But now some wits have lately risen in the church of Rome, and they tell us another story, 'The soul follows the temperature of the body, and so original sin comes to be transmitted by contact; because the constitution of the body is the *fomes* or nest of the sin, and the soul's concupiscence is derived from the body's lust.' But besides that this fancy disappears at the first handling, and there would be so many original sins as there are several constitutions, and the guilt would not be equal, and they who are born eunuchs should be less infected by Adam's pollution, by having less of concupiscence in the great instance of desires; and after all, concupiscence itself could not be a sin in the soul till the body was grown up to strength enough to infect it; and in the whole process it must be an impossible thing, because the instrument which hath all its operations by the force of the principal agent, cannot of itself produce a great change and violent effect upon the principal agent: besides all this, I say, while one does not know how original sin can be derived, and another, who thinks he can, names a wrong way, and both the ways infer it to be another kind of thing than all the schools of learning teach:—does it not too clearly demonstrate that all that infinite variety of fancies, agreeing in nothing but in an endless uncertainty, is nothing else but a being busy about the quiddities of a dream and the constituent parts of a shadow? But then, my lord, my discourse representing all this to be vanity and uncertainty, ought not to be called or supposed to be a σκιαμαχία as he that ends the question between two schoolmen disputing about the place of purgatory by saying they need not trouble themselves about the place, for that which is not hath no place at all, ought not to be told he contends about a shadow, when he proves that to be true which he suggested to the two trifling litigants.

But as to the thing itself: I do not say there is no such thing as original sin, but it is not that which it is supposed to be; it is not our sin formally, but by imputation only; and it is imputed so as to be an inlet to sickness, death, and disorder; but it does not introduce a necessity of sinning, nor damn any one to the flames of hell. So that original sin is not a *non ens*, unless that be nothing which infers so many real mischiefs.

The next thing your lordship is pleased to note to me is, that in your wisdom you foresee some will argue against my explication of the word 'damnation' in the ninth article of our church, which affirms that 'original sin deserves damnation.' Concerning which, my lord, I do thus (and I hope fairly) acquit myself.

First, that it having been affirmed by S. Austin that infants dying unbaptized are damned, he is deservedly called *durus pater infantum*, and generally forsaken by all sober men of the later ages; and it will

be an intolerable thing to think the church of England guilty of that which all her wiser sons, and all the christian churches, generally abhor. I remember that I have heard that king James, reproving a Scottish minister who refused to give private baptism to a dying infant, being asked by the minister if he thought the child should be damned for want of baptism, answered, 'No, but I think you may be damned for refusing it;' and he said well. But then, my lord, if original sin deserves damnation, then may infants be damned if they die without baptism. But if it be a horrible affirmative to say that the poor babes shall be made devils, or enter into their portion, if they want that ceremony which is the only gate, the only way of salvation that stands open; then the word 'damnation' in the ninth article must mean something less than what we usually understand by it; or else the article must be salved by expounding some other word to an allay and lessening of the horrible sentence; and particularly the word 'deserves,' of which I shall afterward give account.

Both these ways I follow. The first is the way of the schoolmen. For they suppose the state of unbaptized infants to be a *pœna damni*[d], and they are confident enough to say that this may be well supposed without inferring their suffering the pains of hell. But this sentence of theirs I admit and explicate with some little difference of expression: for so far I admit this 'pain of loss,' or rather a deficiency from going to heaven, to be the consequence of Adam's sin, that by it we being left *in meris naturalibus*, could never by these strengths alone have gone to heaven. Now whereas your lordship in behalf of those whom you suppose may be captious, is pleased to argue that as loss of sight or eyes infers a state of darkness or blindness, so the loss of heaven infers hell, and if infants go not to heaven in that state, whither can they go but to hell? and that is damnation in the greatest sense:—I grant it, that if in the event of things they do not go to heaven, as things are now ordered, it is but too likely that they go to hell; but I add, that as all darkness does not infer horror and distraction of mind, or fearful apparitions and phantasms; so neither does all hell, or states in hell, infer all those torments which the schoolmen signify by a *pœna sensus*[d], (for I speak now in pursuance of their way:) so that there is no necessity of a third place; but it concludes only that in the state of separation from God's presence there is a great variety of degrees and kinds of evil, and every one is not the extreme. And yet by the way let me observe, that Gregory Nazianzen and Nicetas[e] taught that there is a third place for infants and heathens: and Irenæus[f] affirmed that the evils of hell were not eternal to all, but to the devils only and the greater criminals. But neither they nor we nor any man else can

[d] [Pœna duplex, scilicet pœna sensus, id est, afflictiva; et pœna damni, id est, carentia divinæ visionis.—Tab. aur. in S. Th. Aquin.—Bella m. de purg. ii. 10.]

[e] [p. 253, not. a, above.]

[f] [? Lib. ii. cap. 34. Nempe istum locum citat Huetius, Origeniana, lib. ii. quæst. 11. cap. 25.]

tell whether hell be a place or no; it is a state of evil, but whether all the damned be in one or in twenty places we cannot tell.

But I have no need to make use of any of this. For when I affirm that infants, being by Adam reduced and left to their mere natural state, fall short of heaven, I do not say they cannot go to heaven at all, but they cannot go thither by their natural powers, they cannot without a new grace and favour go to heaven. But then it cannot presently be inferred that therefore they go to hell; but this ought to be inferred, which indeed was the real consequent of it, —Therefore it is necessary that God's grace should supply this defect, if God intends heaven to them at all; and because nature cannot, God sent a Saviour by whom it was effected. But if it be asked, What if this grace had not come? and that it be said that without God's grace they must have gone to hell, because without it they could not go to heaven; I answer, that we know how it is, now that God in His goodness hath made provisions for them: but if He had not made such provisions, what would have been we know not, any more than we know what would have followed if Adam had not sinned; where he should have lived, and how long, and in what circumstances the posterity should have been provided for in all their possible contingencies. But yet this I know, that it follows not that if without this grace we could not have gone to heaven, that therefore we must have gone to hell. For although the first was ordinarily impossible, yet the second was absolutely unjust, and against God's goodness, and therefore more impossible. But because the first could not be done by nature, God was pleased to promise and to give His grace that He might bring us to that state whither He had designed us, that is, to a supernatural felicity. If Adam had not fallen, yet heaven had not been a natural consequent of his obedience, but a gracious; it had been a gift still; and of Adam, though he had persisted in innocence, it is true to say that without God's grace, that is, by the mere force of nature, he could never have arrived to a supernatural state, that is, to the joys of heaven; and yet it does not follow that if he had remained in innocence he must have gone to hell. Just so it is in infants; hell was not made for man, but for devils; and therefore it must be something besides mere nature that can bear any man thither: mere nature goes neither to heaven nor hell. So that when I say, 'Infants naturally cannot go to heaven, and that this is a punishment of Adam's sin, he being for it punished with a loss of his gracious condition, and devolved to the state of nature, and we by him left so;' my meaning is that this damnation, which is of our nature, is but negative, that is, as a consequent of our patriarch's sin; our nature is left imperfect and deficient, in order to a supernatural end, which the schoolmen call a *pœna damni*, but improperly: they indeed think it may be a real event, and final condition of persons as well as things; but I affirm,

it was an evil effect of Adam's sin, but in the event of things it became to the persons the way to a new grace, and hath no other event as to heaven and hell, directly and immediately. In the same sense and to the same purpose I understand the word 'damnation' in the ninth article.

But the word 'damnation' may very well, truly and sufficiently, signify all the purposes of the article, if it be taken only for the effect of that sentence which was inflicted upon Adam, and descended on his posterity, that is, for condemnation to death, and the evils of mortality. So the word is used by S. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 29, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself;" κρίμα is the word; but that it did particularly signify temporal death and evils, appears by the instances of probation in the next words, "For for this cause some are weak amongst you, some are sick, and some are fallen asleep." This also in the article. Original sin deserves damnation; that is, it justly brought in the angry sentence of God upon man, it brought him to death, and deserved it; it brought it upon us, and deserved it too. I do not say that we by that sin deserved that death, neither can death be properly a punishment of us till we superadd some evil of our own; yet Adam's sin deserved it so that it was justly left to fall upon us, we as a consequent and punishment of his sin being reduced to our natural portion. *In odiosis quod minimum est sequimur.* The lesser sense of the word is certainly agreeable to truth and reason; and it were good we used the word in that sense which may best warrant her doctrine, especially for that use of the word having the precedent of scripture.

I am confirmed in this interpretation by the second section of the article, viz., of the remanency of concupiscence or original sin in the regenerate. All the sinfulness of original sin is the lust or concupiscence, that is, the proneness to sin. Now then I demand whether concupiscence before actual consent be a sin or no? and if it be a sin, whether it deserves damnation? That all sin deserves damnation I am sure our church denies not: if therefore concupiscence before consent be a sin, then this also deserves damnation, wherever it is; and if so, then a man may be damned for original sin even after baptism. For even after baptism concupiscence (or the sinfulness of original sin) remains in the regenerate; and that which is the same thing, the same viciousness, the same enmity to God after baptism, is as damnable, it deserves damnation as much as that did that went before. If it be replied that baptism takes off the guilt or formal part of it, but leaves the material part behind; that is, though concupiscence remains, yet it shall not bring damnation to the regenerate or baptized: I answer that though baptismal regeneration puts a man into a state of grace and favour, so that what went before shall not be imputed to him afterward, that is, Adam's

sin shall not bring damnation in any sense, yet it hinders not, but that what is sinful afterwards, shall be then imputed to him, that is, he may be damned for his own concupiscence. He is quitted from it as it came from Adam, but by baptism he is not quitted from it as it is subjected in himself; if (I say) concupiscence before consent be a sin. If it be no sin, then for it infants unbaptized cannot with justice be damned; it does not deserve damnation: but if it be a sin, then so long as it is there, so long it deserves damnation; and baptism did only quit the relation of it to Adam (for that was all that went before it) but not the danger of the man. But because the article supposes that it does not damn the regenerate or baptized, and yet that it hath the nature of sin, it follows evidently and undeniably that both the phrases are to be diminished and understood in a favourable sense. As the phrase 'the nature of sin' signifies, so does 'damnation;' but 'the nature of sin' signifies something that brings no guilt, because it is affirmed to be in the regenerate; therefore 'damnation' signifies something that brings no hell: but 'to deserve damnation' must mean something less than ordinary; that is, that concupiscence is a thing not morally good, not to be allowed of, not to be nursed, but mortified, fought against, disapproved, condemned and disallowed of men, as it is of God.

And truly, my lord, to say that for Adam's sin it is just in God to condemn infants to the eternal flames of hell; and to say that concupiscence or natural inclinations before they pass into any act could bring eternal condemnation from God's presence into the eternal portion of devils, are two such horrid propositions, that if any church in the world would expressly affirm them, I for my part should think it unlawful to communicate with her in the defence or profession of either, and to think it would be the greatest temptation in the world to make men not to love God, of whom men so easily speak such horrid things. I would suppose the article to mean any thing rather than either of these. But yet one thing more I have to say.

The article is certainly to be expounded according to the analogy of faith and the express words of scripture, if there be any that speak expressly in this matter. Now whereas the article explicating original sin, affirms it to be "that fault or corruption of man's nature," (*vitium naturæ*, not *peccatum*,) "by which he is far gone from original righteousness, and is inclined to evil;" because this is not full enough, the article adds by way of explanation, "so that the flesh lusteth against the Spirit," that is, it really produces a state of evil temptations; it lusteth, that is, actually and habitually; "it lusteth against the Spirit, and therefore deserves God's wrath and damnation;" so the article. "Therefore;" for no other reason but because the flesh lusteth against the Spirit; not because it can lust, or is *apta nata* to lust, but because it lusteth actually, 'therefore it deserves damnation:' and this is original sin: or as the article expresses it,

'it hath the nature of sin;' it is the *fomes* or matter of sin, and is in the original of mankind, and derived from Adam as our body is; but it deserves not damnation in the highest sense of the word till the concupiscence be actual: till then the words of 'wrath and damnation' must be meant in the less and more easy signification, according to the former explication: and must only relate to the personal sin of Adam. To this sense of the article I heartily subscribe. For besides the reasonableness of the thing, and the very manner of speaking used in the article; it is the very same way of speaking and exactly the same doctrine which we find in S. James i. 14, ἐπιθυμία συλλαβοῦσα, 'concupiscence' when it is impregnated, 'when it hath conceived,' then it brings forth sin: and 'sin when it is in production and birth, brings forth death.' But in infants concupiscence is innocent and a virgin; it conceives not, and therefore is without sin, and therefore without death or damnation. Against these expositions I cannot imagine what can be really and materially objected.

But, my lord, I perceive the main outcry is like to be upon the authority of the 'Harmony of Confessions.' Concerning which I shall say this, that in this article the Harmony makes as good music as bells ringing backward; and they agree, especially when they come to be explicated and untwisted into their minute and explicit meanings, as much as Lutheran and Calvinist, as papist and protestant, as Thomas and Scotus, as Remonstrant and Dordrechtan, that is, as much as *pro* and *con*, or but a very little more. I have not the book with me here in prison, and this neighbourhood cannot supply me, and I dare not trust my memory to give a scheme of it; but your lordship knows that in nothing more do the reformed churches disagree than in this and its appendages; and you are pleased to hint something of it by saying, that 'some speak more of this than the church of England:' and Andrew Rivet[g], though unwillingly, yet confesses, *De confessionibus nostris et earum syntagmate vel harmonia, etiamsi in nonnullis capitibus non plane conveniant, dicam tamen melius in concordiam redigi posse quam in ecclesia Romana concordantiam discordantium canonum, quo titulo decretum Gratiani, quod canonistis regulas præfigit, solet insigniri.* And what he affirms of the whole collection, is most notorious in the article of original sin. For my own part, I am ready to subscribe the first Helvetian confession, but not the second: so much difference there is in the confessions of the same church.

Now whereas your lordship adds that though they are fallible, yet when they bring evidence of holy writ their assertions are infallible, and not to be contradicted; I am bound to reply that when they do so, whether they be infallible or no, I will believe them; because then though they might, yet they are not deceived. But as evidence

[g] [Grotianæ discussionis διάλυσις, § xii.—Opp., tom. iii. p. 1123.]

of holy writ had been sufficient without their authority, so without such evidence their authority is nothing. But then my lord, their citing and urging the words of S. Paul, Rom. v. 12, is so far from being an evident probation of their article, that nothing is to me a surer argument of their fallibility, than the urging of that which evidently makes nothing for them, but much against them: as first, affirming expressly that death was the event of Adam's sin; the whole event, for it names no other; temporal death; according to that saying of S. Paul, 1 Cor. xv., "In Adam we all die:" and secondly, affirming this process of death to be ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, which is, and ought to be, taken to be the allay or condition of the condemnation: it became a punishment to them only who did sin; but upon them also inflicted for Adam's sake.

A like expression to which is in the psalms, Psalm cvi. 32, 33, "They angered Him also at the waters of strife, so that He punished Moses for their sakes." Here was plainly a traduction of evil from the nation to Moses, their relative; for their sakes he was punished, but yet ἐφ' ᾧ Μωσῆς ἥμαρτε, 'forasmuch as Moses had sinned:' for so it follows, "because they provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips."—So it is between Adam and us: he sinned, and God was highly displeased. This displeasure went further than upon Adam's sin; for though that only was threatened with death, yet the sins of his children, which were not so threatened, became so punished, and they were by nature heirs of wrath and damnation; that is, for his sake our sins inherited his curse. The curse that was specially and only threatened to him, we when we sinned did inherit for his sake. So that it is not so properly to be called original sin, as an original curse upon our sin.

To this purpose we have also another example of God transmitting the curse from one to another: both were sinners, but one was the original of the curse or punishment. So said the prophet to the wife of Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiv. 16, "He shall give Israel up because of the sins of Jeroboam, who did sin, and who made Israel to sin." Jeroboam was the root of the sin and of the curse. Here it was also (that I may use the words of the apostle) that 'by the sin of one man, Jeroboam, sin went out into all Israel, and the curse, captivity, or death by sin, and so death went upon all men of Israel, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, inasmuch as all men of Israel have sinned.' If these men had not sinned, they had not been punished; I cannot say they had not been afflicted; for David's child was smitten for his father's fault: but though they did sin, yet unless their root and principal had sinned, possibly they should not have so been punished: for his sake the punishment came. Upon the same account it may be that we may inherit the damnation or curse for Adam's sake, though we deserve it; yet it being transmitted from Adam, and not particularly threatened to the first posterity, we were his heirs, the heirs of death,

deriving from him an original curse, but due also, if God so pleased, to our sins. And this is the full sense of the twelfth verse, and the effect of the phrase ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον.

But your lordship is pleased to object that though ἐφ' ᾧ does once signify 'forasmuch as,' yet three times it signifies 'in' or 'by.' To this I would be content to submit, if the observation could be verified, and be material when it were true. But besides that it is so used in 2 Cor. v. 4 [h], your lordship may please to see it used (as not only myself, but indeed most men, and particularly the church of England does read it and expound it) in Matt. xxvi. 50. And yet if ἐφ' ᾧ were written ἐν ᾧ, which is the same with 'in' or 'by,' if it be rendered word for word, yet ἐν ᾧ twice in the scripture signifies 'forasmuch as,' as you may read Rom. viii. 3, and Heb. ii. 18. So that here are two places besides this question, and two more *ex abundanti*, to shew that if it were not ἐφ' ᾧ, but said in words expressly as you would have it in the meaning, yet even so neither the thing, nor any part of the thing, could be evicted against me. And lastly, if it were not only said ἐν ᾧ, but that that sense of it were admitted which is desired, and that it did mean 'in' or 'by,' in this very place: yet the question were not at all the nearer to be concluded against me. For I grant that it is true, "in him we are all sinners," as it is true, that "in him we all die:" that is, for his sake we are used as sinners: being miserable really, but sinners in account and effect: as I have largely discoursed in my book. But then for the place here in question, it is so certain that it signifies the same thing (as our church reads it) that it is not sense without it, but a violent breach of the period without precedent or reason. And after all; I have looked upon those places where ἐφ' ᾧ is said to signify 'in' or 'by;' and in one of them I find it so, Mark ii. 4, but in Acts iii. 16, and Phil. i. 3, I find it not at all in any sense: but ἐπὶ indeed is used for 'in' or 'by,' in that of the Acts; and in the other it signifies 'at' or 'upon;' but if all were granted that is pretended to, it no way prejudices my cause, as I have already proved.

Next to these, your lordship seems a little more zealous and decretory in the question, upon the confidence of verses 17, 18, and 19 of the fifth chapter to the Romans. The sum of which, as your lordship most ingeniously sums it up, is this. 'As by one many were made sinners, so by One many were made righteous; that by Adam, this by Christ. But by Christ we are made δίκαιοι, 'just,' not by imputation only, but effectively and to real purposes; therefore by Adam we are really made sinners.' And this your lordship confirms by the observation of the sense of two words here used by the apostle. The first is κατάκριμα, which signifies a 'sentence of guilt,' or 'punishment for sin;' and this sin to be theirs upon whom the condemnation comes, because God punishes none but for their own sin, Ezek. xviii. Secondly, from the word δίκαιοι, 'clear from sin,'

[h] [See p. 245, note x, above.]

so your lordship renders it; and in opposition to this, ἁμαρτωλοὶ is to be rendered, that is, 'guilty, criminal persons,' really and properly. —This is all which the wit of man can say from this place of S. Paul; and if I make it appear that this is invalid, I hope I am secure.

To this then I answer, that the antithesis in these words here urged (for there is another in the chapter) and this whole argument of S. Paul, is full and entire without descending to minutes. Death came in by one man, much more shall life come by one man; if that by Adam, then much more this by Christ; by him to condemnation, by this Man to justification. This is enough to verify the argument of S. Paul, though life and death did not come in the same manner to the several relatives; as indeed they did not: of which afterwards. But for the present it runs thus, 'By Adam we were made sinners, by Christ we are made righteous; as certainly one as the other, though not in the same manner of dispensation. By Adam θάνατος ἐβασίλευσε, death reigned; by this Man the reign of death shall be destroyed, and life set up instead of it: by him we were used as sinners, for in him we died; but by Christ we are justified, that is, used as just persons, for by Him we live.'—This is sufficient for the apostle's argument; and yet no necessity to affirm that we are sinners in Adam any more than by imputation, for we are by Christ made just no otherwise than by imputation.

In the proof or persuasion I will use no indirect arguments; as to say that 'to deny us to be just by imputation is the doctrine of the church of Rome and of the Socinian conventicles, but expressly disliked by all the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zuinglian churches, and particularly by the church of England; and indeed by the whole Harmony of Confessions:' this, I say, I will not make use of; not only because I myself do not love to be pressed by such prejudices rather than arguments; but because the question of the imputation of righteousness is very much mistaken and misunderstood on all hands. They that say that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us for justification, do it upon this account; because they know all that we do is imperfect, therefore they think themselves constrained to fly to Christ's righteousness, and think it must be imputed to us, or we perish. The other side, considering that this way would destroy the necessity of holy living, and that in order to our justification there were conditions required on our parts, think it necessary to say that we are justified by inherent righteousness. Between these the truth is plain enough to be read, thus;—

Christ's righteousness is not imputed to us for justification directly and immediately; neither can we be justified by our own righteousness: but our faith and sincere endeavours are, through Christ, accepted instead of legal righteousness: that is, we are justified through Christ, by imputation not of Christ's nor our own righteousness, but of our faith and endeavours of righteousness, as if they were perfect: and we are justified by a non-imputation, viz., of our past sins, and

present unavoidable imperfections: that is, we are handled as if we were just persons and no sinners. So faith was imputed to Abraham for righteousness; not that it made him so legally, but evangelically, that is, by grace and imputation.

And indeed, my lord, that I may speak freely in this great question; when one man hath sinned, his descendents and relatives cannot possibly by him, or for him, or in him, be made sinners properly and really. For in sin there are but two things imaginable; the irregular action, and the guilt or obligation to punishment. Now we cannot in any sense be said to have done the action which another did, and not we: the action is as individual as the person; and Titius may as well be Caius, and the son be his own father, as he can be said to have done the father's action; and therefore we cannot possibly be guilty of it; for guilt is an obligation to punishment for having done it: the action and the guilt are relatives; one cannot be without the other: something must be done inwardly or outwardly, or there can be no guilt. But then for the evil of punishment, that may pass further than the action. If it passes upon the innocent, it is not a punishment to them, but an evil inflicted by right of dominion, but yet by reason of the relation of the afflicted to him that sinned, to him it is a punishment. But if it passes upon others that are not innocent, then it is a punishment to both; to the first principally, to the descendents or relatives for the other's sake, his sin being imputed so far.

How far that is in the present case, and what it is, the apostle expresses thus; it was ἀρὰ εἰς κατάκριμα (verse 18) or κρίμα εἰς κατάκριμα (verse 16) 'a curse unto condemnation,' or 'a judgment unto condemnation:' that is, a curse inherited from the principal; deserved by him, and yet also actually descending upon us, after we had sinned; ἀρὰ or κρίμα, εἰς κατάκριμα; that is, the judgment passed upon Adam; the ἀρὰ or κρίμα was on him; but it proved to be a κατάκριμα, or a thorough condemnation, when from him it passed upon all men that sinned. Κρίμα and κατάκριμα sometimes differ in degrees: so the words are used by S. Paul otherwhere, 1 Cor. xi. 32, κρινόμενοι ἵνα μὴ κατακριθῶμεν; a judgment to prevent a punishment, or a less to forestall a greater, in the same kind; so here the ἀρὰ passed further; the κρίμα was fulfilled in his posterity, passing on further, viz., that all who sinned should pass under the power of death as well as he; but this became formally and actually a punishment to them only who did sin personally: to them it was κατάκριμα.

This ἀρὰ or κρίμα, is the βασίλεια τοῦ θανάτου, verse 17, 'the reign of death;' this is called βασίλεια τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, verse 21, 'the reign of sin in death:' that is, the effect which Adam's sin had was only to bring in the reign of death, which is already broken by Jesus Christ, and at last shall be quite destroyed. But to say that sin here is properly transmitted to us from Adam,

formally, and so as to be inherent in us, is to say that we were made to do his action; which is a perfect contradiction.

Now then your lordship sees that what you note of the meaning of κατάκριμα I admit, and is indeed true enough, and agreeable to the discourse of the apostle, and very much in justification of what I taught. Κατάκριμα signifies a punishment for sin, and this sin to be theirs upon whom the condemnation comes. I easily subscribe to it; but then take in the words of S. Paul, δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, 'by one sin,' or, 'by the sin of one,' the curse passed upon all men unto condemnation; that is, the curse descended from Adam; for his sake it was propagated εἰς κατάκριμα, 'to a real condemnation,' viz., when they should sin. For though this ἀρὰ or 'the curse' of death was threatened only to Adam, yet upon God's being angry with him, God resolved it should descend; and if men did sin as Adam, or if they did sin at all though less than Adam, yet the ἀρὰ or 'the curse' threatened to him should pass, εἰς κατάκριμα, 'unto the same actual condemnation' which fell upon him; that is, it should actually bring them under the reign of death.

"But then, my lord, I beseech you let it be considered, if this κατάκριμα must suppose a punishment for sin, for the sin of him, his own sin that is so condemned, as your lordship proves perfectly out of Ezek. xviii., how can it be just that the κατάκριμα, 'condemnation,' should pass upon us for Adam's sin, that is, not for his own sin who is so condemned, but for the sin of another? S. Paul easily resolves the doubt, if there had been any. The κατάκριμα, the reign of death, passed upon all men, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, 'inasmuch as all men have sinned.' And now why shall we suppose that we must be guilty of what we did not, when without any such φαινόμενον there is so much guilt of what we did really and personally? why shall it be that we die only for Adam's sin, and not rather as S. Paul expressly affirms, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, 'inasmuch as all men have sinned,' since by your own argument it cannot be 'inasmuch as all men have not sinned;' this you say cannot be, and yet you will not confess this which can be, and which S. Paul affirms to have been indeed: as if it were not more just and reasonable to say that from Adam the curse descended unto the condemnation of the sins of the world, than to say the curse descended without consideration of their sins, but a sin must be imagined, to make it seem reasonable and just to condemn us. Now I submit it to the judgment of all the world, which way of arguing is most reasonable and concluding: you, my lord, in behalf of others, argue thus,—Κατάκριμα or 'condemnation' cannot pass upon a man for any sin but his own; therefore every man is truly guilty of Adam's sin, and that becomes his own. Against this I oppose mine,—Κατάκριμα or 'condemnation' cannot pass upon a man for any sin but his own: therefore it did not pass upon man for Adam's sin; because Adam's sin was Adam's, not our own: but we all have sinned, we have sins of our own; therefore for these the

curse passed from Adam to us. To back mine, besides that common notices of sense and reason defend it, I have the plain words of S. Paul, "Death passed upon all men, forasmuch as all men have sinned;" all men, that is, the generality of mankind, all that lived till they could sin; the others that died before, died in their nature, not in their sin, neither Adam's nor their own, save only that Adam brought it in upon them, or rather left it to them, himself being disrobed of all that which could hinder it.

Now for the word δίκαιοι, which your lordship renders 'clear from sin,' I am sure no man is so justified in this world as to be clear from sin; and if we all be sinners, and yet healed as just persons, it is certain we are just by imputation only; that is, Christ imputing our faith, and sincere though not unerring obedience to us for righteousness; and then the *antithesis* must hold thus, 'By Christ comes justification to life, as by Adam came the curse or the sin to the condemnation of death: but our justification which comes by Christ, is by imputation and acceptilation, by grace and favour: not that we are made really, that is, legally and perfectly righteous, but by imputation of faith and obedience to us, as if it were perfect: and therefore Adam's sin was but by imputation only to certain purposes; not real or proper, not formal or inherent. For the grace by Christ is more than the sin by Adam: if therefore that was not legal and proper, but evangelical and gracious, favourable and imputative, much more is the sin of Adam in us improperly, and by imputation.' And truly, my lord, I think that no sound divine, of any of our churches, will say that we are δικαιωθέντες or δίκαιοι in any other sense: not that Christ's righteousness is imputed to us without any inherent graces in us; but that our imperfect services, our true faith and sincere endeavours of obedience, are imputed to us for righteousness through Jesus Christ: and since it is certainly so, I am sure the *antithesis* between Christ and Adam can never be salved by making us sinners really by Adam, and yet just or righteous by Christ, only in acceptation and imputation. For then sin should abound more than grace; expressly against the honour of our blessed Saviour, the glory of our redemption, and the words of S. Paul. But rather on the contrary is it true, that though by Christ we were really and legally made perfectly righteous, it follows not that we were made sinners by Adam in the same manner and measure: for this similitude of S. Paul ought not to extend to an equality in all things; but still the advantage and prerogative, the abundance and the excess, must be on the part of grace: for 'if sin does abound, grace does much more abound,' and we do more partake of righteousness by Christ than of sin by Adam. Christ and Adam are the several fountains of emanation, and are compared *æque* but not *æqualiter*. Therefore this argument holds redundantly; since by Christ we are not made legally righteous, but by imputation only, much less are we made sinners by Adam. This in my sense is so infinitely far from being an objection, that it per-

fectly demonstrates the main question; and for my part I mean to rely upon it.

As for that which your lordship adds out of Rom. v. 19, that ἁμαρτωλοὶ signifies 'sinners,' not by imitation, as the Pelagians dream, but sinners really and effectively; I shall not need to make any other reply, but that, first, I do not approve of that gloss of the Pelagians, that in Adam we are made sinners by imitation; and much less of that which affirms, we are made so properly and formally. But 'made sinners' signifies used like sinners; so as 'justified' signifies healed like just persons: in which interpretation I follow S. Paul, not the Pelagians; they who are on the other side of the question follow neither. And unless men take in their opinion before they read, and resolve not to understand S. Paul in this epistle, I wonder why they should fancy that all that he says sounds that way which they commonly dream of; but as men fancy, so the bells will ring. But I know your lordship's grave and wiser judgment sees not only this that I have now opened, but much beyond it; and that you will be a zealous advocate for the truth of God, and for the honour of His justice, wisdom, and mercy.

That which follows, makes me believe your lordship resolved to try me, by speaking your own sense in the line, and your temptation in the interline. For when your lordship had said that 'my arguments for the vindication of God's goodness and justice are sound and holy,' your hand run it over again, and added, 'as abstracted from the case of original sin.' But why should this be abstracted from all the whole economy of God, from all His other dispensations? Is it in all cases of the world unjust for God to impute our fathers' sins to us unto eternal condemnation, and is it otherwise in this only? Certainly a man would think this were the more favourable case; as being a single act, done but once, repented of after it was done, not consented to by the parties interested, not stipulated by God that it should be so, and being against all laws and all the reason of the world: therefore it were but reason that, if any where, here much rather God's justice and goodness should be relied upon as the measure of the event. And if in other cases laws be never given to idiots and infants and persons uncapable, why should they be given here? But if they were not capable of a law, then neither could they be of sin; for where there is no law, there is no transgression. And is it unjust to condemn one man to hell for all the sin of a thousand of his ancestors actually done by them, and shall it be accounted just to damn all the world for one sin of one man? But if it be said that it is unjust to damn the innocent for the sin of another; but the world is not innocent, but really guilty in Adam: besides that this is a begging of the question, it is also against common sense to say that a man is not innocent of that which was done before he had a being; for if that be not sufficient, then it is impossible for a man to be innocent. And if this way of answer be

admitted, any man may be damned for the sin of any father; because it may be said here as well as there, that although the innocent must not perish for another's fault, yet the son is not innocent as being in his father's loins when the fault was committed, and the law calls him and makes him guilty. And if it were so indeed, this were so far from being an excuse, to say that the law makes him guilty, that this were absolute tyranny, and the thing that were to be complained of.

I hope by this time your lordship perceives that I have no reason to fear that I prevaricate S. Paul's rule, Μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν. I only endeavour to understand S. Paul's words, and I read them κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, in proportion to, and so as they may not intrench upon, the reputation of God's goodness and justice: that is φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, 'to be wise unto sobriety.' But they that do so δουλεύειν ὑποθέσει, as to resolve it to be so whether God be honoured in it or dishonoured, and to answer all arguments whether they can or cannot be answered, and to efform all their theology to the air of that one great proposition, and to find out ways for God to proceed in which He hath never told of, ὁδοὶ ἄβατοι, ways that are crooked and not to be insisted in, ways that are not right, if these men do not ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, then I hope I shall have less need to fear that I do, who do none of these things.

And in proportion to my security here, I am confident that I am unconcerned in the consequent threatening. If any man shall evangelize παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, 'any other doctrine than what ye have received,' something for gospel which is not gospel, something that ye have not received, let him be accursed. My lord, if what I teach were not that which we have received, that God is just, and righteous, and true; that the soul that sins, the same shall die; that we shall have no cause to say, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge:' that God is a gracious Father, pardoning iniquity, and therefore not exacting it where it is not: that infants are from their mothers' wombs beloved of God their Father; that 'of such is the kingdom of God;' that He pities those souls who cannot discern the right hand from the left, as He declared in the case of the Ninevites; that to infants there are special angels appointed, who always behold the face of God; that Christ took them in His arms and blessed them, and therefore they are not hated by God, and accursed heirs of hell, and coheirs with Satan; that the Messias was promised before any children were born, as certainly as that Adam sinned before they were born; that if sin abounds, grace does superabound, and therefore children are with greater effect involved in the grace than they could be in the sin; and the sin must be gone before it could do them mischief: if this were not the doctrine of both testaments, and if the contrary were, then the threatening of S. Paul might well be held up against me;

but else, my lord, to shew such a scorpion to him that speaks the truth of God in sincerity and humility, though it cannot make me to betray the truth and the honour of God, yet the very fear and affrightment which must needs seize upon every good man that does but behold it, or hear the words of that angry voice, shall and hath made me to pray not only that myself be preserved in truth, but 'that it would please God to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.'

My lord, I humbly thank your lordship for your grave and pious counsel, and kiss the hand that reaches forth so paternal a rod. I see you are tender both of truth and me; and though I have not made this tedious reply to cause trouble to your lordship, or to steal from you any part of your precious time, yet because I see your lordship was persuaded *induere personam*, to give some little countenance to a popular error out of jealousy against a less usual truth, I thought it my duty to represent to your lordship such things by which as I can, so I ought to be defended against captious objectors. It is hard when men will not be patient of truth because another man offers it to them, and they did not first take it in, or, if they did, were not pleased to own it.

But from your lordship I expect, and am sure to find, the effects of your piety, wisdom, and learning; and that an error, for being popular, shall not prevail against so necessary though unobserved truth. A necessary truth I call it, because without this I do not understand how we can declare God's righteousness and justify Him, with whom unrighteousness cannot dwell: but if men of a contrary opinion can reconcile their usual doctrines of original sin with God's justice, and goodness, and truth, I shall be well pleased with it, and think better of their doctrine than now I can.

But until that be done, it were well, my lord, if men would not trouble themselves or the church with impertinent contradictions, but patiently give leave to have truth advanced, and God justified in His sayings and in His judgments, and the church improved, and all errors confuted; that what did so prosperously begin the reformation, may be admitted to bring it to perfection, that men may no longer go *qua itur* but *qua eundum est*.

II.

THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'S LETTER TO DR. TAYLOR: WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE PARTICULARS THERE GIVEN IN CHARGE.

WORTHY SIR,

LET me request you to weigh that of S. Paul, Ephes. ii. 5, which are urged by some ancients; and to remember how often he calls concupiscence 'sin;' whereby it is urged, that although baptism take away the guilt, as concretively redounding to the person, yet the simple abstracted guilt, as to the nature, remains; for sacraments are administered to persons, not to natures. I confess I find not the fathers so fully and plainly speaking of original sin till Pelagius had puddled the stream; but after this you may find S. Hierome *in Hos*[a]. saying, *In Paradiso omnes prævaricati sunt in Adamo.*

And S. Ambrose *in Rom.* i. 5[b]. *Manifestum est omnes peccasse in Adam quasi in massa; ex eo igitur cuncti peccatores, quia ex eo sumus omnes.*

And S. Greg. xxxix. *hom. in Ezek.*[c] *Sine culpa in mundo esse non potest, qui in mundum cum culpa venit.*

But S. Austin is so frequent, so full and clear in his assertions, that his words and reasons will require your most judicious examinations, and more strict weighing of them; he saith, *Epist.* cvii.[d], *Scimus secundum Adam nos prima nativitate contagium mortis contrahere, nec liberamur a supplicio mortis æternæ nisi per gratiam renascamur in Christo.*

Idem de verb. apost., serm. iv.[e], *Peccatum a primo homine . . in omnes homines pertransiit; . . etenim illud peccatum non in fonte mansit, sed pertransiit;* and (*Rom.* v.) *Ubi te invenit? Venundatum sub peccato, trahentem peccatum primi hominis, habentem peccatum*[f] *antequam possis habere arbitrium.*

Idem, De prædest. et. grat. c. 2[g], *Si infans unius diei non sit sine peccato, qui proprium habere non potuit, conficitur, ut illud traxerit alienum; de quo apostolus, Per unum hominem peccatum intravit in mundum; quod qui negat, negat profecto nos esse mortales; quoniam mors est pœna peccati: sequatur necesse est pœna peccatum.*

Idem, Enchir. c. 99. *Sola gratia redemptos discernit a perditis, quos in unam perditionis massam concreverat ab origine ducta communis contagio*[h].

[a] [lib. ii., in Hos. vi. 7.—tom. iii. col. 1276.]

[b] [lege, In cap. v. 12.—tom. ii. append., col. 54 D.]

[c] [leg. 'In evang.'—§ 8. tom. i. col. 1649 D.]

[d] [vid. cap. 5.—tom. ii. col. 804.]

[e] [al. serm. cliii. cap. 11.—tom. v. col. 733 E.]

[f] [lege 'reatum.']

[g] [vid. cap. 3.—tom. x. append. col. 51 D.]

[h] ['causa communis,' ed.—tom. vi. col. 233 E.]

Idem de peccator. mer. et remiss. l. i. c. 3 [k]. *Concupiscentia carnis . . . peccatum est, quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis.*

Quid potest, aut potuit nasci ex servo, nisi servus? ideo sicut omnis homo ab Adamo est, ita et omnis homo per Adamum servus est peccati [l].

Rom. v.[m]—*Falluntur ergo omnino, qui dicunt mortem solam, non et peccatum transiisse in genus humanum.*

Prosperus [n] *respondet ad articulum Augustino falso impositum, Omnes homines prævaricationis reos, et damnationi obnoxios nasci, perditurosque nisi in Christo renascantur, asserimus.*

Tho. 1. 2ᵉ. q. viii.[o] *Secundum fidem catholicam tenendum est, quod primum peccatum primi hominis, originaliter transit in posteros, propter quod etiam pueri mox nati deferuntur ad baptismum ab interiore culpa* [p] *abluendi; contrarium est hæresis Pelag. . . Unde peccatum quod sic a primo parente . . derivatur, dicitur originale, sicut peccatum quod ab anima derivatur ad membra corporis, dicitur actuale.*

Bonavent. in ii. *sent. dist.* 31.[q] *Sicut peccatum actuale tribuitur alicui ratione singularis personæ: ità peccatum originale tribuitur ratione naturæ; corpus infectum traducitur, quia persona Adæ infecit naturam, et natura infecit personam. Anima enim inficitur a carne per colligantiam, quum unita carni traxit ad se alterius proprietates.*

Lombard. ii. *sent., dist.* 31. *Peccatum originale per corruptionem carnis in anima fit . . . In vase enim dignoscitur vitium esse, quod vinum acescit* [r].

If you take into consideration the covenant made between almighty God and Adam as relating to his posterity, it may conduce to the satisfaction of those who urge it for a proof of original sin.

Now that the work may prosper under your hands to the manifestation of God's glory, the edification of the church, and the satisfaction of all good Christians, is the hearty prayer of

your fellow-servant in our
most blessed Lord Christ Jesu,
JO. ROFFENS.

[k] [leg. 'Cont. Julian. Pelag.,' lib. v. cap. 3.—tom. x. col. 631 D.]

[l] [?]

[m] [vide S. Aug. (alias Gennadium) de eccles. dogm. cap. xxxix.—tom. iii. col. 202 B.—fol. Basil. 1541.—Omittit hoc capitulum cum quibusdam aliis ed. Ben.]

[n] [Respons. ad object. Vincent. v.—tom. x. append. col. 210 A.]

[o] [leg. lxxxi. art. 1. § 5.]

[p] ['tanquam ab aliqua infectione culpæ.']

[q] [Vide per totam distinctionem; verba non inveni.—Ed.]

[r] ['Sicut in vase dignoscitur vitium esse, cum vinum infusum acescit.'—§§ B fin., et F fin., pp. 439, 41.]

III.

DR. TAYLOR'S ANSWER TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

My Lord,

I perceive that you have a great charity to every one of the sons of the church, that your lordship refuses not to solicit their objections, and to take care that every man be answered that can make objections against my doctrine; but as your charity makes you refuse no work or labour of love, so shall my duty and obedience make me ready to perform any commandment that can be relative to so excellent a principle.

I am indeed sorry your lordship is thus haunted with objections about the question of original sin; but because you are pleased to hand them to me, I cannot think them so inconsiderable as in themselves they seem; for what your lordship thinks worthy the reporting from others, I must think are fit to be answered and returned by me.

In your lordship's of November tenth, these things I am to reply to:

'Let me request you to weigh that of S. Paul, Ephes. ii. 5.' The words are these, 'Even when we were dead in sins,' God 'hath quickened us together with Christ;' which words I do not at all suppose relate to the matter of original sin, but to the state of heathen sins, habitual idolatries and impurities, in which the world was dead before the great reformation by Christ: and I do not know any expositor of note that suspects any other sense of it; and the second verse of that chapter makes it so certain and plain, that it is too visible to insist upon it longer.—But your lordship adds further,

'And to remember how often he calls concupiscence, sin.'—I know S. Paul reckons concupiscence to be one of the works of the flesh, and consequently such as excludes from heaven, Col. iii. 5. 'Evil concupiscence;' concupiscence with something superadded, but certainly that is nothing that is natural; for God made nothing that is evil, and whatsoever is natural and necessary, cannot be mortified; but this may and must, and the apostle calls upon us to do it; but that this is a superinducing, and an actual or habitual lusting, appears by the following words, verse 7, "in which ye also walked sometimes when ye lived in them," such a concupiscence as that which is the effect of habitual sins or an estate of sins, of which the apostle speaks, Rom. vii. 8, "Sin taking occasion by the commandment wrought in me all manner of concupiscence;" that is, so great a state of evil, such strong inclinations and desires to sin, that I grew as captive under it; it introduced a necessity like those in S. Peter[a],

[a] [2 Pet. ii. 13.]

who had eyes μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος, 'full of an adulteress:' the women had possessed their eyes, and therefore they were ἀκατάπαυστοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, 'they could not cease from sin:' because having πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν, 'all concupiscence,' that is, the very spirit of sinful desires, they could relish nothing but the productions of sin, they could fancy nothing but *coloquintida* and toadstools of the earth. Once more I find S. Paul speaking of concupiscence, 1 Thess. iv. 5, "Let every man know to possess his vessel in holiness and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the gentiles which know not God." In the 'lust of concupiscence,' that is plainly, in lustfulness and impurity; for it is a hebraism, where a superlative is usually expressed by the *synonymon*, as *lutum cœni, pluvia imbris;* so 'the gall of bitterness,' and the 'iniquity of sins;' *robur virium;* 'the blackness of darkness,' that is, σκότος ἐξώτερον, 'the outer darkness,' or the greatest darkness: so here 'the lust of concupiscence,' that is, the vilest and basest of it. I know no where else that the apostle uses the word in any sense. But the like is to be said of the word 'lust,' which the apostle often uses for the habits produced, or the pregnant desires, but never for the natural principle and affection, when he speaks of sin.

But your lordship is pleased to add a subtilty in pursuance of your former advices and notices, which I confess I shall never understand.

"Although baptism take away the guilt as concretively redounding to the person, yet the simple abstracted guilt, as to the nature, remains; for sacraments are administered to persons, not to natures:" —This I suppose those persons from whom your lordship reports it intended as an answer to a secret objection. For if concupiscence be a sin, and yet remains after baptism, then what good does baptism effect? But if it be no sin after, then it is no sin before. To this it is answered as you see, 'There is a double guilt; a guilt of person, and of nature: that is taken away, this is not; for sacraments are given to persons, not to natures.'

But, first, where is there such a distinction set down in scripture, or in the prime antiquity, or in any moral philosopher? There is no human nature but what is in the persons of men; and though our understanding can make a separate consideration of these, or rather consider a person in a double capacity, in his personal and in his natural, that is, if I am to speak sense, a person may be considered in that which is proper to him, and in that which is common to him and others; yet these two considerations cannot make two distinct subjects capable of such different events. I will put it to the trial.

This guilt that is in nature, what is it? is it the same thing that was in the person, that is, is it an obligation to punishment? If it

be not, I know not the meaning of the word, and therefore I have nothing to do with it. If it be, then if this guilt or obligation to punishment remains in the nature after it is taken from the person, then if this concupiscence deserve damnation, this nature shall be damned though the person be saved. Let the objectors, my lord, choose which they will. If it does not deserve damnation, why do they say it does? If it does, then the guilty may suffer what they deserve, but the innocent or the absolved must not; the person then being acquitted, and the nature not acquitted, the nature shall be damned and the person be saved.

But if it be said that the guilt remains in the nature to certain purposes, but not to all; then I reply, so it does in the person; for it is in the person after baptism, so as to be a perpetual possibility and proneness to sin, and a principle of trouble; and if it be no otherwise in the nature, then this distinction is to no purpose; if it be otherwise in the nature, then it brings damnation to it, when it brings none to the man, and then the former argument must return. But whether it prevail or no, yet I cannot but note that what is here affirmed is expressly against the words commonly attributed to S. Cyprian *De ablutione pedum*[b], *Sic abluit quos parentalis labes infecerat, ut nec actualis nec originalis macula aliqua sui post ablutionem illam vestigia derelinquat.* How this, supposing it of baptism, can be reconciled with the guilt remaining in the nature, I confess I cannot give an account. It is expressly against S. Austin, *tom.* ix. *tract.* 41. *in Joan.*[c] saying, *Deleta est tota iniquitas;* expressly against S. Hierome[d], *Epist. ad Ocean., Quomodo justificati sumus et sanctificati, si peccatum aliquid in nobis relinquitur?*

But again my lord, I did suppose that concupiscence or original sin had been founded in nature, and had not been a personal but a natural evil. I am sure so the article of our church affirms, "It is the fault and corruption of our nature." And so S. Bonaventure[e] affirms in the words cited by your lordship in your letter, *Sicut peccatum actuale tribuitur alicui ratione singularis personæ, ita peccatum originis tribuitur ratione naturæ.* Either then the sacrament must have effect upon our nature to purify that which is vitiated by concupiscence, or else it does no good at all. For if the guilt or sin be founded in the nature, as the article affirms, and baptism does not take off the guilt from the nature, then it does nothing.

Now since your lordship is pleased in the behalf of the objectors so warily to avoid what they thought pressing, I will take leave to use the advantages it ministers; for so the serpent teaches us where to strike him, by his so warily and guiltily defending his head. I therefore argue thus:—

[b] [p. 513. ed. Pamel. 1593.]
[c] [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 575.]
[d] [p. 339, not. l, supra.]
[e] [p. 559, not. p, supra.]

Either baptism does not take off the guilt of original sin, or else there may be punishment where there is no guilt, or else natural death was not it which God threatened as the punishment of Adam's fact. For it is certain that all men die as well after baptism as before, and more after than before. That which would be properly the consequent of this dilemma is this, that when God threatened death to Adam, saying, "On the day thou eatest of the tree, thou shalt die the death," He inflicted, and intended to inflict, the evils of a troublesome mortal life. For Adam did not die that day, but Adam began to be miserable that day, to live upon hard labour, to eat fruits from an accursed field, till he should return to the earth whence he was taken[f]. So that death, in the common sense of the word, was to be the end of his labour, not so much the punishment of the sin. For it is probable, he should have gone off from the scene of this world to a better, though he had not sinned; but if he had not sinned, he should not be so afflicted, and he should not have died daily till he had died finally, that is, till he had 'returned to his dust whence he was taken,' and whither he would naturally have gone: and it is no new thing in scripture[g] that miseries and infelicities should be called 'dying' or 'death.' But I only note this as probable; as not being willing to admit what the Socinians answer in this argument, who affirm that God, threatening death to the sin of Adam, meant death eternal: which is certainly not true; as we learn from the words of the apostle, saying, "In Adam we all *die*;" which is not true of death eternal, but it is true of the miseries and calamities of mankind, and it is true of temporal death in the sense now explicated, and in that which is commonly received.

But I add also this problem. That which would have been had there been no sin, and that which remains when the sin or guiltiness is gone, is not properly the punishment of the sin. But dissolution of the soul and body should have been if Adam had not sinned; for the world would have been too little to have entertained those myriads of men which must in all reason have been born from that blessing of 'Increase and multiply' which was given at the first creation; and to have confined mankind to the pleasures of this world in case he had not fallen, would have been a punishment of his innocence; but however, it might have been though God had not been angry, and shall still be even when the sin is taken off. The proper consequent of this will be, that when the apostle says, 'Death came in by sin,' and that 'Death is the wages of sin,' he primarily and literally means the solemnities, and causes, and infelicities, and untimeliness, of temporal death, and not merely the dissolution; which is directly no evil, but an inlet to a better state. But I insist not on this, but offer it to the consideration of inquisitive and modest persons.

[f] [Gen. iii. 17—19.]
[g] [Exod. x. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 31; 2 Cor. i. 10; iv. 10—12; xi. 23.]

And now,—that I may return thither from whence this objection brought me,—I consider, that if any should urge this argument to me,

Baptism delivers from original sin;

Baptism does not deliver from concupiscence; therefore,

Concupiscence is not original sin;—

I did not know well what to answer; I could possibly say something to satisfy the boys and young men at a public disputation, but not to satisfy myself, when I am upon my knees, and giving an account to God of all my secret and hearty persuasions. But I consider, that by 'concupiscence' must be meant either the first inclination to their object; or the proper acts of election, which are the second acts of concupiscence. If the first inclinations be meant, then certainly that cannot be a sin, which is natural, and which is necessary. For I consider that concupiscence and natural desires are like hunger, which, while it is natural and necessary, is not for the destruction but conservation of man; when it goes beyond the limits of nature, it is violent and a disease: and so is concupiscence; but desires, or lustings, when they are taken for the natural propensity to their proper object, are so far from being a sin, that they are the instruments of felicity for this duration; and when they grow towards being irregular, they may if we please grow instruments of felicity in order to the other duration, because they may serve a virtue by being restrained; and to desire that to which all men tend naturally, is no more a sin than to desire to be happy is a sin: 'desire' is no more a sin than 'joy' or 'sorrow' is: neither can it be fancied why one passion more than another can be in its whole nature criminal: either all or none are so; when any of them grows irregular or inordinate, joy is as bad as desire, and fear as bad as either.

But if by 'concupiscence' we mean the second acts of it, that is, avoidable consentings, and deliberate elections; then let it be as much condemned as the apostle and all the church after him hath sentenced it; but then it is not Adam's sin but our own by which we are condemned; for it is not his fault that we choose: if we choose, it is our own; if we choose not, it is no fault. For there is a natural act of the will as well as of the understanding, and in the choice of the supreme good, and in the first apprehension of its proper object, the will is as natural as any other faculty; and the other faculties have degrees of adherence as well as the will: so have the potestative and intellective faculties; they are delighted in their best objects. But because these only are natural, and the will is natural sometimes, but not always, there it is that a difference can be.

For I consider, if the first concupiscence be a sin,—original sin, for actual it is not,—and that this is properly, personally, and inherently, our sin by traduction; that is, if our will be necessitated to

sin by Adam's fall, as it must needs be if it can sin when it cannot deliberate; then there can be no reason told why it is more a sin to will evil, than to understand it; and how does that which is moral differ from that which is natural? For the understanding is first and primely moved by its object, and in that motion by nothing else but by God, who moves all things: and if that which hath nothing else to move it but the object, yet is not free; it is strange that the will can in any sense be free, when it is necessitated by wisdom and by power, and by Adam, that is, from within and from without, besides what God and violence do and can do.

But in this I have not only scripture and all the reason of the world on my side, but the complying sentences of the most eminent writers of the primitive church; I need not trouble myself with citations of many of them, since Calvin, *Lib.* iii. *Instit. cap.* 3. *sect.* 10[h], confesses that S. Austin hath collected their testimonies, and is of their opinion, that concupiscence is not a sin, but an infirmity only. But I will here set down the words of S. Chrysostom, *Homil.* xiii. *in epist. Rom.*[i], because they are very clear, *Ipsæ passiones in se peccatum non sunt, effrænata vero ipsarum immoderantia peccatum operata est; concupiscentia quidem peccatum non est, quando vero egressa modum foras eruperit, tunc demum adulterium fit, non a concupiscentia, sed a nimio et illicito illius luxu.*

By the way, I cannot but wonder why men are pleased, wherever they find the word, 'concupiscence' in the New testament, presently to dream of original sin, and make that to be the sum total of it; whereas 'concupiscence,' if it were the product of Adam's fall, is but one small part of it; *et ut exempli gratia unam illarum tractem,* said S. Chrysostom in the forecited place; concupiscence is but one of the passions, and in the utmost extension of the word it can be taken but for one half of the passion; for not only all the passions of the concupiscible faculty can be a principle of sin, but the irascible does more hurt in the world; that is more sensual, this is more devilish. The reason why I note this, is because upon this account it will seem that concupiscence is no more to be called a sin than anger is; and as S. Paul said, "Be angry but sin not;" so he might have said, "Desire or lust, but sin not." For there are some lustings and desires without sin, as well as some angers; and that which is indifferent to virtue and vice, cannot of itself be a vice; to which I add, that if concupiscence, taken for all desires, be a sin, then so are all the passions of the irascible faculty. Why one more than the other is not to be told; but that anger in the first motions is not a sin, appears because it is not always sinful in the second; a man may be actually angry, and yet really innocent: and so he may be lustful and full of desire, and yet he may be not only that which is good, or he may overcome his desires to that which is bad.

[h] [p. 156.]

[i] [tom. ix. p. 557.]

I have now considered what your lordship received from others, and gave me in charge yourself, concerning concupiscence.

Your next charge is concerning Antiquity, intimating that although the first antiquity is not clearly against me, yet the second is. For thus your lordship is pleased to write their objection, "I confess I find not the fathers so fully and plainly speaking of original sin, till Pelagius had puddled the stream; but after this you may find S. Hierome," &c.

That the fathers of the first four hundred years did speak plainly and fully of it, is so evident as nothing more; and I appeal to their testimonies as they are set down in the papers annexed in their proper place; and therefore that must needs be one of the little arts by which some men use to escape from the pressure of that authority, by which because they would have other men concluded, sometimes upon strict enquiry they find themselves entangled. Original sin, as it is at this day commonly explicated, was not the doctrine of the primitive church; but when "Pelagius had puddled the stream," S. Austin was so angry that he stamped and disturbed it more: and truly, my lord, I do not think that the gentlemen that urged against me S. Austin's opinion, do well consider that I profess myself to follow those fathers who were before him; and whom S. Austin did forsake, as I do him, in the question. They may as well press me with his authority in the article of the damnation of infants dying unbaptized, or of absolute predestination: in which article S. Austin's words are equally urged by the Jansenists and Molinists, by the remonstrants and contra-remonstrants; and they can serve both, and therefore cannot determine me. But then, my lord, let it be remembered, that they are as much against S. Chrysostom as I am against S. Austin, with this only difference; that S. Chrysostom speaks constantly in the argument, which S. Austin did not, and particularly in that part of it which concerns concupiscence. For in the enquiry whether it be a sin or no, he speaks so variously, that though Calvin complains of him that he calls it only an 'infirmity,' yet he also brings testimonies from him to prove it to be a 'sin;' and let any man try if he can tie these words together; *De peccat. mer. et remiss., lib.* i. *cap.* 3[k], *Concupiscentia carnis peccatum est, quia inest illi inobedientia contra dominatum mentis;* which are the words your lordship quotes, 'concupiscence is a sin, because it is a disobedience to the empire of the spirit.' But yet in another place, *Lib.* i. *de civ. Dei, cap.* 25[l], *Illa concupiscentialis inobedientia quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis?* It is a sin and it is no sin; it is criminal, but is without fault; it is culpable because it is a disobedience; and yet this disobedience without actual consent is not culpable. If I do believe S. Austin, I must disbelieve him; and which part soever I take, I

[k] [p. 559, not. k, supra.]

[l] [tom. vii. col. 24.]

shall be reproved by the same authority. But when the fathers are divided from each other or themselves, it is indifferent to follow either; but when any of them are divided from reason and scripture, then it is not indifferent for us to follow them and neglect these; and yet if these who object S. Austin's authority to my doctrine, will be content to be subject to all that he says, I am content they shall follow him in this too; provided that they will give me my liberty, because I will not be tied to him that speaks contrary things to himself, and contrary to them that went before him; and though he was a rare person, yet he was as fallible as any of my brethren at this day. He was followed by many ignorant ages, and all the world knows by what accidental advantages he acquired a great reputation: but he who made no scruple of deserting all his predecessors, must give us leave upon the strength of his own reasons to quit his authority.

All that I shall observe is this, that the doctrine of original sin, as it is explicated by S. Austin, had two parents; one was the doctrine of the Encratites, and some other heretics, who forbade marriage, and supposing it to be evil, thought they were warranted to say it was the bed of sin, and children the spawn of vipers and sinners. And S. Austin himself, and especially S. Hierome whom your lordship cites, speaks some things of marriage, which if they were true, then marriage were highly to be refused, as being the increaser of sin rather than of children, and a semination in the flesh and contrary to the Spirit, and such a thing which being mingled with sin produces univocal issues; the mother and the daughter are so like that they are the worse again. For if a proper inherent sin be effected by chaste marriages, then they are in this particular equal to adulterous embraces, and rather to be pardoned than allowed; and if all concupiscence be vicious, then no marriage can be pure. These things it may be have not been so much considered; but your lordship I know remembers strange sayings in S. Hierome, in Athenagoras, and in S. Austin, which possibly have been countenanced and maintained at the charge of this opinion.—But the other parent of this is the zeal against the Pelagian heresy, which did serve itself by saying too little in this article, and therefore was thought fit to be confuted by saying too much; and that I conjecture right in this affair I appeal to the words which I cited out of S. Austin, in the matter of concupiscence; concerning which he speaks the same thing that I do, when he is disengaged; as in his books *De civitate Dei;* but in his tractate *De peccatorum meritis et remissione,* which was written in his heat against the Pelagians, he speaks quite contrary. And whoever shall with observation read his one book of original sin against Pelagius, his two books *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* to Valerius, his three books to Marcellinus *De peccatorum meritis et remissione,* his four books to Boniface, *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum,* his six books to Claudius against Juli-

anus,—and shall think himself bound to believe all that this excellent man wrote, will not only find it impossible he should, but will have reason to say that zeal against an error is not always the best instrument to find out truth. The same complaint hath been made of others; and S. Hierome hath suffered deeply in the infirmity. I shall not therefore trouble your lordship with giving particular answers to the words of S. Hierome and S. Ambrose, because besides what I have already said, I do not think that their words are an argument fit to conclude against so much evidence, nor against a much less than that which I have everywhere brought in this article. Though indeed their words are capable of a fair interpretation; and, besides, the words quoted out of S. Ambrose are none of his; and for Aquinas, Lombard, and Bonaventure, your lordship might as well press me with the opinion of Mr. Calvin, Knox, and Buchanan, with the synod of Dort, or the Scots' presbyteries: I know they are against me, and therefore I reprove them for it; but it is no disparagement to the truth that other men are in error. And yet of all the schoolmen Bonaventure should least have been urged against me, for the proverb's sake, for *Adam non peccavit in Bonaventura*[m], Alexander of Hales would often say that 'Adam never sinned in Bonaventure.' But it may be he was not in earnest; no more am I.

The last thing your lordship gives to me in charge in the behalf of the objectors, is that 'I would take into consideration the covenant made between almighty God and Adam as relating to his posterity.'

To this I answer, that I know of no such thing; God made a covenant with Adam indeed, and used the right of His dominion over his posterity, and yet did nothing but what was just; but I find in scripture no mention made of any such covenant as is dreamt of about the matter of original sin: only the covenant of works God did make with all men till Christ came; but He did never exact it after Adam; but for a covenant that God should make with Adam, that if he stood, all his posterity should be I know not what; and if he fell, they should be in a damnable condition; of this, I say, there is *nec vola nec vestigium* in holy scripture that ever I could meet with; if there had been any such covenant, it had been but equity that to all the persons interessed it should have been communicated, and caution given to all who were to suffer, and abilities given to them to prevent the evil: for else it is not a covenant with them, but a decree concerning them; and it is impossible that there should be a covenant made between two when one of the parties knows nothing of it.

[m] [p. 291, not. y, supra.]

I will enter no further into this enquiry, but only observe that though there was no such covenant, yet the event that happened might without any such covenant have justly entered in at many doors. It is one thing to say that God by Adam's sin was moved to a severer entercourse with his posterity, for that is certainly true; and it is another thing to say that Adam's sin of itself did deserve all the evil that came actually upon his children. Death is the wages of sin; one death for one sin, but not ten thousand millions for one sin; but therefore the apostle affirms it to have descended on all, "inasmuch as all men have sinned;" but if from a sinning parent a good child descends, the child's innocence will more prevail with God for kindness, than the father's sin shall prevail for trouble. *Non omnia peccata parentum dii in liberos convertunt: sed si quis de malo nascitur bonus, tanquam bene affecti*[m] *corpore natus de morboso, is generis pœna liberatur, veluti e malitiæ genere in virtutis familiam transcriptus*[n]*; qui vero morbo in similitudinem generis refertur vitiosi, ei nimirum convenit, tanquam hæredi, debitas pœnas vitii persolvere,* said Plutarch, *De iis qui sero a numine puniuntur*[o]*, ex interpr. Cruserii*[p]*;* 'God does not always make the fathers' sins descend upon the children: but if a good child is born of a bad father, like an healthful body from an ill-affected one, he is freed from the punishment of his stock, and passes from the house of wickedness into another family; but he who inherits the disease, he also must be heir of the punishment;' *quorum natura amplexa est cognatam malitiam, hos justitia similitudinem pravitatis persequens supplicio affecit,* 'if they pursue their kindred's wickedness, they shall be pursued by a cognation of judgment.'

Other ways there are by which it may come to pass that the sins of others may descend upon us. He that is author or the persuader, the minister or the helper, the approver or the follower, may derive the sins of others to himself; but then it is not their sins only, but our own too; and it is like a dead taper put to a burning light and held there; this derives light and flames from the other, and yet then hath it of its own, but they dwell together and make one body. These are the ways by which punishment can enter; but there are evils which are no punishments, and they may come upon more accounts: by God's dominion, by natural consequence, by infection, by destitution and dereliction, for the glory of God, by right of authority, for the institution or exercise of the sufferers, or for their more immediate good.

But that directly and properly one should be punished for the sins of others, was indeed practised by some commonwealths; *Utilitatis specie sæpissime in repub. peccari,* said Cicero[q]; they do it sometimes

[m] [sic edd.—? 'affecto.']
[n] ['veluti . . transcriptus,' in edd. sic, 'utpote è malitia ut qualitate ortus.']
[o] [tom. viii. p. 227.]
[p] potius, Xylandri.]
[q] [De off. iii. 11.]

for terror, and because their ways of preventing evil is very imperfect: and when Pedanius Secundus the prætor was killed by a slave, all the family of them was killed in punishment; this was *secundum veterem morem*, said Tacitus[r]: for in the slaughter of Marcellus the slaves fled for fear of such usage. It was thus, I say, among the Romans; but *habuit aliquid iniqui;* and God forbid we should say such things of the Fountain of justice and mercy. But I have done, and will move no more stones, but hereafter carry them as long as I can, rather than make a noise by throwing them down.—I shall only add this one thing: I was troubled with an objection lately; for it being propounded to me, why it is to be believed that the sin of Adam could spoil the nature of man, and yet the nature of devils could not be spoiled by their sin, which was worse; I could not well tell what to say, and therefore I held my peace.

[r] ['vetere ex more,' Annal. xiv. 42.]

CERTAIN LETTERS

OF

HENRY JEANES,

MINISTER OF GOD'S WORD AT CHEDZOY,

AND

DR. JEREMY TAYLOR,

CONCERNING A PASSAGE OF HIS

IN HIS

FURTHER EXPLICATION OF ORIGINAL SIN[a].

[a] [The reader will bear in mind, in order to understand some expressions in these pages, that the correspondence was published by Jeanes himself. (4to. Oxon. 1660.)—See other particulars in Heber's life of Taylor.]

DR. TAYLOR, *in his 'Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin,'* p. 496, [p. 335 above.]

"That every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true; and it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly: 1. Because that which is unavoidable is not a sin; 2. Because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential; 3. It is superinduced to nature, and is after it," &c.

TO THE UNPREJUDICED READER.

I SHALL only give thee a brief narrative of the occasion of the ensuing letters: one Mr. T. C.[a] of Bridgewater, being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor; I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity: but notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous, and I instanced in his doctrine of 'Original Sin.' Now his 'Further Explication' of this lay then casually in the window (as I take it); which hereupon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and shewed unto Mr. T. C. that therein was gross nonsense and blasphemy; he, for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Dr. Taylor notice of what I said; whereunto I agreed, and in a short time he brought me from the Doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them; whereupon I drew them up in a letter unto Mr. T. C., the copy whereof followeth.

[a] [Heber in his life of Taylor fills up this name as 'Thomas Cartwright,' but upon what authority the present Editor is not aware.]

LETTERS OF THE AUTHOR[a] AND DR. JEREMY TAYLOR TO MR. T. C.

SIR,

I HAVE here, according unto your desire, sent you my exceptions against that passage in Dr. Taylor concerning which you discoursed at my house; it is in his 'Further explication of the doctrine of original sin,' p. 496[b], and it is the second argument which he brings to prove that 'inclination to evil is no sin properly;' 'because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential.' The argument, put into form, may be reduced into two syllogisms.

The first:

Sin, properly, is not accidental to the nature of man.
An inclination to evil is accidental to the nature of man: therefore,
An inclination to evil is no sin properly.

A second syllogism is,—

Sin, properly so called, is intrinsical, and essential to the nature of man.
An inclination to evil is not intrinsical, and essential to the nature of man: therefore,
An inclination to evil is not sin, properly so called.

Unto the first of those syllogisms I answer, that the major is false; and that, according to Porphyry[c] his so celebrated definition of an accident, *Accidens est quod adest et abest sine subjecti interitu;* that is, as the best commentators upon Porphyry expound the words, 'An accident is that which may be affirmed or denied of its subject without any repugnancy or contradiction to the essence and definition thereof;' now to deny sin of man, gives no overthrow to his essence and definition; for a man that is no sinner may be *animal rationale;* sin therefore is accidental to the nature of man.

The major of the second syllogism is no less false than that of the first. As for the term 'intrinsical,' I shall not stay upon it, because the doctor useth it as equivalent to essential, as is apparent by the antithesis he puts between it and 'accidental;' but shall wholly insist upon the word 'essential.' To say, as the doctor doth by consequence, that 'sin is essential to the nature of man,' is an assertion, guilty of nonsense,—blasphemy,—and libertinism.

[a] [See note to p. 571, above.] [b] [See preceding page.] [c] [Isagog. cap. v.]

FIRST, Nonsense.—A thing may be said to be essential unto another, either *a priori*, and then it is predicated of it *in primo modo dicendi per se*; or else *a posteriori*, and then it is predicated of it *in secundo modo dicendi per se*. And to say that sin is either of these ways essential to the nature of man, is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense, as that I cannot think it worthy of any serious refutation.

In a SECOND place, I charge it with blasphemy: it blasphemes three actions, three acts of God; the creation of man,—the incarnation of Christ,—the full glorification of the saints at the resurrection.

α) The creation of man: God was the author of whatsoever was essential unto man; and if sin be essential unto the nature of man, then God was the author of sin.

β) The incarnation of Christ: in which God made Christ like unto man in essentials: if sin then be essential unto the nature of man, God made Christ sinful; a blasphemy that I tremble to mention.

γ) This opinion blasphemes Go'ds full glorification of the saints in the resurrection; for it affirms by just consequence that they shall be raised with sin, because doubtless they shall be raised with whatsoever is essential to the nature of man.

In the THIRD and last place, this tenet is chargeable with libertinism: it is a licentious doctrine, and opens a gap to the greatest profaneness: for it takes away all conscience of sin, all repentance of it for the time past, all caution against it for the future: if sin be essential to the nature of man, what reason hath he to be humbled for it, to ask God pardon for it, to make any scruple of the committing of it?

And thus having briefly performed my promise, and satisfied your request, I shall rest

your affectionate friend, and humble servant,

HENRY JEANES.

Before the receipt of this, Mr. T. C. gave an account unto Dr. Taylor of what he remembered in our discourse, and received from him an answer, which he concealed from me until the delivery of my paper, and then he produced it. This answer, together with my reply thereunto, I shall next offer unto thy consideration.

To his respected friend, Mr. T. C. these, &c.

Mr. C.

I thank you for your letter, and friendly information of Mr. Jeanes's exception; but if he had been as careful to understand as he was forward to object and mistake, he had eased you and me of this little trouble. He objects that I say, that 'inclination to sin is no sin, because it is accidental, not intrinsical and essential:' and he gives reasons why such a reason is absurd. To all which I return this soft answer, that he says true, but nothing to the purpose. For the thing that I was to prove then was the precedent word: that 'every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less:' that is, that this inclination to evil is not regular and uniform, and therefore not natural: for as for the other clause, 'it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly,' that was the less principal part of the proposition, and to it only the first reason was apportioned, viz., that which is unavoidable is not a sin. But if he had considered the business I was then upon, he must needs have seen that I was explicating that clause of the church article, 'and is inclined to evil,' which I was to say was an inclination not natural, not intrinsical, not essential but accidental. And this thing I pursue, and to this all the other reasons relate, to the end of that section; and none of them, the first only excepted, relates to the latter part of the proposition, which if I had left out, and the reasons relating to it, the sense had been as complete, and my argument not the worse, and my discourse no less pertinent. And unless he refer the four last reasons, that is, all after the first, to that clause of the variety of our inclination to evil, he will not only mistake the second reason, but all the rest. Besides this, if Mr. Jeanes had so much ingenuity as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived that for me to mean what he says I mean, had been the perfect destruction of all my discourse, and all my intention; for if I had said that 'nothing could be a sin but what is intrinsical and essential,' then I had affirmed that 'not only some sin, but all sin had been natural.' Now my *thesis* being, that 'no sin, properly such, is natural;' it cannot be imagined that I should mean what he dreams of: it had not been to my purpose, either there or in the whole question. But all the following reasons do so explicate and fully manifest the meaning of the second, that I wonder how Mr. Jeanes, if he be that person which he would be thought, could mistake it, unless he be also that person he would not be thought. I could say many more things, but this being the truth of the business, and the real purpose of my discourse, I need add no more; but one thing I cannot but add to Mr. Jeanes; that is, since he instances in our blessed Saviour, he must needs allow that concupiscence, taking it for those desires

which are purely natural, and co-created with us, cannot possibly be a sin: because, as Mr. Jeanes rightly observes, whatsoever is natural to man was in Christ, because He had all our mere nature, but He had not our sin; therefore our mere nature hath no sin: for Christ was in all things like to us, sin only excepted, but He took upon Him our nature, and nothing of that was excepted; therefore our nature of itself is not properly sinful; nothing of our constitution is criminal.

Sir, I have given you a fair and easy answer. I pray let Mr. Jeanes have so much conveyed to him as concerns that part to which he objects: and if he writes any thing against me, let him take notice of this my answer, or else all the world shall take notice of his impertinent and uningenious dealing. I pray let not this letter go out of your hand, because I have no copy of it, if Mr. Jeanes should be troublesome: but if he be, it will be sufficient to acquaint his neighbourhood with my defence, for what he says shall go no further. Sir, I hope you will expound this trouble I put you to in reading a long letter, to my readiness to do you service, and as a return of those great kindnesses by which you have obliged,

Sir, your very affectionate friend,

to love and serve you,

JEREMY TAYLOR.

London, July 4th, 1657.

POSTSCRIPT.—I hope I have spoken clearly enough in the explicating and untying this knot in the bulrush; but if it be not extremely plain, for your own satisfaction make but the second part of the proposition to be a parenthesis; thus, beginning at 'and it is an effect,' &c. unto '2.' and then the thing is extremely plain, for there the design was only to say and prove, that although man be (more or less as it happens) inclined to sin, yet his nature is never the more criminal for that: for it is besides his nature, it is accidental to it: not but that it is natural to be inclined to such objects; but that this should be sinful is but in some cases, and it is accidental, and it is because those objects were forbidden, after our nature was given to us. Man is naturally inclined to some things which are not naturally, but accidentally, sinful.

TO HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR. T. C. THESE, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE received Dr. Taylor his letter sent unto you, bearing date July 4th. What design you had in concealing of it so long from me, I cannot guess: but if you had delivered it before I had sent you my objections, you would have eased me and Dr. Taylor of some trouble: for I should then have let alone these objections, and have only proved that I did him no wrong in charging him with the conclusions against which these objections were directed: to wit, that no sin is accidental; that all sin is essential and intrinsical.

Two things he layeth to my charge; want of care to understand him, and disingenuity.

FIRST, want of care to understand him. "If he had been," he saith, "as careful to understand as he was forward to object and mistake, he had eased you and me of this little trouble." But if the doctor had been a man of that ingenuity which you fame him for, he would have confessed his carelessness in expressing of himself, and not have charged me with want of care to understand that to be his meaning, which I could not understand to be his meaning without offering violence to his words. He propounds two propositions, without any thing but a copulative conjunction interposed between them; and unto the last of these propositions he subjoineth six reasons. Now, what rule of logic obliged me to carry the five last of these reasons backwards, and to place them between the above-mentioned propositions, I readily confess myself to be utterly ignorant, and shall be very ready to sit down at the doctor's feet, and to learn any such rule of him. If the doctor must have such liberty allowed him to make such unexampled transpositions, he is a very formidable adversary, not to be coped with by mortal wights, who cannot guess how he will in an after-game sever these reasons, that he hath first joined together.

Logic informeth me, that 'secondly' signifies 'a relation of order betwixt itself and firstly.' But now, if two reasons be related unto not one, but several conclusions, I would fain know why one should be the first, and the other the second reason.

Besides, here is a first reason, that hath no second reason following it, relating unto the same conclusion. There goeth a story of an alderman in Oxford, that upon the reading of some records touching something controverted betwixt the town and university, he brake out into this expression; "Unless we can prove king Henry the eighth to be before king Henry the seventh, the university will have the better of us: but if we can make it good that king Henry the eighth was before king Henry the seventh, then there is no doubt but that we shall in this particular have a full conquest over the

scholars." I take this to be a fable; but however, give me leave to make application of it unto my present purpose. All the wrong that the doctor can pretend that I have done him, is because I did not place 'secondly' before 'firstly,' and if he can make it good that I ought to have placed 'secondly' before 'firstly,' then I must needs confess I have done him a great deal of injury, and shall be ready to ask his pardon; and unless such proof can be made, he must lay the blame upon the confusion and disorder of his own discourse: but to go on. The doctor tells us that this clause, 'it is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly,' is 'the less principal part of the proposition:' both clauses then, according unto him, make but one proposition; and this is a great failing against that logic which the learned have hitherto used; for by that, these two clauses are not parts of one proposition, but several, entire, distinct propositions.

But perhaps he may say, that they make one compounded proposition.—Unto this I shall reply,

First, that a compounded proposition consists ever of simple propositions. Now the last of these clauses, to say nothing of the first, is a compounded proposition itself, for it is an adversative proposition; and, therefore though these two clauses may make an aggregation of several propositions, yet they can never concur to the composition of one.

Secondly, if both clauses make one compounded proposition, then it is a copulative proposition, because they are knit together by a copulative conjunction. Now a copulative proposition is not true unless all parts be true, and consequently it is not proved to be true unless all parts be proved to be true. Now the doctor for the proof of this pretended copulative proposition, jumbleth together six reasons, without any note of distinction to direct the reader unto which part of the proposition, as he calls it, he should apply the several reasons: and whether this proof of a copulative proposition be not illogical, I appeal unto any man that knows any thing in logic.

He informs you, that the first reason is to be apportioned unto the latter part of the proposition as he calls it, and the five other reasons unto the first part of the proposition. But what precept of logic or grammar I have transgressed in not making such a distribution or application of his reasons, he doth not acquaint you.

But the doctor directs you unto two ways for the finding out of his meaning.

The first, to leave out the second clause, and the reason relating unto it. "If I had," saith he, "left out the latter part of the proposition, and the reasons relating to it, my sense had been as complete, and my argument not the worse, and my discourse no less pertinent."

But the second clause being left in, perturbeth and confoundeth the sense, and occasioneth the mistake: and who, I pray, is to be blamed, the doctor for putting it into the synthesis, or I for still keeping it in the analysis of his words? It would be a strange and unheard-of way of analyzing, that a reader should lop off two lines at a time of an author: but it should seem we are to make such defalcations to make your great doctor speak sense; only I would know by what warrant and obligation.

"A second way, which will make it extremely plain," as he tells you in the postscript, "is to make the second part of the proposition," as he terms it, "and the reason relating unto it, to be a parenthesis."

But first, that this was not brought in by way of parenthesis, who is in the fault?

Again secondly, the doctor hath told us, that "it is the second part of the same proposition with the foregoing clause;" and if so, then it cannot be inserted as a parenthesis betwixt it and the following proposition.

And besides thirdly, if he bring in the words only by way of parenthesis, I would fain know what is to be done with 'secondly;' in this case he must new figure and number his reasons. That which he figureth to be the second reason, must be the first, and his six reasons will prove to be but five.

The SECOND thing that he chargeth me with, is disingenuity. "Besides this," saith he, "if Mr. Jeanes had so much ingenuity as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived," &c.

1) As for what he speaks of my pretending unto logic, I think unworthy of any answer, and shall leave it unto the reader to judge of the wit and ingenuity thereof.

2) It is no disingenuous part in me to charge the doctor with a conclusion that I prove his words to be guilty of; for as for his meaning, I cannot guess at it but by his words, but I believe the unpartial reader will judge it a very high point of disingenuity in the doctor not to acknowledge the incommodious structure of his words.

But let us hear wherein my disingenuity consists. "If Mr. Jeanes," saith he, "had so much ingenuity as he pretends to have logic, he would have perceived that for me to mean what he says I mean, had been the perfect destruction of all my discourse and all my intention."

If this be all, the doctor hath no reason to charge me with want of ingenuity in this particular; for I do very well perceive that for him to mean what I say his words hold forth (for as for any secret and reserved meaning I have nothing to do with) had been the 'perfect destruction of all his discourse,' &c. But I believe the doctor's

meaning is, that it is an uningenuous part in me to think it possible, or probable, for him to assert any thing that is the perfect destruction of all his discourse and all his intention. Now this I utterly deny; I have no such apprehension of the doctor's infallibility, but take him to be a man as likely to contradict himself as other mortals.

There is one thing more that the doctor adds concerning our blessed Saviour, that "concupiscence, taking it for those desires which are purely natural and con-created, is no sin, because it was in Christ."

Unto which I answer, that this is nothing unto the purpose; for the concupiscence in controversy is preternatural, and never created, or con-created, by God.

It is an inclination unto evil, and therefore irregular and disorderly: it is that which the apostle termeth 'the sin that dwelleth in him,' Rom. vii. 17, 'which made him do that evil which he would not,' ver. 19, 'which he hated,' ver. 15: 'the law of his members warring against the law of his mind,' ver. 23: 'the body of this death, from which he desired to be delivered,' ver. 24: and methinks he should be afraid to ascribe this concupiscence unto Jesus Christ, who was the Lamb of God, "without blemish and without spot," 1 Pet. i. 19, "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners," Heb. vii. 26. And thus I have, according unto the doctor's desire, taken notice of his answer, and shall not be so hasty as to write any thing against him, but that I shall stay a convenient time to hear the uttermost that he can say; and when our paper shall be made public unto all the world, I do not doubt but there will be more that will accuse him of incogitancy than me of impertinency. Many ingenious and learned men, and some that otherwise admire the doctor, have made the same construction of his words that I have, and thought that he here forgat himself. I am informed that the doctor in a letter unto you tells you that 'he desires not to be troubled with my trifling logic;' I hope he reviles not logic as trifling, for then I know in what herd of writers to rank him, and should decline him as an irrational adversary, who is an enemy to the very art of reason.

But it is not logic itself, I believe, but my logic that he thus bespatters; and if it be so, I shall return nothing unto this his censure, but leave you and others his admirers to judge of the humility and ingenuity thereof.

I have heard that the doctor hath printed a very good Grammar; if he will also publish a Logic for the better information of such triflers as myself, I do assure you that I will very diligently peruse it; and if it be more solid, weighty, and serious, than those which I have hitherto read, give him many thanks for it.

As for his last letter, I have not yet had the leisure fully to peruse it, but by that cursory view which I have taken of it, I find it to be as empty of reason, though fuller of passion, as the former. You have given it out that it is unanswerable; but I shall desire you to have a little patience, and if I do not give it a satisfying answer, I shall submit unto what penance you will enjoin me.

In great haste, I rest,

your affectionate friend and servant,

HENRY JEANES.

Chedzoy, August 31, 1657.

Mr. C. thought that the doctor's letter would supersede all further disputation; but perceiving that I was unsatisfied, and that I intended a replication, he conveyed my objections unto the doctor, which begat a very angry letter from him, unto which he would not vouchsafe so much as a superscription; but I saw the contents concerned me, and therefore unto thee I shall present it, together with my answer thereunto, submitting both unto thy censure, and so shall rest, devoted to thy spiritual service,

HENRY JEANES.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by my very good friend, Mr. T. C., that you are very much troubled at a passage in my 'Further explication of original sin[d].' The words are these, 'that every man is inclined to evil, some more, some less, but all in some instances, is very true, and it is an effect or condition of nature; but no sin properly.' The offence you conceive is because one of the reasons I bring to prove it is, 'because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical and essential.' Upon this you fancy that I intend that 'all sin is intrinsical and essential to nature;' which indeed if I had said, I had been as very a fool as you conceive me, and worse; for besides the reasons you are pleased to object, which I am no way by this concerned to examine, I had destroyed my main intention, nay, that which I was proving in that very place; for my work there was to prove, that 'no sin is or can be natural.'

Now then, although I know you could easily have understood what I did, and must, mean there; yet because you are pleased not to do it, I will point it out to you. 'To be inclined to evil is an effect or condition of nature, but no sin properly,' viz., of nature; for that is the subject of the question, 'whether inclination to evil be an effect

[d] Page 496. [See note to p. 571 above.]

of nature, or an inherent principle of evil, a sin natural and necessary.' Now that it is not this, I do suppose that reason, which you so misconstrued, competent; viz., it is not a natural or necessary sin, not 'a sin of our nature, because it is accidental to nature, not intrinsical, not essential.' If it be in our nature, it must be naturally inseparable, it must be at first, it must be in all persons that have our nature. And this is my meaning; and that you may not be troubled at the word 'essential,' I mean it not in the strict physical but in the moral sense; that which is not after our nature, but together with it in real being: and I explicate it by intrinsical; I oppose it to 'accidental,' in this reason; and to 'superinduced,' in the next. Sir, I did give an account to Mr. C. in a letter to him, which I know was sufficient, and ἔξω βέλους; for *cujus est loqui, ejus est interpretari;* I told you perfectly what is my meaning; it is very plain by the whole design of that, that it must be my meaning; it is also clear enough, and very easy in the expression; and therefore I now appeal to your ingenuity, whether you ought to have made such tragedies with that which common sense would have made plain to you, unless you had received a prejudice.

And now, sir, to your two syllogisms: be pleased to the subject of the two majors to add but this qualification, 'natural,' and try if those horrid consequents will follow which you affixed to your own φαινόμενον.

But I shall for this once consider the particulars.

First, you charge it with nonsense; but (with your favour) you prove it most pitifully. Your reason is, that to say 'essential' is predicated of sin in either of the two ways *dicendi per se,* is such pitiful and prodigious nonsense that you think it not worthy of any serious refutation: so that this is your argument, 'To say that sin is essential, is prodigious and pitiful nonsense; *g.*[e] it is prodigious and pitiful nonsense;' surely a good argument. Or thus, 'That which is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refutation, is certainly nonsense: but to say that sin is essential, is such nonsense that you think not worthy of refute; therefore it is nonsense.' I do not say your argument is nonsense, but I am sure it is no argument, unless a bold affirmative be a sufficient proof in your logic. But to the thing; that sin is essential is indeed false to say, but to say so is not nonsense. And whereas you will suppose me to say so, you are uncharitable, and something unreasonable in it: for I was to prove that inclination to sin was not a sin of our nature, as was pretended, because what was natural is intrinsical and essential, as docibility to man; which because to be inclined to sin is not, *g.*[e] it is not a sin, viz., of nature.

In the next place you charge this with blasphemy. If I had said

[e] [i. e. 'ergo.']

or meant what you pretend, you had reason; but then pray consider how your charge will return really upon yourself. For if it be blasphemy to affirm God to be the author of sin, then what I derived from Adam is no sin; for that Adam's sin should descend upon me, I demand who was the author of that? If you please, you may take time to consider it; but in the interim, if you be pleased to read a little discourse of mine, called *Deus justificatus*, you shall find my question not to be answered by you, if you have any regard to the authority or to the reason of Mr. Calvin, Dr. Twiss[f], and some other bigots of your party.—Your second charge of blasphemy is, that 'my reason does by implication involve Christ in the guilt of sin; because whatsoever is essential He had.' But then if you remember that I say not that sin is essential, and that I bring the reverse of this very argument against your party and opinion in some of my late discourses, you have reason to shake the fire out of your own bosom, not to tell me that I burn. For if inclination to sin be a sin naturally, and derived from our parents, I demand, whether or no had not Christ all natural desires? If He had not, He was not a perfect man. If He had, then all natural desires are not natural sins; for if you say they be, you are the blasphemer, by the consequence of your affirmative, not I; but God forbid that either of us should.—Your third reason also is as pretty. For first, I demand whether a possibility to sin be not of the nature of man? for that is all I mean by essential. If it be not, how came Adam to sin his first sin? If it be, I ask whether shall the saints in the resurrection be raised up with it or no? If yea, then you blaspheme God's full glorification of the saints in the resurrection, for impeccability is certainly a part of their full glorification; if nay, then it is no blasphemy to say that in the resurrection the saints shall be raised up without something that is essential to them, or of their nature. But, sir, what think you of mortality? Is that essential, or of the nature of man? I suppose you will not deny it: but yet I also believe you will confess that though we are sown a corruptible body, yet we shall be raised an incorruptible, and the mortal shall put on immortality. Once more; is it natural to be natural? That will not be denied; but then remember, that although to be natural is essential, that is, of the essence of the body, yet the natural body shall rise without its naturality; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual. So that you see if I had said this which you charge upon me, which is so contrary to my thoughts and so against my purpose, yet your arguments could not have overthrown it. It is good advice,

Οὐ . . σχετλιάζειν καὶ βοᾷν, πρὶν ἂν μάθῃς [g].

If you had been pleased to have learned my meaning before you had published your dislike, I should have esteemed myself obliged to you

[f] [See p. 503, note r, above.]

[g] [Aristoph. Plut. 477.]

in a great acknowledgment; now you have said very much evil of me, though I deserved it not. For suppose I had not prosperously enough expressed my meaning; yet you, who are a man of wit and parts, could easily have discerned my purpose and my design; you could not but know and consider too, that my great design was to say that sin could not be natural; that it is so far from being essential, that it is not so much as subjected in our common nature, but in our persons only. But beside this, sir, I am a little to complain of you, that when you had two words at your choice to explicate each other, 'intrinsical' and 'essential,' you would take the hardest and the worst sense, not the easiest and most ready: for you cannot but know that 'essential' is not always to be taken in the strictest sense of philosophy, for that which is constitutive of a nature; but largely, and for all sorts of proprieties, and the universal accidents of nature; as it is essential to man to laugh, to be capable of learning, to be mortal, to have a body of contrary qualities, and consequently by nature corruptible; and in a moral discourse to call for metaphysical significations, and not to be content with moral and general, may proceed from an itch to quarrel, but not from that ingenuity which will be your and my best ornament.

Although I have not much to do with it, yet because you are so great a logician, and so great an admirer of that which every one of your pupils knows, I mean [h] Porphyry's definition of an accident; I care not if I tell you, that the definition is imperfect and false; it is not convertible with the *definitum*. For even essential things may be taken away *sine interitu subjecti*. I instance, to be quantitative is essential to a body, and to have succession of duration; but yet in the resurrection, when bodies shall be spiritual and eternal, those other, which are now essential predicates, shall be taken away, and yet the subject remain, and be improved to higher and more noble predicates. This I have here set down, not that I at all value the problem whether it be so or no; but that you may not think me a Socinian, particularly in this article, or that I think the bodies in the resurrection shall be specifically distinct from what they are: I believe them the same bodies, but ennobled in their very beings: for to a specifical and substantial change is required that there be an introduction of new forms; but yet the improving of essential predicates is no specification of subjects, but melioration of the first: but the consequent is, that *abesse* and *adesse*, &c., is not an excellent definition of an accident. And yet further, it follows that if sin were as essential to a man as mortality is, or to be quantitative, yet there is no more need that a man should rise with sin than with mortality: but Aristotle's philosophy and Porphyry's commentary are but ill measures in theology; and you should do well to scour bright

[h] ['knows I mean,' ed.]

that armour in which you trust, which unless it be prudently conducted, it will make a man a sophister rather than a theologue; but you are wiser.

I have only this one thing to add, that the common discourses of original sin make sin to be natural, necessary, and unavoidable; and then may not I use your own words, "This tenet is chargeable with libertinism; it is a licentious doctrine, and opens a gap to the greatest profaneness; for it takes away all conscience of sin, all repentance of it for the time past?" If sin be natural, necessary, and unavoidable, as it is to us, if we derive it from Adam, &c., what reason hath he to be humbled for it, and to ask God pardon for it? So that you have done well against your own opinion; and if I had not used the argument before, I should have had reason to thank you for it; now as it is, you are further to consider it, not I. Sir, though I have reason to give you the priority in every thing else, yet in civility I have far outdone you: you were offended at a passage, which you might easily, but would not, understand: you have urged arguments against me which return upon your own head: the proposition you charge me withal, I own not in any of your senses, nor (as you set it down) in any at all; and yet your arguments do not substantially or rationally confute it, if I had said so. Besides all this, you have used your pleasure upon me, you have reviled me, slighted me, scorned me, untempted, unprovoked: you never sent to me civilly to give you satisfaction in your objections, but talked it in my absence, and to my prejudice; yet I have sent you an answer, I hope satisfactory, and together with it a long letter, which in the midst of my many affairs, and straitened condition, is more than I can again afford: and after all this I assure you that I will pray for you, and speak such good things of you as I can find or hear to be in you, and profess myself and really be,

Sir,

your affectionate friend and servant,

in our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus,

JEREMY TAYLOR.

August 15, 1657.

POSTSCRIPT.—SIR, I received yours late last night, and I have returned you this early this morning, that I might in every thing be respective of you; but I desire not to be troubled with any thing that is not very material, for I have business of much greater concernment; neither can I draw the saw of contention with any man about things less pertinent. I expect no answer, I need none, I desire none; but expect that you will employ your good parts in

any thing rather than in being *ingeniosus in alieno libro*[i]; your talents can better, if you please, serve God, than by cavilling with or without reason[k].

[i] [Martial. præfat. in lib. i. epigramm.]

[k] [To this letter Jeanes replied, taking each sentence and commenting upon it; but as there is no further letter from Taylor, it was not thought needful to reprint Jeanes' letter (which is of considerable length) in this publication.—Ed.]

THE

GOLDEN GROVE,

OR,

A MANUAL OF DAILY PRAYERS AND LITANIES

FITTED TO THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

CONTAINING

A SHORT SUMMARY OF WHAT IS TO BE BELIEVED, PRACTISED, DESIRED.

ALSO

FESTIVAL HYMNS,

ACCORDING TO THE MANNER OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

BY JER. TAYLOR, D.D.

TO THE

PIOUS AND DEVOUT READER.

In this sad declension of religion, the seers who are appointed to be the watchmen of the church, cannot but observe that the supplanters and underminers are gone out, and are digging down the foundations: and having destroyed all public forms of ecclesiastical government, discountenanced an excellent liturgy, taken off the hinges of unity, disgraced the articles of religion, polluted public assemblies, taken away all cognisance of schism, by mingling all sects, and giving countenance to that against which all power ought to stand upon their guard, there is now nothing left but that we take care that men be Christians: for concerning the ornament and advantages of religion, we cannot make that provision we desire; *Incertis de salute, de gloria minime certandum.* For since they who have seen Jerusalem in prosperity, and have forgotten the order of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the beauty of the temple, will be tempted to neglect so excellent a ministration, and their assembling themselves together for peace and holy offices, and be content with any thing that is brought to them, though it be but the husks and acorns of prodigals and swine, so they may enjoy their lands and their money with it; we must now take care that the young men who were born in the captivity, may be taught how to worship the God of Israel after the manner of their forefathers, till it shall please God that religion shall return into the land, and dwell safely, and grow prosperously.

But never did the excellency of episcopal government appear so demonstratively and conspicuously as now. Under their conduct and order we had a church so united, so orderly, so governed, a religion so settled, articles so true, sufficient, and confessed, canons so prudent and so obeyed, devotions so regular and constant, sacraments so adorned and ministered, churches so beauteous and religious, circumstances of religion so grave and prudent, so useful and apt for edification, that the enemies of our church, who serve the pope in all things, and Jesus Christ in some, who dare transgress an institution and ordinance of Christ, but dare not break a canon of the pope, did despair of prevailing against us and truth, and knew no hopes but by setting their faces against us to destroy this government, and then they knew they should triumph without any enemy. So Balaam the son of Bosor was sent for, to curse the people of the

Lord, in hope that the son of Zippor might prevail against them that long prospered under the conduct of Moses and Aaron.

But now instead of this excellency of condition and constitution of religion, the people are fallen under the harrows and saws of impertinent and ignorant preachers, who think all religion is a sermon, and all sermons ought to be libels against truth and old governors, and expound chapters that the meaning may never be understood, and pray, that they may be thought able to talk, but not to hold their peace, they casting not to obtain any thing but wealth and victory, power and plunder. And the people have reaped the fruits apt to grow upon such crabstocks: they grow idle and false, hypocrites and careless, they deny themselves nothing that is pleasant, they despise religion, forget government; and some never think of heaven; and they that do, think to go thither in such paths which all the ages of the church did give men warning of, lest they should that way go to the devil.

But when men have tried all that they can, it is to be supposed they will return to the excellency and advantages of the christian religion, as it is taught by the church of England; for by destroying it, no end can be served but of sin and folly, faction, and death eternal. For besides that no church that is enemy to this, does worship God in that truth of propositions, in that unblamable and pious liturgy, and in preaching the necessities of holy life, so much as the church of England does; besides this (I say) it cannot be persecuted by any governor that understands his own interest, unless he be first abused by false preachers, and then prefers his secret opinion before his public advantage. For no church in the world is so great a friend to loyalty and obedience, as she and her sisters of the same persuasion. They that hate bishops have destroyed monarchy, and they that would erect an ecclesiastical monarchy, must consequently subject the temporal to it. And both one and the other would be supreme in consciences; and they that govern there, with an opinion that in all things they ought to be attended to, will let their prince govern others, so long as he will be ruled by them. And certainly, for a prince to persecute the protestant religion, is as if a physician should endeavour to destroy all medicaments, and fathers kill their sons, and the master of ceremonies destroy all formalities and courtships; and as if the pope should root out all the ecclesiastic state. Nothing so combines with government, if it be of God's appointment, as the religion of the church of England, because nothing does more adhere to the word of God, and disregard the crafty advantages of the world. If any man shall not decline to try his title by the word of God, it is certain there is not in the world a better guard for it, than the true protestant religion, as it is taught in our church. But let things be as it please God; it is certain that in that day when truth gets her victory, in that day we shall prevail

against all God's enemies and ours, not in the purchases and perquisites of the world, but in the rewards and returns of holiness and patience, and faith and charity; for by these we worship God, and against this interest we cannot serve any thing else.

In the meantime we must by all means secure the foundation, and take care that religion may be conveyed in all its material parts, the same as it was, but by new and permitted instruments. For let us secure that our young men be good Christians, it is easy to make them good protestants, unless they be abused with prejudice, and suck venom with their milk; they cannot leave our communion till they have reason to reprove our doctrine.

There is therefore in the following pages a compendium of what we are to BELIEVE,—what to DO,—and what to DESIRE; it is indeed very little, but it is enough to begin with, and will serve all persons so long as they need milk, and not strong meat. And he that hath given the following assistances to thee, desires to be even a doorkeeper in God's house, and to be a servant of the meanest of God's servants, and thinks it a worthy employment to teach the most ignorant, and make them to know Christ, though but in the first rudiments of a holy institution. This only he affirms, that there is more solid comfort and material support to a christian spirit in one article of faith, in one period of the Lord's prayer, in one holy lesson, than in all the disputes of impertinent people, who take more pains to prove there is a purgatory, than to persuade men to avoid hell: and that a plain catechism can more instruct a soul, than the whole day's prate which some daily spit forth, to bid men 'get Christ,' and persecute His servants.

Christian religion is admirable for its wisdom, for its simplicity; and he that presents the following papers to thee, designs to teach thee as the church was taught in the early days of the apostles;—to believe the christian faith, and to understand it; to represent plain rules of good life; to describe easy forms of prayer; to bring into your assemblies hymns of glorification and thanksgiving, and psalms of prayer. By these easy paths they lead Christ's little ones into the fold of their great bishop; and if by this any service be done to God, any ministry to the soul of a child or an ignorant woman, it is hoped that God will accept it: and it is reward enough, if by my ministry God will bring it to pass that any soul shall be instructed, and brought into that state of good things that it shall rejoice for ever.

But do thou pray for him that desires this to thee, and endeavours it,

JER. TAYLOR.

THE GUIDE OF INFANT DEVOTION.

COMPOSED FOR THE USE OF THE DEVOUT, ESPECIALLY OF YOUNGER PERSONS.

I.

CREDENDA, OR WHAT IS TO BE BELIEVED.

Ὁ νῦν δὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ὁμολογηθεὶς μενέτω, ὡς οἵ γε ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται.—Plato de legibus [a].

'Let this truth be confessed and remain for ever, that they who are well instructed, easily [b] become good men.'

A SHORT CATECHISM

FOR THE INSTITUTION OF YOUNG PERSONS IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Q. In what does true religion consist?

A. In the knowledge of the one true God, and whom He hath sent, Jesus Christ, and in the worshipping and serving them [c].

Q. What dost thou believe concerning God?

A. *α*) That there is a God: *β*) That He is one, *γ*) eternal, *δ*) almighty: *ε*) That He hath made all the world: *ζ*) That He knows all things: *η*) That He is a Spirit; not of any shape or figure, or parts, or body: *θ*) That He is present in all places: *ι*) That His seat is in heaven, and He governs all the world, so that nothing happens without His order and leave: *κ*) That He is the fountain of justice, *λ*) of mercy, *μ*) of bounty or goodness: *ν*) That He is unalterably happy, and infinitely perfect: *ξ*) That no evil can come near Him: *ο*) And He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him [d].

Q. What other mystery is revealed concerning God?

A. That God being one in nature, is also three in person; expressed in scripture by the names of Father, Son, and holy Spirit. The first Person being known to us by the name of 'The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The second Person is called 'The Son,' and

[a] [lib. i. § 12.—tom. vii. p. 481.]

[b] [*σχεδὸν*, 'fere,' interpr. Serr.]

[c] John xvii. 3; 1 John ii. 23.

[d] Deut. vi. 2; Exod. xx. 2, 3; Rev. i. 4; Psalm xc. 2; 1 Tim. i. 17; Gen. i. 1; Exod. xx. 11; Heb. iii. 4; Isa. xl. 12; Job xlii. 2, 3; Psalm cxxxix. 1, &c.; clvii. 5; Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7; 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16; John iv. 24; 1 Kings viii. 27; Amos iii. 6; Psalm cxxxix. 8, 9; Acts vii. 48, 49; Psalm ii. 4; ciii. 19; cxv. 3; Isa. xli. 4; xliv. 6; Job ix. 4, &c.; Deut. xxxii. 39; Gen. xviii. 25; Deut. xxxii. 4; Exod. xliii. [leg. xxxiv.] 7; Psalm ciii. 8; xxv. 8; lxxxvi. 5; l. 12; James i. 17; Heb. xi. 6.

'the Word of the Father.' The third is 'The Spirit and promise of the Father;' and these are three and one after a secret manner, which we must believe, but cannot understand[e].

Q. What is this God to us?

A. He is our Creator and Father, and therefore He is our Lord; and we are His creatures, His sons, and His servants[f].

Q. Wherefore did God create and make us?

A. That we might do Him honour and service, and receive from Him infinite felicities[g].

Q. How did God make man?

A. By the power of His word, out of the slime of the earth, and He breathed into him the breath of life[h].

Q. Was man good or bad when God made him?

A. Man was made pure and innocent[i].

Q. How then did man become sinful and miserable?

A. By listening to the whispers of a tempting spirit, and breaking an easy commandment, which God gave him as the first trial of his obedience[j].

Q. What evils and changes followed this sin?

A. Adam, who was the first man and the first sinner, did both for himself and for his posterity fall into the state of death, of sickness and misfortunes, and disorder both of body and soul; we were thrown out of paradise, and lost our immortality[k].

Q. Was man left in these evils without remedy?

A. No; but God pitying His creature, promised that of the seed of the woman He would raise up a Saviour and Redeemer, who should restore us to God's favour, and to the felicity which we lost[l].

Q. How did God perform the promise?

A. By sending Jesus Christ to take upon Him our nature, to die for our nature, to become our Lord, and the author of holiness, and life, and salvation to mankind[m].

Q. Who is Jesus Christ?

A. He is the Son of God, the second Person of the holy Trinity,

[e] Matt. xxviii. 19; John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; 1 Cor. xii. 4—6; 2 Cor. xiii. 14; 1 John v. 7; John i. 1, 18; iii. 16; Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4; ii. 33.

[f] Coloss. i. 16; Acts xvii. 24; 1 Cor. viii. 6; vi. 19; Gal. i. 4; Phil. ii. 15; Dan. ii. 47; Zech. iv. 14; xiv. 9; Matt. xi. 25.

[g] Psalm cxlv. 10, 11; Acts xiv. 15.

[h] Gen. ii. 7.

[i] Eccles. vii. 29; Ecclus. xv. 14.

[j] Gen. iii. per tot.

[k] Rom. v. 12; iii. 23; vi. 20; Ephes. ii. 3.

[l] Gen. iii. 15; Gal. iv. 4; 1 Pet. i. 20; John iii. 16; Heb. ii. 14, 15, &c.

[m] John viii. 25, 28; Heb. ii. 9, 16—18; Luke i. 74, 75.

equal with the Father, true God, without beginning of life, or end of days[n].

Q. How then could He be our Redeemer, and the promised seed of the woman?

A. The Son of God in the fulness of time, by the miracles of His mercy, took upon Him human nature, and united it after a wonderful manner to His godhead, so that He was both God and man; He was born of a virgin, who conceived Him not by any natural means, but by the power of the holy Ghost; and was called Jesus Christ; and His mother's name was Mary, of the seed of Abraham, of the family of king David: and all these things came to pass when Augustus Cæsar was lord of the Roman empire[o].

Q. How did Jesus Christ work this promised redemption for us?

A. By His holy and humble life, and His obedient dying a painful death for us upon the cross[p].

Q. What benefits do we receive by the life and death of Jesus Christ?

A. We are instructed by His doctrine, encouraged by His excellent example, we are reconciled to God by His death; He hath given us an excellent law, and glorious promises, and Himself hath received power to make good all those promises to His servants, and fearfully to destroy them that will not have Him to reign over them[q].

Q. What promises hath Jesus Christ made us in the gospel?

A. He hath promised to give us all that we need in this life; that every thing shall work together for our good; that He will be with us in tribulation and persecution. He hath promised His graces and His holy Spirit to enable us to do our duty; and if we make use of these graces, He hath promised to give us more; He hath promised to forgive us our sins; to hear our prayers; to take the sting of death from us; to keep our souls in safe custody after death; and in His due time to raise our bodies from the grave, and to join them to our souls, and to give us eternal life, and joys that shall never cease[r].

Q. How is Jesus Christ able to do all this for us?

A. When He had suffered death, and was buried three days, God raised Him up again, and gave Him all power in heaven and earth,

[n] Isa. ix. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 John v. 20; Isa. xxxv. 4, 5; John i. 2, 18; viii. 58; Rev. i. 8; Heb. xiii. 8; i. 8; Phil. ii. 6; Rom. ix. 5.

[o] Gal. iv. 4; Rom. i. 3; Acts ii. 30; iii. 32 [?], 22; Heb. i. 1 [?]; ii. 11 [? 16]; Acts xiii. 23; Deut. viii. 15; Matt. i. 18, 21; Luke ii. 4, 5, &c.

[p] Heb. ii. 9, 10. Read the third, fourth, and fifth chapters to the Hebrews.

[q] Eph. iii. [?] 13—15; Luke xix. 27; xxiv. 46, 47.

[r] Matt. vi. 25, &c.; Rom. viii. 28; John xiii. [? xvi.] 33; Acts xiv. 22; 2 Cor. i. 4; Matt. viii. [?] 11, 12; xi. 20, 21 [?]; John vi. 44, 45; 2 Pet. i. 3, 4; Matt. xv. 59 [?]; Acts ii. 38; iii. 19; Luke xviii. 7; Matt. vii. 7; Coloss. ii. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55, 57; Rev. xiv. 13; 1 Cor. xv. 22; vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 14; John vi. 40.

made Him head of the church, Lord of men and angels, and the judge of the quick and dead[s].

Q. By what means doth Jesus Christ our Lord convey all these blessings to us?

A. Jesus Christ had three offices, and in all He was mediator between God and man; He is our prophet, our priest, and our king[t].

Q. What was His office as He was a prophet?

A. This office He finished on earth; beginning when He was thirty years old to preach the gospel of the kingdom, faith and repentance[u].

Q. When began His priestly office, and wherein does it consist?

A. It began at His death; for He was Himself the priest and the sacrifice, offering Himself upon the altar of the cross for the sins of all the world[v].

Q. Did His priestly office then cease?

A. No: He is a priest for ever; that is, unto the end of the world, and represents the same sacrifice to God in heaven, interceding and praying continually for us, in the virtue of that sacrifice, by which He obtains relief of all our necessities[x].

Q. What doth Christ in heaven pray for on our behalf?

A. That our sins may be pardoned, our infirmities pitied, our necessities relieved, our persons defended, our temptations overcome; that we may be reconciled to God, and be saved[y].

Q. How is Jesus Christ also our king?

A. When He arose from His grave, and had for forty days together conversed with His disciples, shewing Himself alive by many infallible tokens, He ascended into heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God; all things being made subject to Him, angels and men and devils, heaven and earth, the elements and all the creatures; and over all He reigns, comforting and defending His elect, subduing the power of the devil, taking out the sting of death, and making all to serve the glory of God, and to turn to the good of His elect[z].

Q. How long must His kingdom last?

A. Till Christ hath brought all His enemies under His feet, that

[s] Matt. xxviii. 6, 18; Phil. ii. 9, &c.; Heb. ii. 9; v. 9; i. 8; Tit. ii. 13, 14; Eph. iii. 14, 15, 20; 1 Cor xi. 3; Ephes. v. 23; Coloss. ii. 10; Acts x. 42; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 5.

[t] 1 Tim. ii. 5; Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24.

[u] John i. 18; Luke iii. 23; John v. 43; Luke xxiv. 19; Acts iii. 23, &c.

[v] Heb. v. 7, 8, &c.; Heb. vii. per totum.

[x] Heb. vii. 24, 25.

[y] Rom. viii. 33, 34; 1 John ii. 1; Heb. iv. 14—16.

[z] Heb. i. 3, 8; Psalm cx. 1; 1 Thess. i. 10; Acts i. 3; Luke xxiv. 51; i. 33; 1 Pet. iii. 23.

is, till the day of judgment: in which day shall be performed the greatest acts of His kingly power; for then He shall quite conquer death, triumph over the devils, throw His enemies into hell-fire, and carry all His elect to never-ceasing glories; and then He shall deliver up the kingdom to His Father, that God may be all in all[a].

Q. How is Christ a mediator in all these offices?

A. A mediator signifies one that stands between God and us. As Christ is a prophet, so He taught us His Father's will, and ties us to obedience: as He is a priest, He is our redeemer, having paid a price for us, even His most precious blood, and our advocate pleading for us, and mediating our pardon and salvation: as He is a king, so He is our Lord, our patron, and our judge; yet it is the kingdom of a mediator, that is, in order to the world to come, but then to determine and end. And in all these, He hath made a covenant between God and us of an everlasting interest[b].

Q. What is the covenant which Jesus Christ our mediator hath made between God and us?

A. That God will write His laws in our hearts, and will pardon us, and defend us, and raise us up again at the last day, and give us an inheritance in His kingdom[c].

Q. To what conditions hath He bound us on our parts?

A. Faith, and repentance[d].

Q. When do we enter into this covenant?

A. In our baptism, and at our ripe years, when we understand the secrets of the kingdom of Christ, and undertake willingly what in our names was undertaken for us in our infancy[e].

Q. What is the covenant of faith which we enter into in baptism?

A. We promise to believe that Jesus Christ is the Messias, or He that was to come into the world; that He is the anointed of the Lord, or the Lord's Christ; that He is the Son of God, and the Son of the virgin Mary; that He is God incarnate, or God manifested in the flesh; that He is the mediator between God and man; that He died for us upon the cross, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and shall be there till the day of judgment; that then He shall be our judge; in the meantime He is the king of the world, and head of the church[f].

Q. What is the covenant of repentance?

A. We promise to leave all our sins, and with a hearty and sincere

[a] Psalm cx. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25, 28; Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

[b] Gal. iii. 20; Heb. viii. 6; ix. 15; xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 24.

[c] Heb. viii. 6, 10, 13; x. 16; xii. 24; Jer. xxxi. 31.

[d] Mark xvi. 16; Matt. iv. 17; Acts viii. 37; ii. 31.

[e] Acts ii. 38, 41; iii. 19.

[f] 1 John ii. 9 [?]; Matt. xvi. 16; i. 18; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. xiv. 9; Acts i. 9; iii. 21; xvii. 31; Rev. i. 5; xvii. 14.

endeavour to give up our will and affections to Christ, and do what He hath commanded (according to our power and weakness [f].)

Q. How if we fail of this promise through infirmity, and commit sins?

A. Still we are within the covenant of repentance, that is, within the promise of pardon, and possibility of turning [g] from dead works, and mortifying our lust; and though this be done after the manner of men, that is, in weakness, and with some failings, yet our endeavour must be hearty, and constant, and diligent, and our watchfulness and prayers for pardon must be lasting and persevering [h].

Q. What ministries hath Christ appointed to help us in this duty?

A. The ministry of the word and sacraments, which He will accompany with His grace and His spirit [i].

Q. What is a sacrament?

A. An outward ceremony ordained by Christ, to be a sign and a means of conveying His grace unto us [k].

Q. How many sacraments are ordained by Christ?

A. Two: baptism, and the supper of our Lord [l].

Q. What is baptism?

A. An outward washing of the body in water, in the name of the Father, Son, and holy Ghost: in which we are buried with Christ in His death, after a sacramental manner, and are made partakers of Christ's death and of His resurrection, teaching us that we should rise from the death of sin to the life of righteousness [m].

Q. What is the sacrament of the Lord's supper?

A. A ceremony of eating bread and drinking wine, being blessed or consecrated by God's minister in public assemblies, in remembrance of Christ's death and passion [n].

Q. What benefits are done unto us by this sacrament?

A. Our souls are nourished by the body and blood of Christ; our bodies are sealed to a blessed resurrection, and to immortality; our infirmities are strengthened, our graces increased, our pardon made more certain; and when we present ourselves to God, having received Christ's body within us, we are sure to be accepted, and all

[f] Luke i. 75; Tit. ii. 11, 12; 1 Pet. ii. 1—3; 2 Pet. i. 4, &c.; Heb. xix. [? xii.] 1, 2.

[g] ['returning' A.]

[h] 1 John ii. 12; v. 16, 17; Gal. vi. 1; v. 24, 25.

[i] Rom. x. 15; Eph. ii. 20; iv. 11, 12; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[k] 2 Cor. v. 20; Matt. xxviii. 20.

[l] Matt. xxviii. 19; xxvi. 26; 1 Cor. xi. 24.

[m] Gal. iii. 27; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Rom. vi. 4; John iii. 5; Tit. iii. 5; Ephes. v. 26; Col. ii. 11, 12; Acts ii. 38; xxii. 16; Heb. x. 22; 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[n] 1 Cor. xi. 23—25; Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19.

the good prayers we make to God for ourselves and others are sure to be heard[o].

Q. Who are fit to receive this sacrament?

A. None but baptized Christians, and such as repent of their sins, and heartily purpose to lead a good life[p].

Q. What other ministries hath Christ ordained in His church, to help us, and to bring so many great purposes to pass?

A. Jesus Christ hath appointed ministers and embassadors of His own to preach His word unto us, to pray for us, to exhort and to reprove, to comfort and instruct, to restore and reconcile us if we be overtaken in a fault, to visit the sick, to separate the vile from the precious, to administer the sacraments, and to watch for the good of our souls[q].

Q. What are we tied to perform towards them?

A. To pay them honour and maintenance, to obey them in all things according to the gospel, and to order ourselves so that they may give account of our souls with cheerfulness and joy[r].

Q. Which are the commandments and laws of Jesus Christ?

A. They are many, but easy; holy, but very pleasant to all good minds, to such as desire to live well in this world, and in the world to come: and they are set down in the sermons of our blessed Lord, and of His apostles; but especially in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of S. Matthew[s].

[o] 1 Cor. x. 16; Matt. xxvi. 28.

[p] 1 Cor. xi. 27—29.

[q] 2 Cor. v. 18; Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2; Gal. i. 6; James v. 14.

[r] Gal. vi. 6; 1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 17.

[s] Read also Romans xii.; Eph. v., vi.; 1 Thess. v.

AN

EXPOSITION

OF THE

APOSTLES' CREED.

I BELIEVE IN GOD,

I BELIEVE that there is a God who is one, true, supreme and alone, infinitely wise, just, good, free, eternal, immense, and blessed, and in Him alone we are to put our trust[a].

THE FATHER ALMIGHTY,

I believe that He is (1) the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and (2) of all that believe in Him, whom He hath begotten by His word, and adopted to the inheritance of sons; and because He is our Father, He will do us all that good to which we are created and designed by grace; and because He is almighty, He is able to perform it all; and therefore we may safely believe in Him, and rely upon Him[b].

MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

He made the sun and the moon, the stars, and all the regions of glory; He made the air, the earth, and the water, and all that live in them; He made angels and men, and He who made them does, and He only can preserve them in the same being, and thrust them forwards to a better; He that preserves them does also govern them, and intends they should minister to His glory; and therefore we are to do worship and obedience to Him in all that we can, and that He hath commanded[c].

[a] Luke vi. 35; Deut. x. 17; vi. 4; Mark xii. 29, 32; 1 Cor. viii. 4; John xvii. 3; 1 Thess. i. 9; Psalm xc. 2; xciii. 2; lxxvii. 13; xcv. 3; cxlvii. 5; Rom. xvi. 17 [? 27]; 1 Tim. i. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7; Psalm cxix. 137; 1 Chron. xvi. 3, 4; Psalm xxxiv. 8; cxxxv. 6; Exod. xxxiii. 19; 1 Tim. i. 11.

[b] John viii. 54; Rom. viii. 29, 32; 1 Cor. viii. 6; xv. 24; Matt. xxiv. 36; Heb. ii. 11; 1 Pet. i. 23; Gal. iv. 4.

[c] Isaiah lxv. 17; lxvi. 22; Acts iv. 24; Psalm xxxvi. 7, 8; Matt. vi. 26; x. 29, 30; Rev. xiv. 7; Matt. iv. 10.

AND IN JESUS CHRIST,

I also believe in Jesus Christ, who is, and is called a Saviour, and the anointed of the Lord, promised to the patriarchs, whom God anointed with the holy Spirit, and with power, to become the great prophet, and declarer of His Father's will to all the world, telling us how God will be worshipped and served; He is anointed to be the mediator of the new covenant, and our high-priest, reconciling us to His Father by the sacrifice of Himself; and to be the great king of all the world: and by this article we are Christians, who serve and worship God the Father through Jesus Christ[d].

HIS ONLY SON,

Jesus Christ is the Son of God, He alone of Him alone: for God by His holy Spirit caused Him to be born of a virgin: by His power He raised Him from the dead and gave Him a new birth, or being in the body: He gave Him all power, and all excellency; and beyond all this, He is the express image of His person, the brightness of His glory, equal to God, beloved before the beginning of the world, of a nature perfectly divine; very God by essence and very man by assumption; as God, all one in nature with the Father; and as man, one person in Himself[e].

OUR LORD;

Jesus Christ, God's only Son, is the heir of all things and persons in His Father's house: all angels and men are His servants, and all the creatures obey Him; we are to believe in Him, and by faith in Him only, and in His name, we shall be saved[f].

WHO WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST,

I believe that Jesus Christ was not begotten of a man, nor born by natural means, but that a divine power from God (God's holy Spirit) did overshadow the virgin mother of Christ, and made her in a wonderful manner to conceive Jesus in her womb; and by this His admirable manner of being conceived, He was the Son of God alone, and no man was His father[g].

[d] Matt. i. 20; John iii. 34; Acts x. 28 [?]; iii. 22, 23; Heb. xii. 24; i. 8; vii. 21; Rev. i. 5; Acts xi. 26; xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 16.

[e] Luke i. 32; Rom. i. 3, 4; 1 John v. 9, &c.; iv. 15; v. 5; John i. 11 [?]; Col. i. 15, 17, 18; Heb. i. 3, 5; Phil. ii. 6; John iii. 35; v. 19; Col. ii. 9, 10; John xvii. 24.

[f] Matt. xxviii. 18; Acts ii. 36; Psalm ii. 6, 7, &c.; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Heb. i. 6, 14; 1 Pet. i. 21.

[g] Luke i. 35; Gal. iv. 4; Luke i. 32.

BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY;

Though God was His Father, and He begat Him by the power of the Holy Ghost, and caused Him miraculously to begin in the womb of His mother, yet from her He also derived His human nature, and by His mother He was of the family of king David, and called the son of man, His mother being a holy person, not chosen to this great honour for her wealth or beauty, but by the good will of God, and because she was of a rare exemplar modesty and humility: and she received the honour of being a mother to the Son of God, and ever a virgin, and all generations shall call her blessed[h].

SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE;

After that Jesus passed through the state of infancy and childhood, being subject to His parents, and working in an humble trade to serve His own and His mother's needs, He grew to the state of a man, He began to preach at the age of thirty years, and having for about three years and a half preached the gospel, and taught us His Father's will, having spoken the gospel of His kingdom, and revealed to us the secrets of eternal life, and resurrection of the dead, regeneration, and renewing by the Holy Spirit, perfect remission of sins, and eternal judgment: at last, that He might reconcile the world to His Father, He became a sacrifice for all our sins, and suffered Himself to be taken by the malicious Jews, and put to a painful and shameful death; they being envious at Him for the number of His disciples, and the reputation of His person, the innocence of His life, the mightiness of His miracles, and the power of His doctrine: and this death He suffered when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judea[i].

WAS CRUCIFIED,

Jesus Christ being taken by the rulers of the Jews, bound, and derided, buffeted, and spit upon, accused weakly, and persecuted violently; at last, wanting matter and pretences to condemn Him, they asked Him of His person and office; and because He affirmed that great truth which all the world of good men longed for, that He was the Messias, and designed to sit at the right hand of the majesty on high, they resolved to call it blasphemy, and delivered Him over to Pilate, and by importunity and threats forced him against his conscience to give Him up to be scourged, and then to be crucified. The soldiers therefore mocking Him with a robe

[h] Luke i. 26, &c.; Matt. i. 18; Luke i. 45, 48; Matt. i. 25.

[i] Luke ii. 51, 52; iii. 23; John iii. 4, &c.; Acts xiii. 39; Matt. xxv. 31, 32; Luke xxii. 63; John xviii. 4, 12, &c.; Matt. xxvi.

and a reed, and pressing a crown of thorns upon His head, led Him to the place of His death; compelling Him to bear His cross, to which they presently nailed Him; on which for three hours He hanged in extreme torture, being a sad spectacle of the most afflicted and the most innocent person of the whole world[k].

DEAD,

When the holy Jesus was wearied with tortures, and He knew all things were now fulfilled, and His Father's wrath appeased towards mankind: His Father pitying His innocent Son groaning under such intolerable miseries, hastened His death; and Jesus commending His spirit into the hands of His Father, cried with a loud voice, bowed His head, and died; and by His death sealed all the doctrines and revelations which He first taught the world, and then confirmed by His blood: He was consecrated our merciful high-priest, and by a feeling of our miseries and temptations became able to help them that are tempted: and for these His sufferings was exalted to the highest throne and seat of the right hand of God: and hath shewn that to heaven there is no surer way than suffering for His name, and hath taught us willingly to suffer for His sake what Himself hath already suffered for ours: He reconciled us to God by His death, led us to God, drew us to Himself, redeemed us from all iniquity, purchased us for His Father, and for ever made us His servants and redeemed ones, that we being dead unto sin might live unto God: and this death being so highly beneficial to us, He hath appointed means to apply to us, and to represent to God for us, in the holy sacrament of His last supper. And upon all these considerations, that cross which was a smart and shame to our Lord, is honour to us, and as it turned to His glory, so also to our spiritual advantages[l].

AND BURIED;

That He might suffer every thing of human nature, He was by the care of His friends and disciples, by the leave of Pilate, taken from the cross, and embalmed (as the manner of the Jews was to bury) and wrapt in linen, and buried in a new grave, hewn out of a rock; and this was the last and lowest step of His humiliation[m].

HE DESCENDED INTO HELL,

That is, He went down into the lower parts of the earth, or (as Himself called it) into the heart of the earth; by which phrase the

[k] Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xix.

[l] Ibidem; John xviii. 37; Phil. ii. 8; Col. i. 20; Isa. liii. 10; Heb. vii. 25; ix. 12; ii. 17, 18; iv. 15; Luke xxiii. 46; John x. 17, 18; xii. 32; xi. 51; Eph. ii. 13, 14; Heb. ii. 10; Col. i. 21, 22; Tit. ii. 14; John vi. 51; 1 Pet. ii. 24; iv. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Gal. vi. 14.

[m] Matt. xxvii. 57. &c.

scripture understands the state of separation, or of souls severed from their bodies: by this His descending to the land of darkness, where all things are forgotten, He sanctified the state of death and separation, that none of His servants might ever after fear the jaws of death and hell; whither He went, not to suffer torment (because He finished all that upon the cross) but to triumph over the gates of hell, to verify His death, and the event of His sufferings, and to break the iron bars of those lower prisons, that they may open and shut hereafter only at His command[n].

THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD,

After our Lord Jesus had abode in the grave the remaining part of the day of His passion and all the next day, early in the morning upon the third day, by the power of God, He was raised from death and hell to light and life, never to return to death any more, and is become the first-born from the dead, the first-fruits of them that slept; and although He was put to death in the flesh, yet now being quickened in the spirit He lives for ever; and as we all die in Adam, so in Christ we all shall be made alive; but every man in his own order: Christ is the first, and we, if we follow Him in the regeneration, shall also follow Him in the resurrection[o].

HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN,

When our dearest Lord was risen from the grave, He conversed with His disciples for forty days together, often shewing Himself alive by infallible proofs, and once to five hundred of His disciples at one appearing. Having spoken to them fully concerning the affairs of the kingdom, and the promise of the Father; leaving them some few things in charge for the present, He solemnly gave them His blessing, and in the presence of His apostles was taken up into heaven, by a bright cloud and the ministry of angels, being gone before us to prepare a place for us above all heavens, in the presence of His Father, and at the foot of the throne of God; from which glorious presence we cannot be kept by the change of death and the powers of the grave, nor the depth of hell, nor the height of heaven, but Christ being lifted up shall draw all His servants unto Him[p].

[n] Eph. iv. 9; Matt. xii. 40; Acts ii. 27; Hos. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 54, &c.; Rev. xx. 13, 14; Matt. xvi. 18; Rev. i. 17, 18.

[o] Mark xvi. 1; Acts x. 40; Rom. xiv. 9; Acts v. 30, &c.; Col. i. 18; Matt. xxviii. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 18; i. 3; Eph. i. 17 [?]; 1 Cor. xv. 20, &c.

[p] Luke xxiv. 45, 50; Matt. xxi. 17 [?]; John xx., xxi.; Acts i. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 6, 45, 47; Heb. vi. 19; Rom. viii. 38, 39; 1 John iii. 2.

AND SITTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY;

I believe that Jesus Christ sitteth in heaven above all principalities and powers, being exalted above every name that is named in heaven and earth, that is, above every creature above and below, all things being put under His feet: He is always in the presence of His Father, interceding for us, and governs all things in heaven and earth, that He may defend His church, and adorn her with His spirit, and procure and effect her eternal salvation. There He sits and reigns as king, and intercedes as our high-priest; He is a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which God made and not man, the author and finisher of our faith, the captain of our confession, the great apostle of our religion, the great bishop of our souls, the head of the church, and the Lord of heaven and earth: and therefore to Him we are to pay divine worship, service and obedience, and we must believe in Him, and in God by Him, and rely entirely on the mercies of God through Jesus Christ[q].

FROM THENCE HE SHALL COME

In the clouds, shining, and adorned with the glory of His Father, attended by millions of bright angels, with the voice of an archangel, and a shout of all the heavenly army, the trump of God; and every eye shall see Him, and they that pierced His hands and His feet shall behold His majesty, His terror, and His glory; and all the families of the earth shall tremble at His presence; and the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and the whole earth and sea shall be broken in pieces and confusion: for then He shall come to put an end to this world[r], and

TO JUDGE THE QUICK AND DEAD.

For the Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son; and at this day of judgment the Lord Jesus shall sit in the air in a glorious throne; and the angels having gathered together God's elect from the four corners of the world, and all the kindreds of the earth being brought before the judgment-seat, shall have the records of their conscience laid open; that is, all that ever they thought, or spake, or did, shall be brought to their memory, to convince the wicked of the justice of the Judge in passing the fearful sentence upon them, and to glorify the mercies of God towards His

q Phil. ii. 8, 9, &c.; Eph. i. 17, 22; Rom. viii. 34; Heb. vii. 27; 2 Pet. i. 4; Heb. xii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 20, 21; Heb. i. 6.

r John xiv. 3; Matt. xxiv. 30; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Rev. i. 7; Acts i. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 1.

redeemed ones: and then the righteous Judge shall condemn the wicked to the portion of devils for ever, to a state of torments, the second, and eternal, and intolerable death; and the godly being placed on His right hand, shall hear the blessed sentence of absolution, and shall be led by Christ to the participation of the glories of His Father's kingdom for ever and ever[s]. Amen.

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST (OR THE HOLY SPIRIT),

Who is the third Person of the holy, undivided, ever-blessed Trinity, which I worship, and adore, and admire, but look upon with wonder, and am not in a capacity to understand. I believe that the holy Spirit, into whose name, as of the Father and the Son, I was baptized, is the heavenly author, the captain, the teacher, and the witness of all the truths of the gospel: that as the Father sent the Son, so the Son from heaven sent the holy Spirit to lead the church into all truth; to assist us in all temptations, and to help us in the purchase of all virtue. This holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and our Lord Jesus received Him from His Father, and sent Him into the world, who receiving the things of Christ, and declaring the same excellent doctrines, speaks whatsoever He hath heard from Him; and instructed the apostles, and builds the church, and produces faith, and confirms our hope, and increases charity: and this holy Spirit our blessed Lord hath left with His church for ever, by which all the servants of God are enabled to do all things necessary to salvation, which by the force of nature they cannot do: and we speak by the Spirit, and work by the Spirit, when by His assistances any ways imparted to us we speak or do any thing of our duty. He it is who enlightens our understandings, sanctifies our will, orders and commands our affections; He comforts our sorrows, supports our spirits in trouble, and enables us by promises and confidences, and gifts, to suffer for the Lord Jesus and the gospel: and all these things God the Father does for us by His Son, and the Son by the holy Spirit, and the holy Spirit by all means within and without, which are operative upon, and proportionable to, the nature of reasonable creatures. This is He who works miracles, gives the gifts of prophecy and of interpretation; that teaches us what and how to pray; that gives us zeal and holy desires; who sanctifies children in baptism, and confirms them with His grace in confirmation, and reproves the world, and consecrates bishops and all the ministers of the gospel, and absolves the penitent, and blesses the obedient, and comforts the sick, and excommunicates the refractary, and makes intercession for the saints, that is, the church; and those whom He hath blessed, appointed, and sanctified to these purposes, do all these ministries by His authority, and His commandment, and His aids.

[s] John v. 22, 23; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17; Matt. xxv. 32; Acts x. 42; Matt. xxv. 34, &c.

This is He that testifies to our spirits that we are the sons of God, and that makes us to cry, Abba, Father; that is, who inspires into us such humble confidences of our being accepted in our hearty and constant endeavours to please God, that we can with cheerfulness and joy call God our Father, and expect and hope for the portion of sons both here and hereafter, and in the certainty of this hope, to work out our salvation with fear and reverence, with trembling and joy, with distrust of ourselves, and mighty confidence in God. By this holy and ever-blessed Spirit several persons in the church, and every man in his proportion, receives the gifts of wisdom, and utterance, and knowledge, and interpretation, and prophecy, and healing, and government, and discerning of spirits, and faith, and tongues, and whatsoever can be necessary for the church in several ages and periods, for her beginning, for her continuance, for her in prosperity, and for her in persecution. This is the great promise of the Father, and it is the gift of God which He will give to all them that ask Him, and who live piously and chastely, and are persons fit to entertain so divine a grace. This holy Spirit God gives to some more, to some less, according as they are capable. They who obey His motions, and love His presence, and improve His gifts, shall have Him yet more abundantly: but they that grieve the holy Spirit shall lose that which they have: and they that extinguish Him belong not to Christ, but are in the state of reprobation: and they that blaspheme this holy Spirit, and call Him the spirit of the devil, or the spirit of error, or folly, or do malicious despites to Him, that is, they who on purpose, considering and choosing, do Him hurt by word or by deed so far as lies in them, shall for ever be separated from the presence of God and of Christ, and shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Lastly, this holy Spirit seals us to the day of redemption; that is, God gives us His holy Spirit as a testimony that He will raise us again at the last day, and give us a portion in the glories of His kingdom, in the inheritance of our Lord Jesus [t].

THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH,

I believe that there is and ought to be a visible company of men, professing the service and discipline, that is, the religion of the gospel, who agree together in the belief of all the truths of God revealed by Jesus Christ, and in confession of the articles of this creed, and agree together in praying and praising God through Jesus Christ; to read and hear the scriptures read and expounded; to provoke each other to love and to good works; to advance the

[t] Matt. xxviii. 19; John xv. 26; xvi. 13; vi. 45; vii. 16, 17; v. 37; Acts xv. 32 [? 28]; iii. [? ii.] 33; xiii. 1—3; xx. 28; Luke xii. 12; John xvii. 3; xiv. 16; xvi. 13 and 8; Matt. x. 19; Eph. i. 17; iii. 16; 1 Cor. ii. 10—12; Rom. viii. 14—16; xiv. 17; xv. 13, 19; 1 Thess. i. 6; Luke xxiv. 49; iv. 18; Acts ii. 33, 38; Eph. iv. 7, 30; 1 Cor. iii. 16; Eph. i. 13; Acts vii. 51; Rom. i. 14 [?]; 1 Thess. v. 19; Mark iii. 26 [? 29]; 2 Cor. i. 22; v. 5.

honour of Christ, and to propagate His faith and worship. I believe this to be a holy church, spiritual, and not civil and secular, but sanctified by their profession, and the solemn rites of it, professing holiness, and separating from the evil manners of heathens and wicked persons, by their laws and institutions. And this church is catholic, that is, it is not confined to the nation of the Jews, as was the old religion; but it is gathered out of all nations, and is not of a differing faith in differing places, but always did, doth, and ever shall profess the faith which the apostles preached, and which is contained in this creed; which whosoever believes, is a catholic and a Christian, and he that believes not, is neither. This catholic church I believe, that is, I believe whatsoever all good Christians in all ages and in all places did confess to be the catholic and apostolic faith [u].

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS,

That is, the communion of all Christians: because by reason of their holy faith, they are called saints in scripture; as being begotten by God into a lively faith, and cleansed by believing; and by this faith, and the profession of a holy life in obedience to Jesus Christ, they are separated from the world, called to the knowledge of the truth, justified before God, and endued with the holy Spirit of grace, foreknown from the beginning of the world, and predestinated by God to be made conformable to the image of His Son, here in holiness of life, hereafter in a life of glory. And they who are saints in their belief and profession, must be so also in their practice and conversation, that so they may make their calling and election sure, lest they be saints only in name and title, in their profession and institution, and not in manners and holiness of living, that is, lest they be so before men, and not before God. I believe that all people who desire the benefit of the gospel, are bound to have a fellowship and society with these saints, and communicate with them in their holy things, in their faith and in their hope, and in their sacraments, and in their prayers, and in their public assemblies, and in their government: and must do to them all the acts of charity and mutual help which they can and are required to: and without this communion of saints, and a conjunction with them who believe in God through Jesus Christ, there is no salvation to be expected: which communion must be kept in inward things always, and by all persons, and testified by outward acts always, when it is possible, and may be done upon just and holy conditions [x].

[u] 1 Tim. iii. 15; Eph. iii. 21; Heb. ii. 12; x. 24; 1 Cor. xiv. 26, &c.; Matt. xviii. 17, 18; Acts xii. 5; 1 Cor. xiv. 4; Gal. i. 8, 9; Col. ii. 8, 9; Heb. xiii. 8, 9.

[x] Acts xxvi. 10; ix. 13, 32, 41; 1 Cor. vi. 11; i. 2; Matt. xxii. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2, 14—16; 2 Pet. iii. 11; Matt. xviii. 17, 18; Heb. x. 25; 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c.; Eph. iv. 13; v. 6, 7, 21; vi. 18; Phil. ii. 4; i. 27; Rom. xvi. 16, 17; 1 John iii. 18; 1 Pet. i. 22.

THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS,

I believe that all the sins I committed before I came to the knowledge of the truth, and all the slips of human infirmity, against which we heartily pray, and watch and labour, and all the evil habits, of which we repent so timely and effectually, that we obtain their contrary graces, and live in them, are fully remitted by the blood of Christ: which forgiveness we obtain by faith and repentance, and therefore are not justified by the righteousness of works, but by the righteousness of faith: and we are preserved in the state of forgiveness or justification by the fruits of a lively faith, and a timely active repentance[y].

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY,

I believe at the last day all they whose sins are forgiven, and who lived and died in the communion of saints, and in whom the holy Spirit did dwell, shall rise from their graves, their dead bones shall live, and be clothed with flesh and skin, and their bodies together with their souls shall enter into the portion of a new life: and that this body shall no more see corruption, but shall rise to an excellent condition; it shall be spiritual, powerful, immortal and glorious, like unto His glorious body, who shall then be our judge, is now our advocate, our Saviour, and our Lord[z].

AND THE LIFE EVERLASTING.

I believe that they who have their part in this resurrection, shall meet the Lord in the air, and when the blessed sentence is pronounced upon them, they shall for ever be with the Lord in joys unspeakable and full of glory: God shall wipe all tears from their eyes; there shall be no fear or sorrow, no mourning or death, a friend shall never go away from thence, and an enemy shall never enter; there shall be fulness without want, light eternal brighter than the sun; day, and no night; joy, and no weeping; difference in degree, and yet all full; there is love without dissimulation, excellency without envy, multitudes without confusion, music without discord; there the understandings are rich, the will is satisfied, the affections are all love, and all joy, and they shall reign with God and Christ for ever and ever[a].

AMEN.

This is the catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

[y] Rom. iii. 28; Acts ii. 38; xiii. 38; 1 John ii. 1, 2, 12; Gal. vi. 1; John xx. 23; Mark xvi. 16; 2 Pet. i. 5, &c.; Eph. i. 13; 1 Pet. i. 15—18; James ii. 17, 10, &c.; 1 John iii. 21, &c.; Heb. xii. 4—16.

[z] 1 Cor. xv. 29, &c.; Matt. xxii. 31; Rom. viii. 11, 23; John vi. 39; Phil. iii. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 14.

[a] 1 Thess. iv. 17; Rev. xxi. 4; xxii. 5; Matt. xxv. 34.

Tertull. de velandis virgin.[b]

Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem &c. Hac lege fidei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, operante scilicet et proficiente usque in finem gratia Dei.

'The rule of faith is wholly one, unalterable, never to be mended, never changed; to wit, I believe in God' &c. 'This law of faith remaining, in other things you may increase and grow.'

S. Aug. de fide et symb.[c]

Hæc est fides, quæ paucis verbis tenenda in symbolo novellis christianis datur[d]. *Quæ pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt: ut credendo subjugentur Deo, subjugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mundent, corde mundato*[e] *quod credunt intelligant.*

'This is the faith which in few words is given to novices. These few words are known to all the faithful; that by believing they may be subject to God; by this subjection they may live well; by living well they may purify their hearts; and with pure hearts they may (relish and) understand what they do believe.'

Max. Taurin. de tradit. symb.[f]

Symbolum tessera est et signaculum, quo inter fideles perfidosque secernitur.

'This creed is the badge or cognizance by which the faithful are discerned from unbelievers.'

Leo. M. ad Pulcheriam Aug.[g]

Hujus catholici symboli brevis et perfecta confessio, quæ duodecim apostolorum totidem est signata sententiis, tam instructa est munitione cœlesti, ut omnes hæreticorum opiniones solo ipsius possint gladio detruncari.

'This short and perfect confession of this catholic creed, which was consigned by the sentences of the twelve apostles, is so perfect a celestial armour, that all the opinions of heretics may by this alone, as with a sword, be cut in pieces.'

[b] [cap. i. p. 173 A.]
[c] [tom. vi. col. 164.]
[d] ['novellis datur' A.]
[e] ['mundo' A.]
[f] [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. v. part. 1.—Vid. p. 40 G.]
[g] [ep. xiii. p. 109 D.]

II.

AGENDA,

OR

THINGS TO BE DONE:

Inscripta Christo pagina immortalis est;
Nec obsolescit ullus in cœlis apex.
Prudent. περὶ στεφάνων, hymn x.[a]

THE DIARY, OR A RULE TO SPEND EACH DAY RELIGIOUSLY.

1. SUPPOSE every day to be a day of business: for your whole life is a race, and a battle; a merchandise, and a journey. Every day propound to yourself a rosary or a chaplet of good works, to present to God at night.

2. Rise as soon as your health and other occasions shall permit; but it is good to be as regular as you can, and as early. Remember, he that rises first to prayer, hath a more early title to a blessing. But he that changes night into day, labour into idleness, watchfulness to sleep, changes his hopes of blessing into a dream.

3. Never let any one think it an excuse to lie in bed, because he hath nothing to do when he is up: for whoever hath a soul, and hopes to save that soul, hath work enough to do to 'make his calling and election sure,' to serve God and to pray, to read and to meditate, to repent and to amend, to do good to others and to keep evil from themselves. And if thou hast little to do, thou oughtest to employ the more time in laying up for a greater crown of glory.

4. At your opening your eyes, enter upon the day with some act of piety.

α) of thanksgiving for the preservation of you the night past,
β) of the glorification of God for the works of the creation, or any thing for the honour of God.

5. When you first go off from your bed, solemnly and devoutly bow your head, and worship the holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and holy Ghost.

6. When you are making ready, be as silent as you can, and spend that time in holy thoughts; there being no way left to redeem that time from loss, but by meditation and short mental prayers. If you

[a] [lin. 1119. tom. ii. p. 1159.]

choose to speak, speak something of God's praises, of His goodness, His mercies, or His greatness: ever resolving that the first-fruits of thy reason, and of all thy faculties, shall be presented to God, to sanctify the whole harvest of thy conversation.

7. Be not curious, nor careless in your habit, but always keep these measures.

α) Be not troublesome to thyself, or to others, by unhandsomeness or uncleanness.
β) Let it be according to your state and quality.
γ) Make religion to be the difference of your habit, so as to be best attired upon holy or festival days.

8. In your dressing, let there be ejaculations fitted to the several actions of dressing: as at washing your hands and face, pray God to cleanse your soul from sin: in putting on your clothes, pray Him to clothe your soul with the righteousness of your Saviour; and so in all the rest.—For religion must not only be the garment of your soul, to invest it all over; but it must be also as the fringes to every of your actions, that something of religion appear in every one of them besides the innocence of all of them.

9. As soon as you are dressed with the first preparation of your clothes, that you can decently do it, kneel and say the Lord's prayer; then rise from your knees and do what is necessary for you in order to your further dressing, or affairs of the house, which is speedily to be done; and then finish your dressing according to the foregoing rules.

10. When you are dressed, retire yourself to your closet; and go to your usual devotions, which it is good that at the first prayers they were divided into seven actions of piety.

α) an act of adoration.
β) of thanksgiving.
γ) of oblation.
δ) of confession.
ε) of petition.
ζ) of intercession.
η) of meditation, or serious, deliberate, useful reading[b] of the holy scriptures.

11. I advise that your reading should be governed by these measures.

α) Let it be not of the whole Bible in order, but for your devotion use the New testament, and such portions of the Old as contain the precepts of holy life.

[b] Οὐκ ἔστι τινὰ σωθῆναι μὴ συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα πνευματικῆς.—S. Chrysost. homil. iii. de Lazaro. [tom. i. p. 738 A.]

β) The historical and less useful part, let it be read at such other times which you have of leisure from your domestic employments.

γ) Those portions of scripture which you use in your prayers, let them not be long; a chapter at once, no more: but then what time you can afford, spend it in thinking and meditating upon the holy precepts which you read.

δ) Be sure to meditate so long till you make some act of piety upon the occasion of what you meditate; either that you get some new arguments against a sin, or some new encouragements to virtue; some spiritual strength and advantage, or else some act of prayer to God or glorification of Him.

ε) I advise that you would read your chapter in the midst of your prayers in the morning, if they be divided according to the number of the former actions; because little interruptions will be apt to make your prayers less tedious, and yourself more attent upon them: but if you find any other way more agreeing to your spirit and disposition, use your liberty without scruple.

12. Before you go forth of your closet, after your prayers are done, set yourself down a little while and consider what you are to do that day, what matter of business is like to employ you or to tempt you; and take particular resolution against that, whether it be matter of wrangling, or anger, or covetousness, or vain courtship, or feasting: and when you enter upon it, remember upon what you resolved in your closet. If you are likely to have nothing extraordinary that day, a general recommendation of the affairs of that day to God in your prayers will be sufficient; but if there be any thing foreseen that is not usual, be sure to be armed for it by a hearty, though a short prayer, and an earnest prudent resolution beforehand, and then watch when the thing comes.

13. Whosoever hath children or servants, let him or her take care that all the children and servants of the family say their prayers before they begin their work. The Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, with the short verse at the end of every commandment which the church uses, and the creed, is a very good office for them if they be not fitted for more regular offices. And to these also it were good that some proper prayer were apportioned, and they taught it. It were well if they would serve themselves of this form set down at the end of this diary.

14. Then go about the affairs of your house and proper employment, ever avoiding idleness, or too much earnestness of affection upon the things of the world: do your business prudently, temperately, diligently, humbly, charitably.

15. Let there be no idle person in or about your family, of beggars, or unemployed servants, but find them all work and meat; call upon them carefully; reprove them without reproaches or fierce railings. Be a master or a mistress and a friend to them, and exact of them to be faithful and diligent.

16. In your servants suffer any offence against yourself rather than against God; endure not that they should swear, or lie, or steal, or be wanton, or curse each other, or be railers, or slanderers, or tell-tales, or sowers of dissension in the family or amongst neighbours.

17. In all your entercourse with your neighbours in the day let your affairs be wholly matter of business or civility, and always managed with justice and charity; never let it be matter of curiosity or enquiry into the actions of others; always without censuring or rash judgment, without backbiting, slandering, or detraction: do it not yourself, neither converse with them that do. He or she that loves tale-bearers shall never be beloved or be innocent.

18. Before dinner and supper, as often as it is convenient or can be had, let the public prayers of the church, or some parts of them, be said publicly in the family, and let as many be present as you can. The same rule is also to be observed for Sundays and holy-days for their going to church. Let no servant be always detained, but relieved and provided for by changes.

19. Let your meal be temperate and wholesome, according to your quality and the season; begun and ended with prayer: and be sure that in the course of your meal, and before you rise, you recollect yourself, and send your heart up to God with some holy and short ejaculation; remembering your duty, fearing to offend, or desiring and sighing after the eternal supper of the Lamb.

20. After meal, use what innocent refreshment you please to refresh your mind or body with these measures:

α) Let it not be too expensive of time.
β) Let it not hinder your devotion nor your business.
γ) Let it be always without violence or passion.
δ) Let it not then wholly take you up when you are at it; but let your heart retire with some holy thoughts and sober recollections, lest your mind be seized upon by it, and your affections carried off from better things: secure your affections for God, and sober and severe employment. Here you may be refreshed, but take heed you neither dwell here nor sin here; it is better never to use recreation than at any time to sin by it. But you may use recreation and avoid sin, and that's the best temper; but if you cannot do both, be more careful of your soul than of your refreshment, and that's the best security. But then in

what you use to sin, carefully avoid it, and change your refreshment for some other instance in which you can be more innocent.

21. Entertain no long discourses with any, but if you can bring in something to season it with religion: as God must be in all your thoughts, so if it be possible let Him be in all your discourses, at least let Him be at one end of it; and when you cannot speak of Him, be sure you forget not to think of Him.

22. Toward the declining of the day be sure to retire to your private devotions. Read, meditate, and pray; in which I propound to you this method:—

On the Lord's day meditate of the glories of the creation, the works of God, and all His benefits to mankind, and to you in particular. Then let your devotion be humbly upon your knees, to say over the viii. and xix. psalms, and sometimes the civ., with proper collects which you shall find or get: adding the form of thanksgiving which is in the Rule of Holy Living, p. 378 [c], in the manner as is there directed; or some other of your own choosing.

Meditate on { Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday } on { α) Death. β) Judgment. γ) Heaven. δ) Hell. }

Saying your usual prayers, and adding some ejaculations or short sayings of your own, according to the matter of your devotion.

On Friday, recollect your sins that you have done that week, and all your life-time; and let your devotion be to recite humbly and devoutly some penitential litanies, whereof you may serve yourself in the Rule of Holy Living, p. 373 [c].

On Saturday at the same time, meditate on the passion of our blessed Saviour and all the mysteries of our redemption, which you may do and pray together, by using the forms made to that purpose in the Rule of Holy Living, p. 391 [c]. In all your devotions begin and end with the Lord's prayer.

Upon these two days and Sunday, you may choose some portions out of the Life of Christ, to read and help your meditation, proper to the mysteries you are appointed to meditate, or any other devout books.

23. Read not much at a time; but meditate as much as your time and capacity and disposition will give you leave: ever remembering, that little reading, and much thinking; little speaking, and much hearing; frequent and short prayers, and great devotion, is the best way to be wise, to be holy, to be devout.

24. Before you go to bed, bethink yourself of the day past; if nothing extraordinary hath happened, your conscience is the sooner

[c] [vol. iii. pp. 232, 229, 210.]

examined; but if you have had any difference or disagreement with any one, or a great feast, or great company, or a great joy, or a great sorrow, then recollect yourself with the more diligence: ask pardon for what is amiss; give God thanks for what was good: if you have omitted any duty, make amends next day; and yet if nothing be found that was amiss, be humbled still and thankful, and pray God for pardon if any thing be amiss that you know not of. If all these things be in your offices, for your last prayers, be sure to apply them according to what you find in your examination: but if they be not, supply them with short ejaculations before you begin your last prayers, or at the end of them. Remember also, and be sure to take notice of all the mercies and deliverances of yourself and your relatives that day.

25. As you are going to bed, as often as you can conveniently, or that you are not hindered by company, meditate of death, and the preparations to your grave. When you lie down, close your eyes with a short prayer, commit yourself into the hands of your faithful Creator; and when you have done, trust Him with yourself, as you must do when you are dying.

26. If you awake in the night, fill up the intervals or spaces of your not sleeping by holy thoughts and aspirations, and remember the sins of your youth: and sometimes remember your dead, and that you shall die; and pray to God to send to you and all mankind a mercy in the day of judgment.

27. Upon the holy-days observe the same rules; only let the matter of your meditations be according to the mystery of the day. As upon Christmas day meditate on the birth of our blessed Saviour, and read that story and considerations which are in the Life of Christ: and to your ordinary devotions of every day add the prayer which is fitted to the mystery which you shall find in the Life of Christ, or in the Rule of Holy Living. Upon the day of the annunciation of[d] our Lady-day, meditate on the incarnation of our blessed Saviour; and so upon all the festivals of the year.

28. Set apart one day for fasting once a week, or once a fortnight, or once a month at least, but let it be with these cautions and measures.

α) Do not choose a festival of the church for your fasting day.

β) Eat nothing till your afternoon devotions be done, if the health of your body will permit it: if not, take something, though it be the less.

γ) When you eat your meal, let it be no more than ordinary, lest your fasting day end in an intemperate evening.

δ) Let the actions of all the day be proportionable to it, abstain from your usual recreations on that day, and from greater mirth.

[d] [sic edd.—? 'or.']

ε) Be sure to design beforehand the purposes of your fast, either for repentance, or for mortification, or for the advantages of prayer; and let your devotions be accordingly. But be sure not to think fasting or eating fish, or eating nothing, of itself to be pleasing to God, but as it serves to one of these purposes.

ζ) Let some part of that day extraordinary be set apart for prayer, for the actions of repentance, for confession of sins, and for begging of those graces for whose sake you set apart that day.

η) Be sure that on that day you set apart something for the poor; for fasting and alms are the wings of prayer.

θ) It is best to choose that day for your fast, which is used generally by all Christians, as Friday and Saturday; but do not call it a fasting day, unless also it be a day of extraordinary devotion and of alms.

29. From observation of all the days of your life, gather out the four extraordinaries;—

α) All the great and shameful sins you have committed.

β) All the excellent or greater acts of piety which by God's grace you have performed.

γ) All the great blessings you have received.

δ) All the dangers and great sicknesses you have escaped.

And upon all the days of your extraordinary devotions, let them be brought forth, and produce their acts of virtue;

α) Repentance and prayers for pardon.

β) Resolutions to proceed and increase in good works.

γ) Thanksgiving to God.

δ) Fear and watchfulness, lest we fall into worse, as a punishment for our sin.

30. Keep a little catalogue of these, and at the foot of them set down what promises and vows you have made, and kept or broken, and do according as you are obliged.

31. Receive the blessed sacrament as often as you can: endeavour to have it once a month, besides the solemn and great festivals of the year.

32. Confess your sins often, hear the word of God, make religion the business of your life, your study and chiefest care, and be sure that in all things a spiritual guide take you by the hand.

THOU SHALT ALWAYS REJOICE IN THE EVENING, IF THOU DOST SPEND THE DAY VIRTUOUSLY[e].

[e] ['fructuose,' Thom. à Kempis, de imit. Christi, i. 25.]

VIA PACIS[a].

A SHORT METHOD OF PEACE AND HOLINESS.

WITH A MANUAL OF DAILY PRAYERS FITTED TO THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

SUNDAY.

Decad the first.

1. It is the highest wisdom by despising the world to arrive at heaven; for they are blessed whose daily exercise it is to converse with God by prayer and obedience, by love and patience.

2. It is the extremest folly to labour for that which will bring torment in the end, and no satisfaction in the little enjoyment of it; to be unwearied in the pursuit of the world, and to be soon tired in whatsoever we begin to do for Christ.

3. Watch over thyself, counsel thyself, reprove thyself, censure thyself, and judge thyself impartially; whatever thou dost to others, do not neglect thyself: for every man profits so much as he does violence to himself.

4. They that follow their own sensuality, stain their consciences, and lose the grace of God; but he that endeavours to please God, whatever he suffers, is beloved of God: for it is not a question whether we shall or shall not suffer, but whether we shall suffer for God or for the world; whether we shall take pains in religion or in sin, to get heaven or to get riches.

5. What availeth knowledge without the fear of God? A humble ignorant man is better than a proud scholar, who studies natural things, and knows not himself. The more thou knowest, the more grievously thou shalt be judged: many get no profit by their labour, because they contend for knowledge rather than for holy life; and the time shall come when it shall more avail thee to have subdued one lust than to have known all mysteries.

6. No man truly knows himself but he groweth daily more contemptible in his own eyes; desire not to be known, and to be little esteemed of by men.

7. If all be well within, nothing can hurt us from without; for from inordinate love and vain fear comes all unquietness of spirit and distraction of our senses.

[a] [Many sentences in the 'Via Pacis' are taken from à Kempis, 'De imit. Christi.']

8. He to whom all things are one, who draweth all things to one, and seeth all things in one, may enjoy true peace and rest of spirit.

9. It is not much business that distracts any man, but the want of purity, constancy, and tendency towards God. Who hinders thee more than the unmortified desires of thine own heart? As soon as ever a man desires any thing inordinately, he is presently disquieted in himself. He that hath not wholly subdued himself is quickly tempted and overcome in small and trifling things. The weak in spirit is he that is in a manner subject to his appetite, and he quickly falls into indignation, and contention, and envy.

10. He is truly great that is great in charity and little in himself.

MONDAY.

The second decad.

11. We rather often believe and speak evil of others than good. But they that are truly virtuous do not easily credit evil that is told them of their neighbours: for if others may do amiss, then may these also speak amiss; man is frail and prone to evil, and therefore may soon fail in words.

12. Be not rash in thy proceedings, nor confident and pertinacious in thy conceits; but consult with him that is wise, and seek to be instructed by a better than thyself.

13. The more humble and resigned we are to God, the more prudent we are in our affairs to men, and peaceable in ourselves.

14. The proud and the covetous can never rest.

15. Be not ashamed to be or to be esteemed poor in this world: for he that hears God teaching him will find that it is the best wisdom to withdraw all our affections from secular honour and troublesome riches, and to place them upon eternal treasures, and by patience, by humility, by suffering scorn and contempt, and all the will of God, to get the true riches.

16. Be not proud of well-doing, for the judgment of God is far differing from the judgment of men.

17. Lay not thine heart open to every one, but with the wise and them that fear God: converse not much with young people and strangers: flatter not the rich, neither do thou willingly or lightly appear before great personages: never be partaker with the persecutors.

18. It is easier, and safer, and more pleasant to live in obedience, than to be at our own disposing.

19. Always yield to others when there is cause; for that is no shame, but honour: but it is shame to stand stiff in a foolish or weak argument or resolution.

20. The talk of worldly affairs hindereth much, although recounted with a fair intention: we speak willingly, but seldom return to silence [b].

TUESDAY.

The third decad.

21. Watch and pray, lest your time pass without profit or fruit; but devout discourses do greatly further our spiritual progress, if persons of one mind and spirit be gathered together in God.

22. We should enjoy more peace if we did not busy ourselves with the words and deeds of other men, which appertain not to our charge.

23. He that esteems his progress in religion to consist in exterior observances, his devotion will quickly be at an end; but to free ourselves of passions, is to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and the true way of peace.

24. It is good that we sometimes be contradicted and ill thought of, and that we always bear it well, even when we deserve to be well spoken of; perfect peace and security cannot be had in this world.

25. All the saints have profited by tribulations; and they that could not bear temptations, became reprobates, and fell from God.

26. Think not all is well within when all is well without, or that thy being pleased is a sign that God is pleased; but suspect every thing that is prosperous, unless it promotes piety, and charity, and humility.

27. Do no evil, for no interest, and to please no man, for no friendship, and for no fear.

28. God regards not how much we do, but from how much it proceeds; he does much that loves much.

29. Patiently suffer that from others, which thou canst not mend in them, until God please to do it for thee; and remember that thou mend thyself, since thou art so willing others should not offend in any thing.

30. Every man's virtue is best seen in adversity and temptation.

WEDNESDAY.

The fourth decad.

31. Begin every day to repent, not that thou shouldst at all defer it, or stand at the door, but because all that is past ought to seem

[b] [Caveas tumultum hominum quantum potes; multum enim impedit tractatus sæcularium gestorum, etiamsi simplici intentione proferantur. Cito enim inquinamur vanitate et captivamur. Vellem me pluries tacuisse, et inter homines non fuisse. Sed quare tam libenter loquimur et invicem fabulamur, cum tamen raro sine læsione conscientiæ ad silentium redimus?—A Kemp. de im. Chr. i. 10.]

little to thee, because it is so in itself; begin the next day with the same zeal, and the same fear, and the same humility, as if thou hadst never begun before.

32. A little omission of any usual exercise of piety cannot happen to thee without some loss and considerable detriment, even though it be upon a considerable cause.

33. Be not slow in common and usual acts of piety and devotion, and quick and prompt at singularities; but having first done what thou art bound to, proceed to counsels and perfections, and the extraordinaries of religion, as you see cause.

34. He that desires much to hear news, is never void of passions, and secular desires, and adherencies to the world.

35. Complain not too much of hindrances of devotion; if thou let men alone, they will let you alone; and if you desire not to converse with them, let them know it, and they will not desire to converse with thee.

36. Draw not to thyself the affairs of others, neither involve thyself in the suits and parties of great personages.

37. Know that if any trouble happen to thee, it is what thou hast deserved, and therefore brought upon thyself; but if any comfort come to thee, it is a gift of God, and what thou didst not deserve: and remember that oftentimes when thy body complains of trouble, it is not so much the greatness of trouble, as littleness of thy spirit, that makes thee to complain.

38. He that knows how to suffer any thing for God; that desires heartily the will of God may be done in him; that studies to please others rather than himself, to do the will of his superior, not his own; that chooseth the least portion, and is not greedy for the biggest; that takes the lowest place, and does not murmur secretly: he is in the best condition and state of things.

39. Let no man despair of mercy or success, so long as he hath life and health.

40. Every man must pass through fire and water, before he can come to refreshment.

THURSDAY.

The fifth decad.

41. Soon may a man lose that by negligence, which hath by much labour, and a long time, and a mighty grace scarcely been obtained. And what shall become of us before night, who are weary so early in the morning? Woe be to that man who would be at rest, even when he hath scarcely a footstep of holiness appearing in his conversation.

42. So think, and so do, as if thou wert to die to-day, and at night to give an account of thy whole life.

43. Beg not a long life, but a good one; for length of days oftentimes prolongs the evil, and augments the guilt: it were well if that little time we live, we would live well.

44. Entertain the same opinions and thoughts of thy sin and of thy present state, as thou wilt in the days of sorrow. Thou wilt then think thyself very miserable and very foolish, for neglecting one hour, and one day of thy salvation: think so now, and thou wilt be more provident of thy time and of thy talent. For there will a time come, when every careless man shall desire the respite of one hour for prayer and repentance, and I know not who will grant it. Happy is he that so lives, that in the day of death he rejoices, and is not amazed.

45. He that would die comfortably, may serve his ends by first procuring to himself a contempt of the world, a fervent desire of growing in grace, love of discipline, a laborious repentance, a prompt obedience, self-denial, and toleration of every cross accident for the love of Christ, and a tender charity.

46. While thou art well, thou mayest do much good if thou wilt; but when thou art sick, neither thou nor I can tell what thou shalt be able to do: it is not very much, nor very good; few men mend with sickness, as they are but few who by travel and a wandering life become devout.

47. Be not troubled nor faint in the labours of mortification, and the austerities of repentance; for in hell one hour is more intolerable than a hundred years in the house of repentance: and try, for if thou canst not endure God punishing thy follies gently, for a while, to amend thee, how wilt thou endure His vengeance for ever to undo thee?

48. In thy prayers wait for God, and think not every hearty prayer can procure every thing thou askest. These things which the saints did not obtain without many prayers, and much labour, and a shower of tears, and a long protracted watchfulness, and industry, do thou expect also in its own time, and by its usual measures. Do thou valiantly, and hope confidently, and wait patiently, and thou shalt find thou wilt not be deceived.

49. Be careful thou dost not speak a lie in thy prayers, which though not observed, is frequently practised by careless persons, especially in the forms of confession, affirming things which they have not thought, professing sorrow which is not, making a vow they mean not.

50. If thou meanest to be devout, and to enlarge thy religion, do it rather by increasing thy ordinary devotions than thy extraordinary: for if they be not regular, but come by chance, they will not last

long; but if they be added to your ordinary offices, or made to be daily, thy spirit will by use and custom be made tender, and not willing to go less.

FRIDAY.

The sixth decad.

51. He is a truly charitable and good man, who when he receives injuries, grieves rather for the malice of him that injures him, than for his own suffering; who willingly prays for him that wrongs him, and from his heart forgives all his faults; who stays not, but quickly asks pardon of others for his errors or mistakes; who sooner shews mercy than anger; who thinks better of others than himself; who offers violence to his appetite, and in all things endeavours to subdue the flesh to the spirit. This is an excellent abbreviature of the whole duty of a Christian.

52. No man can have felicity in two states of things; if he takes it in God here, in Him he shall have it hereafter, for God will last for ever. But if he takes felicity in things of this world, where will his felicity be when this world is done? Either here alone, or hereafter, must be thy portion.

53. Avoid those things in thyself, which in others do most displease thee; and remember that as thine eye observes others, so art thou observed by God, by angels, and by men.

54. He that puts his confidence in God only, is neither overjoyed in any great good thing of this life, nor sorrowful for a little thing: let God be thy love and thy fear, and He also will be thy salvation and thy refuge.

55. Do not omit thy prayers for want of a good oratory or place to pray in, nor thy duty for want of temporal encouragements. For he that does both upon God's account, cares not how or what he suffers, so he suffer well, and be the friend of Christ; nor where nor when he prays, so he may do it frequently, fervently, and acceptably.

56. Very often remember and meditate upon the wounds and stripes, the shame and the pain, the death and the burial of our Lord Jesus; for nothing will more enable us to bear our cross patiently, injuries charitably, the labour of religion comfortably, and censuring words and detractions with meekness and quietness.

57. Esteem not thyself to have profited in religion, unless thou thinkest well of others, and meanly of thyself: therefore never accuse any but thyself, and he that diligently watches himself, will be willing enough to be silent concerning others.

58. It is no great matter to live lovingly with good-natured, with humble and meek persons: but he that can do so with the froward, with the wilful, and the ignorant, with the peevish and perverse, he only hath true charity: always remembering that our true solid peace, the peace of God, consists rather in compliance with others than in being complied with, in suffering and forbearing rather than in contention and victory.

59. Simplicity in our intentions, and purity of affections, are the two wings of a soul, investing it with the robes and resemblances of a seraphim. Intend the honour of God principally and sincerely, and mingle not thy affections with any creature, but in just subordination to God, and to religion, and thou shalt have joy, if there be any such thing in this world. For there is no joy but in God, and no sorrow but in an evil conscience.

60. Take not much care what, or who is for thee, or against thee. The judgment of none is to be regarded, if God's judgment be otherwise. Thou art neither better nor worse in thyself for any account that is made of thee by any but by God alone: secure that to thee, and He will secure all the rest.

SATURDAY.

The seventh decad.

61. Blessed is he that understands what it is to love Jesus, and contends earnestly to be like Him; nothing else can satisfy, or make us perfect. But be thou a bearer of His cross, as well as a lover of His kingdom: suffer tribulation for Him, or from Him, with the same spirit thou receivest consolation: follow Him as well for the bitter cup of His passion as for the loaves; and remember, that if it be a hard saying, Take up My cross and follow Me, it is a harder saying, Go ye cursed into everlasting fire.

62. No man can always have the same spiritual pleasure in his prayers, for the greatest saints have sometimes suffered the banishment of the heart; sometimes are fervent, sometimes they feel a barrenness of devotion: for this Spirit comes and goes. Rest therefore only in God, and in doing thy duty: and know, that if thou beest overjoyed to day, this hour will pass away, and temptation and sadness will succeed.

63. In all afflictions, seek rather for patience than for comfort: if thou preservest that, this will return. Any man would serve God, if he felt pleasure in it always; but the virtuous does it when his soul is full of heaviness, and regards not himself but God, and hates that consolation that lessens his compunction, but loves any thing whereby he is made more humble.

64. That which thou dost not understand when thou readest, thou shalt understand in the day of thy visitation: for there are many secrets of religion which are not perceived till they be felt, and are not felt but in the day of a great calamity.

65. He that prays, despairs not: but sad is the condition of him that cannot pray; happy are they that can and do, and love to do it.

66. He that will be pleased in his prayers, must make his prayers his rule: all our duty is there set down, because in all our duty we beg the divine assistance; and remember, that you are bound to do all those duties, for the doing of which you have prayed for the divine assistance.

67. Be doing actions of religion as often as thou canst, and thy worldly pleasures as seldom, that if thou beest surprised by sudden death, it may be odds but thou mayest be taken at thy prayers.

68. Watch, and resist the devil in all his temptations and snares: his chief designs are these; to hinder thy desire in good; to put thee by from any spiritual employment, from prayers especially, from the meditation of the passion, from the remembrance of thy sins, from humble confession of them, from speedy repentance, from the custody of thy senses and of thy heart, from firm purposes of growing in grace, from reading good books, and frequent receiving the holy sacrament. It is all one to him if he deceives thee by a lie or by truth; whether he amaze or trouble thee, by love of the present or fear of the future. Watch him but in these things, and there will be no part left unarmed in which he can wound thee.

69. Remember how the proud have fallen, and they who have presumed upon their own strength have been disgraced; and that the boldest and greatest talkers in the days of peace have been the most dejected and pusillanimous in the day of temptation.

70. No man ought to think he hath found peace when nothing troubles him; or that God loves him because he hath no enemy; nor that all is well because every thing is according to his mind; nor that he is a holy person because he prays with great sweetness and comfort. But he is at peace who is reconciled to God; and God loves him when he hath overcome himself; and all is well when nothing pleases him but God, being thankful in the midst of his afflictions; and he is holy who when he hath lost his comfort loses nothing of his duty, but is still the same when God changes His face towards him.

III.

POSTULANDA;

OR,

THINGS TO BE PRAYED FOR.

Jubet Deus ut petas, et si non petis displicet, et non negabit quod petis, et tu non petes? S. Aug.

A FORM OF PRAYER, BY WAY OF PARAPHRASE EXPOUNDING THE LORD'S PRAYER.

OUR FATHER,

MERCIFUL and gracious; Thou gavest us being, raising us from nothing to be an excellent creation, efforming us after Thine[a] own image, tenderly feeding us, and conducting and strengthening us all our days. Thou art our Father by a more excellent mercy, adopting us in a new birth to become partakers of the inheritance of Jesus; Thou hast given us the portion and the food of sons; O make us to do the duty of sons, that we may never lose our title to so glorious an inheritance.

Let this excellent name and title, by which Thou hast vouchsafed to relate to us, be our glory and our confidence, our defence and guard, our ornament and strength, our dignity, and the endearment of obedience, the principle of a holy fear to Thee our Father, and of love to Thee and to our brethren, partakers of the same hope and dignity.

Unite every member of the church to Thee in holy bands; let there be no more names of division, nor titles and ensigns of error and partiality; let not us who are brethren contend but in giving honour to each other and glory to Thee, contending earnestly for the faith, but not to the breach of charity, nor the denying each other's hope: but grant that we may all join in the promotion of the honour of Thee our Father, in celebrating the name, and spreading the family, and propagating the laws and institutions, the promises and dignities

[a] ['Thy' A.]

of our elder brother; that despising the transitory entertainments of this world, we may labour for, and long after the inheritance to which Thou hast given us title, by adopting us into the dignity of sons. For ever let Thy spirit witness to our spirit, that we are Thy children, and enable us to cry, Abba, Father.

WHICH ART IN HEAVEN,

Heaven is Thy throne, the earth is Thy footstool: from Thy throne Thou beholdest all the dwellers upon earth, and triest out the hearts of men, and nothing is hid from Thy sight; and as Thy knowledge is infinite, so is Thy power uncircumscribed as the utmost orb of heaven, and Thou sittest in Thine own essential happiness and tranquillity, immovable and eternal. That is our country, and thither Thy servants are travelling; there is our Father, and that is our inheritance; there our hearts are, for there our treasure is laid up till the day of recompence.

HALLOWED BE THY NAME.

Thy name, O God, is glorious, and in Thy name is our hope and confidence: "According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the world's end: they that love Thy name shall be joyful in Thee;" for Thy name, which Thou madest to be proclaimed unto Thy people, is, "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty." In this glorious name we worship Thee, O Lord; and "all they that know Thy name will put their trust in Thee." "The desire of our soul is to Thy name, and to the remembrance of Thee." Thou art worthy, O Lord, of honour, and praise, and glory, for ever and ever: we confess Thy glories, we rejoice in Thy mercies; "we hope in Thy name, and Thy saints like it well:" for Thy name is praised unto the ends of the world; it is believed by faith, relied upon by a holy hope, and loved by a great charity: all Thy church celebrates Thee with praises, and offers to Thy name the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving.

Thou, O God, didst frame our nature by Thy own image, and now Thou hast imprinted Thy name upon us, we are Thy servants, the relatives and domestics of Thy family, and Thou hast honoured us with the gracious appellative of Christians. O let us never dishonour so excellent a title, nor by unworthy usages profane Thy holy name, but for ever glorify it. Let our life be answerable to our dignity; that our body may be chaste, our thoughts clean, our words gracious, our manners holy, and our life useful and innocent, that men seeing our good works, may glorify Thee our Father which art in heaven.

THY KINGDOM COME,

Thou reignest in heaven and earth: O do Thou rule also in our hearts; advance the interest of religion; let Thy gospel be placed in all the regions of the earth; and let all nations come and worship Thee, laying their proud wills at Thy feet, submitting their understandings to the obedience of Jesus, conforming their affections to Thy holy laws. Let Thy kingdom be set up gloriously over us; and do Thou reign in our spirits by Thy spirit of grace; subdue every lust and inordinate appetite, trample upon our pride, mortify all rebellion within us, and let all Thine and our enemies be brought into captivity, that sin may never reign in our mortal bodies; but that Christ may reign in our understanding by faith, in the will by charity, in the passions by mortification, in all the members by a right and a chaste use of them. And when Thy kingdom that is within us hath flourished and is advanced to that height whither Thou hast designed it, grant Thy kingdom of glory may speedily succeed; and we Thy servants be admitted to the peace and purity, the holiness and glories of that state where Thou reignest alone, and art all in all.

THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH, AS IT IS IN HEAVEN.

Thy will, O God, is the measure of holiness and peace; Thy providence the great disposer of all things, tying all events together, in order to Thy glory and the good of Thy servants, by a wonderful mysterious chain of wisdom. Let Thy will also be the measure of our desires: for we know that whatsoever Thou sayest is true, and whatsoever Thou doest is good: grant we may submit our wills to Thine, being patient of evils which Thou inflictest, lovers of the good which Thou commandest, haters of all evil which Thou forbiddest, pleased with all the accidents Thou sendest; that though our nature is weaker than angels, yet our obedience may be as humble, our conformity to Thy will may arise up to the degrees of unity, and theirs cannot be more; that as they in heaven, so we in earth may obey Thy will promptly, cheerfully, zealously, and with all our faculties; and grant, that as they there, so all the world here may serve Thee with peace and concord, purity and love unfeigned, with one heart and one voice glorifying Thee our heavenly Father.

Grant that we may quit all our own affections, and suspect our reasonings, and go out of ourselves, and all our own confidences, that Thou being to us all things, disposing all events, and guiding all our actions, and directing our intentions, and overruling all things in us and about us, we may be servants of the divine will for ever.

GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD.

Thou, O God, which takest care of our souls, do not despise our bodies which Thou hast made and sanctified, and designed to be glo-

rious. But now we are exposed to hunger and thirst, nakedness and weariness, want and inconvenience, 'give unto us neither poverty nor riches, but feed us with food convenient for us,' and clothe us with fitting provisions, according to that state and condition where Thou hast placed Thy servants; that we may not be tempted with want, nor made contemptible by beggary, nor wanton or proud by riches, nor in love with any thing in this world; but that we may use it as strangers and pilgrims, as the relief of our needs, the support of our infirmities, and the oil of our lamps, feeding us till we are quite spent in Thy service. Lord, take from Thy servants sad carefulness and all distrust, and give us only such a proportion of temporal things as may enable us with comfort to do our duty.

FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES, AS WE FORGIVE THÉM THAT TRESPASS AGAINST US.

O dear God, unless Thou art pleased to pardon us, in vain it is that we should live here, and what good will our life do us? O look upon us with much mercy, for we have sinned grievously against Thee. Pardon the adherent imperfections of our life, the weaknesses of our duty, the carelessness of our spirit, our affected [b] ignorance, our indiligence, our rashness and want of observation, our malice and presumptions. Turn Thine eyes from our impurities, and behold the brightness and purest innocence of the holy Jesus, and under His cover we plead our cause, not that Thou shouldest judge our sins, but give us pardon, and blot out all our iniquities, that we may never enter into the horrible regions where there are torments without ceasing, a prison without ransom, reproaches without comfort, anguish without patience, darkness without light, a 'worm that never dies, and the fire that never goeth out.'

But be pleased also to give us great charity, that we may truly forgive all that trouble or injure us, that by that character Thou mayest discern us to be Thy sons and servants, disciples of the holy Jesus, lest our prayer be turned into sin, and Thy grace be recalled, and Thou enter into a final anger against Thy servants.

LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.

Gracious Father, we are weak and ignorant, our affections betray us, and make us willing to die, our adversary the devil goeth up and down, seeking whom he may devour; he is busy and crafty, malicious and powerful, watchful and envious; and we tempt ourselves, running out to mischief, delighting in the approaches of sin, and love to have necessities put upon us, that sin may be unavoidable. Pity

[b] [S. Thom. Aquin., 1. 2^dae, q. lxxvi. art. 4, ad 3^m.]

us in the midst of these disorders; and give us spiritual strength, holy resolutions, a watchful spirit, the whole armour of God and Thy protection, the guard of angels and the conduct of Thy holy Spirit, to be our security in the day of danger. Give us Thy grace to fly from all occasions to sin, that we may never tempt ourselves, nor delight to be tempted; and let Thy blessed providence so order the accidents of our lives, that we may not dwell near an enemy; and when Thou shalt try us, and suffer us to enter into combat, let us always be on Thy side, and fight valiantly, resist the devil, and endure patiently, and persevere constantly unto the end, that Thou mayest crown Thy own work in us.

BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL.

From sin and shame, from the malice and fraud of the devil, and from the falseness and greediness of men, from all Thy wrath, and from all our impurities, good Lord deliver Thy servants.

Do not reserve any thing of Thy wrath in store for us; but let our sins be pardoned so fully, that Thou mayest not punish our inventions. And yet if Thou wilt not be intreated, but that it be necessary that we suffer, Thy will be done; smite us here with a father's rod, that Thou mayest spare us hereafter: let the sad accidents of our life be for good to us, not for evil; for our amendment, not to exasperate or weary us, not to harden or confound us: and what evil soever it be that shall happen, let us not sin against Thee. For ever deliver us from that evil, and for ever deliver us from the power of the evil one, the great enemy of mankind, and never let our portion be in that region of darkness, in that everlasting burning which Thou hast prepared for the devil and his angels for ever.

FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM, THE POWER AND THE GLORY, FOR EVER AND EVER. AMEN.

So shall we Thy servants advance the mightiness of Thy kingdom, the power of Thy majesty, and the glory of Thy mercy, from generation to generation for ever. Amen.

LITANIES

FOR ALL THINGS AND PERSONS.

O God, the Father of mercies, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon Thy servants, and hear the prayers of us miserable sinners.

O blessed Jesus, the fountain of peace and pardon, our wisdom and our righteousness, our sanctification and redemption, have mercy upon Thy servants, refuse not to hear the prayers of us miserable, sorrowful, and returning sinners.

O holy and divinest Spirit of the Father, help our infirmities, for of ourselves we know not what to ask, nor how to pray, but do Thou assist and be present in the desires of us miserable sinners.

I.

FOR PARDON OF SINS.

Remember not, Lord, the follies of our childhood nor the lusts of our youth, the wildness of our head nor the wanderings of our heart, the infinite sins of our tongue, and the inexcusable errors of the days of vanity.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US POOR MISERABLE SINNERS.

Remember not, O Lord, the growing iniquities of our elder age, the pride of our spirit, the abuse of our members, the greediness of our appetite, the inconstancy of our purposes, the peevishness and violence of all our passions and affections.

LORD HAVE MERCY, &c.

Remember not, O Lord, how we have been full of envy and malice, anger and revenge, fierce and earnest in the purchases and vanities of the world, and lazy and dull, slow and soon weary in the things of God and of religion.

LORD HAVE MERCY, &c.

Remember not, O Lord, our uncharitable behaviour towards those with whom we have conversed, our jealousies and suspicions, our evil surmisings and evil reportings, the breach of our promises to men, and the breach of all our holy vows made to Thee our God.

LORD HAVE MERCY, &c.

Remember not, O Lord, how often we have omitted the several parts and actions of our duty; for our sins of omission are infinite, and we have not sought after the righteousness of God, but have rested in carelessness and forgetfulness, in a false peace and a silent conscience.

LORD HAVE MERCY, &c.

O most gracious Lord, enter not into judgment with Thy servants, lest we be consumed in Thy wrath and just displeasure: from which,

GOOD LORD DELIVER US, AND PRESERVE THY SERVANTS FOR EVER.

II.

FOR DELIVERANCE FROM EVILS.

From gross ignorance and stupid negligence, from a wandering head and a trifling spirit, from the violence and rule of passion, from a servile will and a commanding lust, from all intemperance, inordination and irregularity whatsoever,

GOOD LORD DELIVER AND PRESERVE THY SERVANTS FOR EVER.

From a covetous mind and greedy desires, from lustful thoughts, and a wanton eye, from rebellious members, and the pride and vanity of spirit; from false opinions and ignorant confidences,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From improvidence and prodigality, from envy and the spirit of slander, from idleness and sensuality, from presumption and despair, from sinful actions and all vicious habits,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From fierceness of rage and hastiness of spirit, from clamorous and reproachful language, from peevish anger and inhuman malice, from the spirit of contention, and hasty and indiscreet zeal,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From a schismatical and heretical spirit, from tyranny and tumults, from sedition and factions, from envying the grace of God in our brother, from impenitence and hardness of heart, from obstinacy and apostasy, from delighting in sin, and hating God and good men,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From fornication and adultery, from unnatural desires and unnatural hatreds, from gluttony and drunkenness, from loving and believing lies, and taking pleasure in the remembrances of evil things, from delighting in our neighbour's misery, and procuring it, from upbraiding others, and hating reproof of ourselves,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From impudence and shame, from contempt and scorn, from oppression and cruelty, from a pitiless and unrelenting spirit, from a churlish behaviour, and undecent usages of ourselves or others,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From famine and pestilence, from noisome and infectious diseases, from sharp and intolerable pains, from impatience and tediousness of spirit, from a state of temptation, and hardened consciences [a],

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From banishments and prison, from widowhood and want, from violence of pains and passions, from tempests and earthquakes, from the rage of fire and water, from rebellion and treason, from fretfulness and inordinate cares, from murmuring against God, and disobedience to the divine commandment,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From delaying our repentance, and persevering in sin, from false principles and prejudices, from unthankfulness and irreligion, from seducing others, and being abused ourselves, from the malice and craftiness of the devil, and the deceit and lyings of the world,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From wounds and murder, from precipices and falls, from fracture of bones, and dislocation of joints, from dismembering our bodies, and all infatuation of our souls, from folly and madness, from uncertainty of mind and state, and from a certainty of sinning,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From thunder and lightning, from phantasms, spectres and illusions of the night, from sudden and great changes, from the snares of wealth, and the contempt of beggary and extreme poverty, from being

[a] ['spirits' A.].

made an example and a warning to others by suffering sad judgments ourselves,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From condemning others, and justifying ourselves, from misspending our time and abusing Thy grace, from calling good evil and evil good, from consenting to folly, and tempting others,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From excess in speaking and peevish silence, from looser laughing and immoderate weeping, from giving evil example to others, or following any ourselves, from giving or receiving scandal, from the horrible sentence of endless death and damnation,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From cursing and swearing, from uncharitable chiding, and easiness to believe evil, from the evil spirit that walketh at noon, and the arrow that flieth in darkness, from the angel of wrath, and perishing in popular diseases,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From the want of a spiritual guide, from a famine of the word and sacraments, from hurtful persecution, and from taking part with persecutors,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From drowning or being burnt alive, from sleepless nights and contentious days, from a melancholy and a confused spirit, from violent fears and the loss of reason, from a vicious life, and a sudden and unprovided death,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From relying upon vain fancies and false foundations, from an evil and an amazed conscience, from sinning near the end of our life, and from despairing in the day of our death,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

From hypocrisy and wilfulness, from self-love and vain ambition, from curiosity and carelessness, from being tempted in the days of our weakness, from the prevailing of the flesh, and grieving the Spirit, from all Thy wrath, and from all our sins,

GOOD LORD DELIVER, &c.

III.

FOR GIFTS AND GRACES.

HEAR our prayer, O Lord, and consider our desire, hearken unto us for Thy truth and righteousness sake: O hide not Thy face from us, neither cast away Thy servants in displeasure.

Give unto us the spirit of prayer, frequent and fervent, holy and persevering, an unreprovable faith, a just and a humble hope, and a never-failing charity.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, O LORD, AND CONSIDER OUR DESIRE.

Give unto us true humility, a meek and a quiet spirit, a loving and a friendly, a holy and a useful conversation, bearing the burdens of our neighbours, denying ourselves, and studying to benefit others, and to please Thee in all things.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give us a prudent and a sober, a just and a sincere, a temperate and a religious spirit; a great contempt of the world, a love of holy things, and a longing after heaven, and the instruments and paths that lead thither.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Grant us to be thankful to our benefactors, righteous in performing promises, loving to our relatives, careful of our charges, to be gentle and easy to be entreated, slow to anger, and fully instructed and readily prepared for every good work.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give us a peaceable spirit and a peaceable life, free from debt and deadly sin, grace to abstain from all appearances of evil, and to do nothing but what is of good report, to confess Christ and His holy religion, by a holy and obedient life, and a mind ready to die for Him when He shall call for us [b], and assist us.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give to Thy servants a watchful and an observing spirit, diligent in doing our duty, inflexible to evil, obedient to Thy word, inquisitive after Thy will; pure and holy thoughts, strong and religious purposes, and Thy grace to perform faithfully what we have promised in the day of our duty, or in the day of our calamity.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

O teach us to despise all vanity, to fight the battles of the Lord

[b] ['call us' A.]

manfully against the flesh, the world, and the devil, to spend our time religiously and usefully, to speak gracious words, to walk always as in Thy presence, to preserve our souls and bodies in holiness, fit for the habitation of the holy Spirit of God.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give us a holy and a perfect repentance, a well instructed understanding, regular affections, a constant and a wise heart, a good name, a fear of Thy majesty, and a love of all Thy glories above all the things in the world for ever.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give us a healthful body and a clear understanding, the love of our neighbours, and the peace of the church, the public use and comfort of Thy holy word and sacraments, a great love to all Christians, and obedience to our superiors, ecclesiastical and civil, all the days of our life.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give us spiritual wisdom that we may discern what is pleasing to Thee, and follow what belongs unto our peace; and let the knowledge and love of God, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be our guide and our portion all our days.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Give unto us holy dispositions, and an active industry in Thy service, to redeem the time misspent in vanity; for Thy pity's sake take not vengeance of us for our sins, but sanctify our souls and bodies in this life, and glorify them hereafter.

HEAR OUR PRAYERS, &c.

Our Father, &c.

IV.

TO BE ADDED TO THE FORMER LITANIES, ACCORDING AS OUR DEVOTIONS AND TIME WILL SUFFER.

FOR ALL STATES OF MEN AND WOMEN, ESPECIALLY IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

O BLESSED God, in mercy remember Thine inheritance, and forget not the congregation of the poor for ever; pity poor mankind, whose portion is misery and folly, shame and death: but Thou art our redeemer, and the lifter up of our head, and under the shadow of Thy wings shall be our help, until this tyranny be overpast.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, O GOD, AND HIDE NOT THYSELF FROM OUR PETITIONS.

Preserve, O God, the catholic church in holiness and truth, in unity and peace, free from persecution, or glorious under it, that she may for ever advance the honour of her Lord Jesus, for ever represent His sacrifice, and glorify His person, and advance His religion, and be accepted of Thee in her blessed Lord, that being filled with His spirit, she may partake of His glory.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give the spirit of government and holiness to all christian kings, princes and governors: grant that their people may obey them, and they may obey Thee, and live in honesty and peace, justice and holy religion, being nursing fathers to the church, advocates for the oppressed, patrons for the widows, and a sanctuary for the miserable and the fatherless, that they may reign with Thee for ever in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give to Thy servants the bishops, and all the clergy, the spirit of holiness and courage, of patience and humility, of prudence and diligence, to preach and declare Thy will by a holy life and wise discourses, that they may minister to the good of souls, and find a glorious reward in the day of the Lord Jesus.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give to our relatives [our wives and children, our friends and benefactors, our charges, our family, &c.] pardon and support, comfort in all their sorrows, strength in all their temptations, the guard of angels to preserve them from evil, and the conduct of Thy holy Spirit, to lead them into all good; that they doing their duty may feel Thy mercies here, and partake of Thy glories hereafter.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give to all christian kingdoms and commonwealths peace and plenty, health and holy religion: to all families of religion and nurseries of piety, zeal and holiness, prudence and unity, peace and contentedness: to all schools of learning, quietness and industry, freedom from wars and violence, factions and envy.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give to all married pairs, faith and love, charitable and wise compliances, sweetness of society, and innocence of conversation; to all virgins and widows, great love of religion, a sober and a contented spirit, an unwearied attendance to devotion, and the offices of holiness; protection to the fatherless, comfort to the disconsolate, patience and submission, health and spiritual advantages to the sick; that they

may feel Thy comforts for the days wherein they have suffered adversity.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Be Thou a star and a guide to them that travel by land or sea, the confidence and comfort of them that are in storms and shipwrecks, the strength of them that toil in the mines and row in the galleys, an instructor to the ignorant; to them that are condemned to die, be Thou a guide unto death; give cheerfulness to every sad heart, spiritual strength and proportionable comfort to them that are afflicted by evil spirits: pity the lunatics, give life and salvation to all to whom Thou hast given no understanding; accept the stupid and the fools to mercy, give liberty to prisoners, redemption to captives, maintenance to the poor, patronage and defence to the oppressed, and put a period to the iniquity, and to the miseries of all mankind.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give unto our enemies grace and pardon, charity to us, and love to Thee; take away all anger from them, and all mistakes from us, all misinterpretations and jealousies; bring all sinners to repentance and holiness, and to all Thy saints and servants give an increasing love, and a persevering duty; bring all Turks, Jews and infidels to the knowledge and confession of the Lord Jesus, and a participation of all the promises of the gospel, all the benefits of His passion; to all heretics give humility and ingenuity, repentance of their errors, and grace and power to make amends to the church and truth, and a public acknowledgment of a holy faith, to the glory of the Lord Jesus.

HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

Give to all merchants faithfulness and truth; to the labouring husbandman health, and fair seasons of the year, and reward his toil with the dew of heaven, and the blessings of the earth; to all artizans give diligence in their callings, and a blessing on their labours and on their families; to old men piety and perfect repentance, a liberal heart, and an open hand, great religion, and desires after heaven; to young men give sobriety and chastity, health and usefulness, an early piety, and a persevering duty; to all families visited with the rod of God, give consolation, and a holy use of the affliction, and a speedy deliverance; to us all pardon and holiness, and life eternal, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion [c] of the holy Spirit, be with us all for ever. Amen.

[c] ['communication' A.]

A SHORT PRAYER TO BE SAID EVERY MORNING.

O ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of mercy and comfort; with reverence and fear, with humble confidence and strong desires, I approach to the throne of grace, begging of Thee mercy and protection, pardon and salvation. O my God, I am a sinner, but sorrowful and repenting; Thou art justly offended at me, but yet Thou art my Lord and my Father, merciful and gracious: be pleased to blot all my sins out of Thy remembrance, and heal my soul, that I may never any more sin against Thee. Lord open mine [d] eyes, that I may see mine [d] own infirmities, and watch against them; and my own follies, that I may amend them: and be pleased to give me perfect understanding in the way of godliness, that I may walk in it all the days of my pilgrimage. Give me a spirit diligent in the works of my calling, cheerful and zealous in religion, fervent and frequent in my prayers, charitable and useful in my conversation: give me a healthful and a chaste body, a pure and a holy soul, a sanctified and an humble spirit; and let my body and soul and spirit be preserved unblamable to the coming of the Lord Jesus. Amen.

II.

BLESSED be Thy name, O God, and blessed be Thy mercies, who hast preserved me this night from sin and sorrow, from sad chances, and a violent death, from the malice of the devil, and the evil effects of my own corrupted nature and infirmity. The outgoings of the morning and evening shall praise Thee, and Thy servants shall rejoice in giving Thee praise for the operation of Thy hands. Let Thy providence and care watch over me this day, and all my whole life, that I may never sin against Thee by idleness or folly, by evil company or private sins, by word or deed, by thought or desire; and let the employment of my day leave no sorrow, or the remembrance of an evil conscience at night: but let it be holy and profitable, blessed, and always innocent; that when the days of my short abode are done, and the shadow is departed, I may die in Thy fear and favour, and rest in a holy hope, and at last return to the joys of a blessed resurrection, through Jesus Christ: in whose name, and in whose words, in behalf of myself and all my friends, and all Thy servants, I humbly and heartily pray, Our Father, &c.

A PRAYER FOR THE EVENING.

ETERNAL God, almighty Father of men and angels, by whose care and providence I am preserved and blessed, comforted and assisted, I humbly beg of Thee to pardon the sins and follies of this day, the weaknesses of my services, and the strength of my passions, the rash-

[d] ['my' A.]

ness of my words, and the vanity and evil of my actions. O just and dear God, how long shall I confess my sins, and pray against them, and yet fall under them! O let it be so no more, let me never return to the follies of which I am ashamed, which bring sorrow, and death, and Thy displeasure, worse than death. Give me a command over my evil inclinations, and a perfect hatred of sin, and a love to Thee above all the desires of this world. Be pleased to bless and preserve me this night from all sin, and all violence of chance, and the malice of the spirits of darkness: watch over me in my sleep, and whether I sleep or wake, let me be Thy servant. Be Thou first and last in all my thoughts, and the guide and continual assistance of all my actions: preserve my body, pardon the sin of my soul, and sanctify my spirit; let me always live holily, and justly, and soberly; and when I die, receive my soul into Thy hands, O holy and ever-blessed Jesus, that I may lie in Thy bosom, and long for Thy coming, and hear Thy blessed sentence at doomsday, and behold Thy face, and live in Thy kingdom, singing praises to God for ever and ever. Amen.

Our Father, &c.

FOR SUNDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST PRIDE.

I.

O ETERNAL God, merciful and glorious, Thou art exalted far above all heavens; Thy throne, O God, is glory, and Thy sceptre is righteousness, Thy will is holiness, and Thy wisdom the great foundation of empire and government. I adore Thy majesty, and rejoice in Thy mercy, and revere Thy power, and confess all glory and dignity and honour to be Thine alone, and theirs to whom Thou shalt impart any ray of Thy majesty, or reflection of Thy honour; but as for me I am a worm and no man, vile dust and ashes, the son of corruption and the heir of rottenness, seized upon by folly, a lump of ignorance and sin, and shame and death. What art Thou, O Lord? the great God of heaven and earth, the fountain of holiness, and perfection infinite. But what am I? so ignorant that I know not what; so poor that I have nothing of my own; so miserable that I am the heir of sorrow and death; and so sinful, that I am encompassed with shame and grief.

II.

AND yet, O my God, I am proud: proud of my shame, glorying in my sin, boasting in my infirmities; for this is all that I have of

my own, save only that I have multiplied my miseries by vile actions, every day dishonouring the work of Thy hands: my understanding is too confident, my affections rebellious, my will refractory and disobedient; and yet I know Thou resistest the proud, and didst cast the morning stars, the angels, from heaven into chains of darkness, when they grew giddy and proud, walking upon the battlements of heaven, beholding the glorious regions that were above them.

III.

THOU, O God, who givest grace to the humble, do something also for the proud man; make me humble and obedient. Take from me the spirit of pride and haughtiness, ambition and self-flattery, confidence and gaiety: teach me to think well and to expound all things fairly of my brother, to love his worthiness, to delight in his praises, to excuse his errors, to give Thee thanks for his graces, to rejoice in all the good that he receives, and ever to believe and speak better things of him than of myself.

IV.

O TEACH me to love to be concealed, and little esteemed; let me be truly humble, and heartily ashamed of my sin and folly: teach me to bear reproaches evenly, for I have deserved them; to refuse all honours done unto me, because I have not deserved them; to return all to Thee, for it is Thine alone; to suffer reproof thankfully, to amend all my faults speedily; and do Thou invest my soul with the humble robe of my meek master and Saviour Jesus; and when I have humbly, patiently, charitably and diligently served Thee, change this robe into the shining garment of immortality, my confusion into glory, my folly to perfect knowledge, my weaknesses and dishonours to the strength and beauties of the sons of God.

V.

IN the mean time use what means Thou pleasest to conform me to the image of Thy holy Son; that I may be gentle to others, and severe to myself: that I may sit down in the lowest place; striving to go before my brother in nothing, but in doing him and Thee honour; staying for my glory till Thou shalt please in the day of recompences to reflect light from Thy face, and admit me to behold Thy glories. Grant this for Jesus Christ's sake, who humbled Himself to the death and shame of the cross, and is now exalted unto glory: unto Him, with Thee, O Father, be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

FOR MONDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST COVETOUSNESS.

I.

O ALMIGHTY God, eternal treasure of all good things, Thou fillest all things with plenteousness; Thou clothest the lilies of the field, and feedest the young ravens that call upon Thee: Thou art all-sufficient in Thyself, and all-sufficient to us, let Thy providence be my store-house, Thy dispensation of temporal things the limit of my labour, my own necessity the measures of my desire: but never let my desires of this world be greedy, nor my labour immoderate, nor my care vexatious, and distracting, but prudent, moderate, holy, subordinate to Thy will, the measure Thou hast appointed for me.

II.

TEACH me, O God, to despise the world, to labour for the true riches, to seek the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, to be content with what Thou providest, to be in this world like a stranger, with affections set upon heaven, labouring for, and longing after the possessions of Thy kingdoms; but never suffer my affections to dwell below, but give me a heart compassionate to the poor, liberal to the needy, open and free in all my communications, without base ends, or greedy designs, or unworthy arts of gain; but let my strife be to gain Thy favour, to obtain the blessedness of doing good to others, and giving to them that want; and the blessedness of receiving from Thee pardon and support, grace and holiness, perseverance and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

FOR TUESDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST LUST.

I.

O ETERNAL purity, Thou art brighter than the sun, purer than the angels, and the heavens are not clean in Thy sight; with mercy behold Thy servant apt to be tempted with every object, and to be overcome by every enemy. I cannot, O God, stand in the day of battle and danger, unless Thou coverest me with Thy shield, and hidest me under Thy wings. The fiery darts of the devil are ready to consume me, unless the dew of Thy grace for ever descend upon me. Thou didst make me after Thy image: be pleased to preserve me so, pure and spotless, chaste and clean; that my body may be a

holy temple, and my soul a sanctuary to entertain Thy divinest Spirit, the Spirit of love and holiness, the prince of purities.

II.

REPROVE in me the spirit of fornication and uncleanness, and fill my soul with holy fires, that no strange fire may come into the temple of my body, where Thou hast chosen to dwell. O cast out all those unclean spirits which have unhallowed the place where Thy holy feet have trod; pardon all my hurtful thoughts, all my impurities, that I who am a member of Christ, may not become the member of a harlot, nor the slave of the devil, nor a servant of lust and unworthy desires: but do Thou purify my love, and let me seek the things that are above, hating the garments spotted with the flesh; never any more grieving Thy holy Spirit by filthy inclinations, with impure and fantastic thoughts: but let my thoughts be holy, my soul pure, my body chaste and healthful, my spirit severe, devout and religious, every day more and more; that at the day of our appearing, I may be presented to God washed and cleansed, pure and spotless, by the blood of the holy Lamb, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FOR WEDNESDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

I.

O ALMIGHTY Father of men and angels, who hast of Thy great bounty provided plentifully for all mankind to support his state, to relieve his necessities, to refresh his sorrows, to recreate his labours; that he may praise Thee, and rejoice in Thy mercies and bounty: be Thou gracious unto Thy servant yet more, and suffer me not by my folly to change Thy bounty into sin, Thy grace into wantonness. Give me the spirit of temperance and sobriety, that I may use Thy creatures in the same measures and to the same purposes which Thou hast designed, so as may best enable me to serve Thee, but not to make provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof: let me not as Esau, prefer meat before a blessing; but subdue my appetite, subjecting it to reason and the grace of God, being content with what is moderate, and useful, and easy to be obtained; taking it in due time, receiving it thankfully, making it to minister to my body, that my body may be a good instrument of the soul, and the soul a servant of Thy divine majesty for ever and ever.

II.

PARDON, O God, in whatsoever I have offended Thee by meat and drink and pleasures; and never let my body any more be oppressed with loads of sloth and delicacies, or my soul drowned in seas of wine or strong drink; but let my appetites be changed into spiritual desires, that I may hunger after the food of angels, and thirst for the wine of elect souls, and may account it meat and drink and pleasure to do Thy will, O God. Lord, let me eat and drink so, that my food may not become a temptation, or a sin, or a disease; but grant that with so much caution and prudence I may watch over my appetite, that I may in the strength of Thy mercies and refreshments, in the light of Thy countenance, and in the paths of Thy commandments, walk before Thee all the days of my life acceptable to Thee in Jesus Christ, ever advancing His honour, and being filled with His spirit, that I may at last partake of His glory, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FOR THURSDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST ENVY.

I.

O MOST gracious Father, Thou spring of an eternal charity, who hast so loved mankind, that Thou didst open Thy bosom, and send Thy holy Son to convey Thy mercies to us; and Thou didst create angels and men, that Thou mightest have objects to whom Thou mightest communicate Thy goodness: give me grace to follow so glorious a precedent, that I may never envy the prosperity of any one, but rejoice to honour Him whom Thou honourest, to love Him whom Thou lovest, to commend the virtuous, to discern the precious from the vile, giving honour to whom honour belongs, that I may go to heaven in the noblest way of rejoicing in the good of others.

II.

O DEAR God, never suffer the devil to rub his vilest leprosy of envy upon me; never let me have the affections of the desperate and damned; let it not be ill with me when it is well with others, but let Thy holy Spirit so overrule me for ever, that I may pity the afflicted, and be compassionate, and have a fellow-feeling of my brother's sorrows, and that I may as much as I can promote his good, and give Thee thanks for it, and rejoice with them that do rejoice;

never censuring his actions curstly[e], nor detracting from his praises spitefully, nor upbraiding his infelicities maliciously, but pleased in all things which Thou doest or givest, that I may then triumph in spirit, when Thy kingdom is advanced, when Thy spirit rules, when Thy church is profited, when Thy saints rejoice, when the devil's interest is destroyed, truly loving Thee, and truly loving my brother; that we may all together join in the holy communion of saints, both here and hereafter, in the measures of grace and glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FOR FRIDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST WRATH AND INORDINATE ANGER.

I.

O ALMIGHTY judge of men and angels, whose anger is always the minister of justice, slow, but severe, not lightly arising, but falling heavily when it comes: give to Thy servant a meek and a gentle spirit, that I also may be slow to anger, and easy to mercy and forgiveness. Give me a wise and a constant heart, that I may not be moved with every trifling mistake and inconsiderable accident in the conversation and entercourse of others; never be moved to an intemperate anger for any injury that is done or offered; let my anger ever be upon a just cause, measured with moderation and reason, expressed with charity and prudence, lasting but till it hath done some good, either upon myself or others.

II.

LORD let me be ever courteous, and easy to be entreated; never let me fall into a peevish or contentious spirit, but follow peace with all men, offering forgiveness, inviting them by courtesies, ready to confess my own errors, apt to make amends, and desirous to be reconciled. Let no sickness or cross accident, no employment or weariness, make me angry or ungentle, and discontent, or unthankful, or uneasy to them that minister to me; but in all things make me like unto the holy Jesus. Give me the spirit of a Christian, charitable, humble, merciful and meek, useful and liberal, complying with every chance; angry at nothing but my own sins, and grieving for the sins of others; that while my passion obeys my reason, and my reason is religious, and my religion is pure and undefiled, managed with humility, and adorned with charity, I may escape Thy anger which I have deserved, and may dwell in Thy love, and be Thy son and servant for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

[e] [See p. 383, above.]

FOR SATURDAY.

A PRAYER AGAINST WEARINESS IN WELL-DOING.

I.

O MY God, merciful and gracious, my soul groans under the loads of its own infirmity; when my spirit is willing, my flesh is weak; my understanding foolish and imperfect, my will peevish and listless, my affections wandering after strange objects, my fancy wild and unfixed; all my senses minister to folly and vanity, and though they were all made for religion, yet they least of all delight in that. O my God, pity me, and hear me when I pray, and make that I may pray acceptably. Give me a love to religion, an unwearied spirit in the things of God. Let me not relish or delight in the things of the world, in sensual objects, and transitory possessions; but make my eyes look up to Thee, my soul be filled with Thee, my spirit ravished with Thy love, my understanding employed in the meditation of Thy law, all my powers and faculties of soul and body wholly serving Thee, and delighting in such holy ministries.

II.

O MOST gracious God, what greater favour is there than that I may, and what easier employment can there be than to pray Thee, to be admitted into Thy presence, and to represent our needs, and that we have our needs supplied only for asking and desiring passionately and humbly? But we rather quit our hopes of heaven, than buy it at the cheapest rate of humble prayer. This, O God, is the greatest infirmity and infelicity of man, and hath an intolerable cause, and is an unsufferable evil.

III.

O RELIEVE my spirit with Thy graciousness, take from me all tediousness of spirit, and give me a laboriousness that will not be tired, a hope that shall never fail, a desire of holiness, not to be satisfied till it possesses a charity that will always increase; that I making religion the business of my whole life, may turn all things into religion, doing all to Thy glory, and by the measures of Thy word and of Thy spirit, that when Thou shalt call me from this deliciousness of employment, and the holy ministries of grace, I may pass into the employment of saints and angels, whose work it is with eternal joy and thanksgiving to sing praises to the mercies of the great Redeemer of men, and Saviour of men and angels, Jesus Christ our Lord: to whom, with the Father and the holy Ghost, be all honour and worship, all service and thanks, all glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

A PRAYER TO BE SAID BY A MAIDEN BEFORE SHE ENTERS INTO THE STATE OF MARRIAGE.

I.

O MOST glorious God, and my most indulgent Lord and gracious Father, who dost bless us by Thy bounty, pardon us by Thy mercy, support and guide us by Thy grace, and govern us sweetly by Thy providence; I give Thee most humble and hearty thanks, that Thou hast hitherto preserved me in my virgin state with innocence and chastity, in a good name and a modest report. It is Thy goodness alone, and the blessed emanation of Thy holy Spirit, by which I have been preserved, and to Thee I return all praise and thanks, and adore and love Thy goodness infinite.

II.

AND now, O Lord, since by Thy dispensation and overruling providence I am to change my condition, and enter into the holy state of marriage, which Thou hast sanctified by Thy institution, and blessed by Thy word and promises, and raised up to an excellent mystery, that it might represent the union of Christ and His church: be pleased to go along with Thy servant in my entering into and passing through this state, that it may not be a state of temptation or sorrow, by occasion of my sins or infirmities, but of holiness and comfort, as Thou hast intended it to all that love and fear Thy holy name.

III.

LORD, bless and preserve that dear person whom Thou hast chosen to be my husband; let his life be long and blessed, comfortable and holy, and let me also become a great blessing and comfort unto him; a sharer in all his joys, a refreshment in all his sorrows, a meet helper for him in all accidents and chances of the world. Make me amiable for ever in his eyes, and very dear to him. Unite his heart to me in the dearest union of love and holiness; and mine to him in all sweetness, and charity, and compliance. Keep from me all morosity and ungentleness, all sullenness and harshness of disposition, all pride and vanity, all discontentedness and unreasonableness of passion and humour: and make me humble and obedient, charitable and loving, patient and contented, useful and observant, that we may delight in each other according to Thy blessed word and ordinance, and both of us may rejoice in Thee, having our portion in the love and service of God for ever and ever.

IV.

O BLESSED Father, never suffer any mistakes or discontent, any distrustfulness or sorrow, any trifling arrests of fancy, or unhandsome accident, to cause any unkindness betwixt us: but let us so dearly love, so affectionately observe, so religiously attend to each other's good and content, that we may always please Thee, and by this learn and practise our duty and greatest love to Thee, and become mutual helps to each other in the way of godliness; that when we have received the blessings of a married life, the comforts of society, the endearments of a holy and great affection, and the dowry of blessed children, we may for ever dwell together in the embraces of Thy love and glories, feasting in the marriage-supper of the Lamb to eternal ages, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Amen.

A PRAYER FOR A HOLY AND HAPPY DEATH.

O ETERNAL and holy Jesus, who by death hast overcome death, and by Thy passion hast taken out its sting, and made it to become one of the gates of heaven, and an entrance to felicity; have mercy upon me now and at the hour of my death; let Thy grace accompany me all the days of my life, that I may, by a holy conversation, and an habitual performance of my duty, wait for the coming of our Lord, and be ready to enter with Thee at whatsoever hour Thou shalt come. Lord, let not my death be in any sense unprovided, nor untimely, nor hasty, but after the manner of men, having in it nothing extraordinary but an extraordinary piety, and the manifestation of a great and miraculous mercy. Let my senses and my understanding be preserved entire till the last of my days, and grant that I may die the death of the righteous, free from debt and deadly sin, having first discharged all my obligations of justice, leaving none miserable and unprovided in my departure; but be Thou the portion of all my friends and relatives, and let Thy blessing descend upon their heads, and abide there till they shall meet me in the bosom of our Lord. Preserve me ever in the communion and peace of the church; and bless my death-bed with the opportunity of a holy and a spiritual guide, with the assistance and guard of angels, with the reception of the holy sacrament, with patience and dereliction of my own desires, with a strong faith, and a firm and humbled hope, with just measures of repentance, and great treasures of charity to Thee my God, and to all the world, that my soul in the arms of the holy Jesus may be deposited with safety and joy, there to expect the revelation of Thy day, and then to partake the glories of Thy kingdom, O eternal and holy Jesus. Amen.

FESTIVAL HYMNS.

I WILL SING WITH THE SPIRIT, AND I WILL SING WITH THE UNDERSTANDING ALSO.

HYMNS

CELEBRATING THE MYSTERIES AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR,
ACCORDING TO THE MANNER OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH:
FITTED TO THE FANCY AND DEVOTION OF THE YOUNGER AND PIOUS PERSONS,
APT FOR MEMORY, AND TO BE JOINED TO THEIR OTHER PRAYERS.

HYMNS FOR ADVENT, OR THE WEEKS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE BIRTH OF OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR.

I.

When, Lord, O when shall we
Our dear salvation see?
Arise, arise,
Our fainting eyes
Have long'd all night, and 'twas a long one too.
Man never yet could say
He saw more than one day,
One day of Eden's seven;
The guilty hours there blasted with the breath
Of sin and death,
Have ever since worn a nocturnal hue.
But Thou hast given us hopes that we
At length another day shall see,
Wherein each vile neglected place,
Gilt with the aspect of Thy face,
Shall be like that, the porch and gate of heaven.
How long, dear God, how long!
See how the nations throng:
All human kind
Knit and combin'd
Into one body, look for Thee their head.
Pity our multitude,
Lord we are vile and rude,
Headless and senseless without Thee

Of all things but the want of Thy blest face.
O haste apace;
And Thy bright self to this our body wed,
That through the influx of Thy power,
Each part that erst confusion wore
May put on order, and appear
Spruce as the childhood of the year,
When Thou to it shalt so united be.—Amen.

THE SECOND HYMN FOR ADVENT; OR CHRIST'S COMING TO JERUSALEM IN TRIUMPH.

LORD come away,
Why dost Thou stay?
Thy road is ready: and Thy paths, made strait,
With longing expectation wait
The consecration of Thy beauteous feet.
Ride on triumphantly, behold we lay
Our lusts and proud wills in Thy way.
Hosanna! welcome to our hearts. Lord here
Thou hast a temple too, and full as dear
As that of Sion; and as full of sin,
Nothing but thieves and robbers dwell therein,
Enter, and chase them forth, and cleanse the floor;
Crucify them, that they may never more
Profane that holy place
Where Thou hast chose to set Thy face.
And then if our stiff tongues shall be
Mute in the praises of Thy deity,
The stones out of the temple wall
Shall cry aloud and call
Hosanna! and Thy glorious footsteps greet.—Amen.

HYMNS FOR CHRISTMAS DAY.

I.

MYSTERIOUS truth! that the self-same should be
A lamb, a shepherd, and a lion too!
Yet such was He
Whom first the shepherds knew,
When they themselves became
Sheep to the shepherd Lamb.
Shepherd of men and angels, Lamb of God,

Lion of Judah, by these titles keep
The wolf from Thy endangered sheep.
Bring all the world unto Thy fold,
Let Jews and gentiles hither come
In numbers great that can't be told,
And call Thy lambs that wander, home.
Glory be to God on high,
All glories be to th' glorious deity.

THE SECOND HYMN; BEING A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THREE SHEPHERDS.

1. WHERE is this blessed babe
That hath made
All the world so full of joy
And expectation;
That glorious boy
That crowns each nation
With a triumphant wreath of blessedness?

2. Where should He be but in the throng,
And among
His angel ministers, that sing
And take wing
Just as may echo to His voice,
And rejoice,
When wing and tongue and all
May so procure their happiness?

3. But He hath other waiters now,
A poor cow,
An ox and mule stand and behold,
And wonder,
That a stable should enfold
Him that can thunder.

Chorus. O what a gracious God have we!
How good, how great, even as our misery.

THE THIRD HYMN; OF CHRIST'S BIRTH IN AN INN.

THE blessed virgin travail'd without pain,
And lodged in an inn,
A glorious star the sign,
But of a greater guest than ever came that way;
For there He lay
That is the God of night and day,

And over all the powers of heaven doth reign.
It was the time of great Augustus' tax,
And then He comes
That pays all sums,
Even the whole price of lost humanity,
And sets us free
From the ungodly emperie
Of sin, and Satan, and of death.
O make our hearts, blest God, Thy lodging place,
And in our breast
Be pleas'd to rest,
For Thou lov'st temples better than an inn,
And cause that sin
May not profane the deity within,
And sully o'er the ornaments of grace.—Amen.

A HYMN UPON S. JOHN'S DAY.

This day
We sing
The friend of our eternal king,
Who in His bosom lay,
And kept the keys
Of His profound and glorious mysteries:
Which to the world dispensed by His hand,
Made it stand,
Fix'd in amazement to behold that light
Which came
From the throne of the Lamb,
To invite
Our wretched eyes (which nothing else could see
But fire, and sword, hunger and misery)
To anticipate by their ravish'd sight
The beauty of celestial delight.
Mysterious God, regard me when I pray:
And when this load of clay
Shall fall away,
O let Thy gracious hand conduct me up,
Where on the Lamb's rich viands I may sup:
And in this last supper I
May with Thy friend in Thy sweet bosom lie
For ever in eternity.—Allelujah.

UPON THE DAY OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS.

MOURNFUL Judah shrieks and cries
At the obsequies
Of their babes, that cry
More that they lose the paps, than that they die.
He that came with life to all,
Brings the babes a funeral,
To redeem from slaughter Him
Who did redeem us all from sin.
They like Himself went spotless hence,
A sacrifice to innocence;
Which now does ride
Trampling upon Herod's pride:
Passing from their fontinels of clay
To heaven a milky and a bloody way,
All their tears and groans are dead,
And they to rest and glory fled.
Lord, who wert pleased so many babes should fall,
Whilst each sword hoped that every of the all,
Was the desir'd king: make us to be
In innocence like them, in glory, Thee.—Amen.

UPON THE EPIPHANY, AND THE THREE WISE MEN OF THE EAST COMING TO WORSHIP JESUS.

A COMET dangling in the air
Presag'd the ruin both of death and sin;
And told the wise men of a king,
The king of glory, and the sun
Of righteousness, who then begun
To draw towards that blessed hemisphere.
They from the furthest east this new
And unknown light pursue,
Till they appear
In this blest infant king's propitious eye,
And pay their homage to His royalty.
Persia might then the rising sun adore,
It was idolatry no more:
Great God, they gave to Thee
Myrrh, frankincense, and gold;
But Lord, with what shall we
Present ourselves before Thy majesty,
Whom Thou redeem'dst when we were sold?
W' have nothing but ourselves, and scarce that neither,

Vile dirt and clay:
Yet it is soft, and may
Impression take:
Accept it, Lord, and say, this Thou had'st rather;
Stamp it, and on this sordid metal make
Thy holy image, and it shall outshine
The beauty of the golden mine.—Amen.

A MEDITATION OF THE FOUR LAST THINGS,
DEATH, JUDGMENT, HEAVEN, HELL.
FOR THE TIME OF LENT ESPECIALLY:

A MEDITATION OF DEATH.

Death, the old serpent's son,
Thou had'st a sting once like thy sire,
That carried hell, and ever-burning fire:
But those black days are done;
Thy foolish spite buried thy sting
In the profound and wide
Wound of our Saviour's side,
And now thou art become a tame and harmless thing,
A thing we dare not fear,
Since we hear
That our triumphant God to punish thee
For the affront thou didst Him on the tree,
Hath snatch'd the keys of hell out of thy hand,
And made thee stand
A porter to the gate of life, thy mortal enemy.
O Thou who art that gate, command that he
May when we die
And thither fly,
Let us into the courts of heaven through Thee.—Allelujah.

THE PRAYER.

My soul doth pant towards Thee
My God, source of eternal life:
Flesh fights with me,
Oh end the strife
And part us, that in peace I may
Unclay
My wearied spirit, and take
My flight to Thy eternal spring;

Where for His sake
Who is my king,
I may wash all my tears away
That day.
Thou conqueror of death,
Glorious triumpher o'er the grave,
Whose holy breath
Was spent to save
Lost mankind; make me to be styl'd
Thy child,
And take me when I die
And go unto my dust, my soul
Above the sky
With saints enroll,
That in Thy arms for ever I
May lie.—Amen.

OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

GREAT Judge of all, how we vile wretches quake
Our guilty bones do ache,
Our marrow freezes, when we think
Of the consuming fire
Of Thine ire;
And horrid phials Thou shalt make
The wicked drink,
When Thou the winepress of Thy wrath shalt tread
With feet of lead.
Sinful rebellious clay! what unknown place
Shall hide it from Thy face!
When earth shall vanish from Thy sight,
The heavens that never err'd,
But observ'd
Thy laws, shall from Thy presence take their flight,
And kill'd with glory, their bright eyes, stark-dead
Start from their head:
Lord, how shall we,
Thy enemies, endure to see
So bright, so killing majesty?
Mercy, dear Saviour: Thy judgment-seat
We dare not, Lord, entreat;
We are condemned already there.
Mercy; vouchsafe one look
On Thy book
Of life; Lord we can read the saving Jesus, here,

And in His name our own salvation see:
Lord set us free,
The book of sin
Is cross'd within,
Our debts are paid by Thëe.—Mercy!

OF HEAVEN.

O BEAUTEOUS God, uncircumscribed treasure
Of an eternal pleasure,
Thy throne is seated far
Above the highest star,
Where Thou prepar'st a glorious place
Within the brightness of Thy face
For every spirit
To inherit
That builds his hopes on Thy merit,
And loves Thee with a holy charity.
What ravish'd heart, seraphic tongue or eyes,
Clear as the mornings rise,
Can speak, or think, or see
That bright eternity?
Where the great king's transparent throne,
Is of an entire jasper stone:
There the eye
O' th' chrysolite,
And a sky
Of diamonds, rubies, chrysoprase,
And above all, Thy holy face
Makes an eternal clarity,
When Thou Thy jewels up dost bind; that day
Remember us, we pray;
That where the beryl lies
And the crystal, 'bove the skies,
There Thou may'st appoint us place
Within the brightness of Thy face;
And our soul
In the scroll
Of life and blissfulness enroll,
That we may praise Thee to eternity.—Allelujah.

OF HELL.

HORRID darkness, sad and sore,
And an eternal night,

Groans and shrieks, and thousands more
In the want of glorious light:
Every corner hath a snake
In the accursed lake:
Seas of fire, beds of snow,
Are the best delights below,
A viper from the fire
Is his hire
That knows not moments from eternity.
Glorious God of day and night,
Spring of eternal light,
Allelujahs, hymns and psalms
And coronets of palms
Fill Thy temple evermore.
O mighty God,
Let not Thy bruising rod
Crush our loins with an eternal pressure:
O let Thy mercy be the measure,
For if Thou keepest wrath in store
We all shall die,
And none be left to glorify
Thy name, and tell
How Thou hast sav'd our souls from hell.—Mercy!

ON THE CONVERSION OF S. PAUL.

Full of wrath, His threat'ning breath
Belching nought but chains and death:
Saul was arrested in his way
By a voice and a light,
That if a thousand days
Should join rays
To beautify one day,
It would not shew so glorious and so bright.
On his amazed eyes it night did fling
That day might break within;
And by those beams of faith
Make him of a child of wrath
Become a vessel full of glory.
Lord, curb us in our dark and sinful way,
We humbly pray,
When we down horrid precipices run
With feet that thirst to be undone,
That this may be our story.—Allelujah.

ON THE PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

PURE and spotless was the maid
That to the temple came,
A pair of turtle-doves she paid,
Although she brought the lamb.
Pure and spotless though she were,
Her body chaste, and her soul fair,
She to the temple went
To be purified
And tried,
That she was spotless and obedient;
O make us to follow so blest precedent,
And purify our souls, for we
Are clothed with sin and misery.
From our conception
One imperfection,
And a continued state of sin,
Hath sullied all our faculties within.
We present our souls to Thee
Full of need and misery:
And for redemption a lamb
The purest, whitest that e'er came
A sacrifice to Thee,
Even He that bled upon the tree.

ON GOOD-FRIDAY.

THE lamb is eaten, and is yet again
Preparing to be slain;
The cup is full and mix'd,
And must be drunk:
Wormwood and gall
To this, are draughts to beguile care withal,
Yet the decree is fix'd.
Doubled knees, and groans, and cries,
Prayers and sighs, and flowing eyes
Could not entreat.
His sad soul sunk
Under the heavy pressure of our sin:
The pains of death and hell
About Him dwell.
His Father's burning wrath did make
His very heart, like melting wax, to sweat
Rivers of blood;
Through the pure strainer of His skin
His boiling body stood

Bubbling all o'er;
As if the wretched whole were but one door
To let in pain and grief,
And turn out all relief.
O Thou, who for our sake
Didst drink up
This bitter cup,
Remember us, we pray,
In Thy day,
When down
The struggling throats of wicked men
The dregs of Thy just fury shall be thrown.
Oh then
Let Thy unbounded mercy think
On us, for whom
Thou underwentst this heavy doom,
And give us of the well of life to drink.—Amen.

ON THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

A WINGED harbinger from bright heav'n flown
Bespeaks a lodging room
For the mighty king of love,
The spotless structure of a virgin womb,
O'ershadowed with the wings of the blest dove:
For He was travelling to earth,
But did desire to lay
By the way,
That He might shift His clothes, and be
A perfect man as well as we.
How good a God have we! who for our sake,
To save us from the burning lake,
Did change the order of creation:
At first He made
Man like Himself in His own image; now
In the more blessed reparation
The heavens bow;
Eternity took the measure of a span,
And said,
Let us make ourself like man,
And not from man the woman take,
But from the woman, man.
Allelujah! we adore
His name, whose goodness hath no store.—Allelujah.

EASTER DAY.

WHAT glorious light!
How bright a sun after so sad a night
Does now begin to dawn! bless'd were those eyes
That did behold
This sun when He did first unfold
His glorious beams, and now begin to rise:
It was the holy tender sex
That saw the first ray:
Saint Peter and the other, had the reflex,
The second glimpse o' th' day.
Innocence had the first, and he
That fled and then did penance, next did see
The glorious Sun of righteousness
In His new dress
Of triumph, immortality, and bliss.
O dearest God, preserve our souls
In holy innocence;
Or if we do amiss,
Make us to rise again to th' life of grace,
That we may live with Thee, and see Thy glorious face,
The crown of holy penitence.—Allelujah.

ON THE DAY OF ASCENSION.

HE is risen higher, not set:
Indeed a cloud
Did with His leave make bold to shroud
The sun of glory from mount Olivet.
At Pentecost He'll shew Himself again,
When every ray shall be a tongue
To speak all comforts, and inspire
Our souls with their celestial fire;
That we the saints among
May sing, and love, and reign.—Amen.

ON THE FEAST OF PENTECOST, OR WHITSUNDAY.

TONGUES of fire from heaven descend
With a mighty rushing wind,
To blow it up and make
A living fire
Of heavenly charity, and pure desire,
Where they their residence should take.
On the apostles' sacred heads they sit,

Who now like beacons do proclaim and tell
Th' invasion of the host of hell;
And give men warning to defend
Themselves from the enraged brunt of it.
Lord, let the flames of holy charity,
And all her gifts and graces slide
Into our hearts, and there abide;
That thus refined, we may soar above
With it unto the element of love,
Even unto Thee, dear Spirit,
And there eternal peace and rest inherit.—Amen.

PENITENTIAL HYMNS.

I.

Lord, I have sinn'd, and the black number swells
To such a dismal sum,
That should my stony heart and eyes,
And this whole sinful trunk a flood become,
And run to tears, their drops could not suffice
To count my score,
Much less to pay:
But Thou, my God, hast blood in store,
And art the patron of the poor.
Yet since the balsam of Thy blood,
Although it can, will do no good,
Unless the wounds be cleans'd with tears before;
Thou in whose sweet but pensive face
Laughter could never steal a place,
Teach but my heart and eyes
To melt away,
And then one drop of balsam will suffice.—Amen.

II.

Great God, and just! how canst Thou see,
Dear God, our misery,
And not in mercy set us free?
Poor miserable man! how wert thou born,
Weak as the dewy jewels of the morn,
Rapt up in tender dust,
Guarded with sins and lust,
Who like court-flatterers wait
To serve themselves in thy unhappy fate.

Wealth is a snare, and poverty brings in
Inlets for theft, paving the way for sin:
Each perfum'd vanity doth gently breathe
Sin in thy soul, and whispers it to death.
Our faults like ulcerated sores do go
O'er the sound flesh, and do corrupt that too:
Lord, we are sick, spotted with sin
Thick as a crusty leper's skin;
Like Naaman, bid us wash, yet let it be
In streams of blood that flow from Thee:
Then will we sing,
Touch'd by the heavenly dove's bright wing,
Hallelujahs, psalms and praise
To God the Lord of night and days,
Ever good, and ever just,
Ever high, who ever must
Thus be sung; is still the same;
Eternal praises crown His name.—Amen.

A PRAYER FOR CHARITY.

FULL of mercy, full of love,
Look upon us from above;
Thou who taught'st the blind man's night
To entertain a double light,
Thine and the days' (and that Thine too,)
The lame away his crutches threw,
The parched crust of leprosy
Return'd unto its infancy:
The dumb amazed was to hear
His own unchain'd tongue strike his ear:
Thy powerful mercy did even chase
The devil from his usurp'd place,
Where Thou thyself shouldst dwell, not he.
O let Thy love our pattern be;
Let Thy mercy teach one brother
To forgive and love another,
That copying Thy mercy here,
Thy goodness may hereafter rear
Our souls unto Thy glory, when
Our dust shall cease to be with men.—Amen.

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ADDENDA.

p. 16, line 22, read τοὺς.

p. 23, line 6, ... 'S. Bernard.' [Vid. in vigil. nativ., serm. ii. col. 40 H.]

ibid. line 34, ... 'beginning of a sanction.' [Cf. Isid. Pelus., lib. i. epist. 181, p. 54; et Calmet in 1 Reg. xiii. 24.]

p. 31, line 10, 'S. Hieromę' [Dial. adv. Pelag., lib. i.—tom. iv. part. 2. col. 493 sqq.]

p. 49, line 19, read ἀθλητοῦ.

p. 50, note h, [Vid. Sen. de ira, ii. 27. tom. i. p. 75.]

p. 60, line 15, read μεταμελητέος.

p. 106, line 28, and p. 224, line 30, ... 'patri.' [Ter. Andr. act. v. sc. 3. fin.]

p. 109, line 17 ... 'Tertullian.' [vid. De idololatria, cap. i. p. 86.]

p. 112, line 41, ... 'Synesius.' [see vol. ii. p. 370, note r.]

p. 125, line 36, ... βλάβη, [Suidas, πλεονεξία.]

p. 127, line 9,...' Ulpian' [Digest., lib. iv. tit. 3.]...' Aquilius' [apud Cic. off. iii. 14.]

p. 166, line 25, ... λόγῳ [Simplic. (ut in not. t, infra) cap. x. p. 112]

ibid. line 38,...'magister.' [Plin., lib. i. epist. 20, med.]

p. 265, line 3, ... 'Lucian.' [Demosth. encom., cap. xlvii. tom. ix. p. 166.]

p. 285, line 34, ... ἐσμὸς [Chrysost. in Rom. vi. hom. xi. § 3.—tom. ix. p. 534 D.]

p. 286, in note e, read 'mentis.'

p. 287, line 33, read 'have.'

p. 305, lin. 5, ... 'Scotus' [Report. Paris., lib. iii. dist. 7. qu. iv. schol. 2.—tom. xi. p. 451.]

p. 310, line 28, ... 'Prosper' [al. Julian. Pomer. de vita contempl., lib. ii. cap. 18. § 1. fin.]

p. 323, line 32, ... 'Vossius' [Hist. Pelag., lib. ii. part. 1. thes. 6.—tom. vi. p. 608.]

p. 332, not. z. S. August. [p. 289, not. q, supra.]

p. 557, last line, ... 'eundum est.' [see vol. iv. p. 529, note e.]

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